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Trends in Education in Northern England

during the

Eighteenth Century:

A Biographical Study.

by

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Prepared in partial fulfillment of the regulations for candidates for the Degree of Ph.D at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne .

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F.J.G. Robinson

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used for the text and attached notes. A list of further abbreviations used in the appendices appears at the beginning of Appendix I. All references throughout the text and appendices to published works and unpublished theses are limited to the surname and, if necessary, the initials of the author. A reference number is added to the author's name if more than one of his works has been used. The title, date and place of publication each quoted work appear in the bibliography or, in the case of most eighteenth century books, in Appendix VI.

| | |
|------|---|
| A | The Newcastle Advertiser. |
| AA | Archaeologia Aeliana. |
| AR | Abstract of Returns of Charitable Donations..1786-1788. |
| BMC | British Museum Catalogue. |
| C | The Newcastle Courant. |
| CCB | The Common Council Books of Newcastle. |
| CCR | The Reports of the Charity Commissioners. |
| Ch | The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle. |
| ChRO | The Record Office, Chester. |
| CRO | The Record Office, Carlisle. |
| CRS | The Catholic Record Society. |
| CW | The Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Transactions. |
| DNAA | The Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society, Transactions. |
| DNB | The Dictionary of National Biography. |
| DRO | Durham County Record Office. |
| J | The Newcastle Journal. |
| KRO | The Record Office, Kendal. |
| NRO | Northumberland County Record Office. |
| P | The Cumberland Pacquet. |
| PA | The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle. |
| PK | The Prior's Kitchen, Durham Cathedral. |
| SIC | Schools' Inquiry Commission. |
| SS | The Surtees Society, Publications. |

INTRODUCTION

The education of the intellectual elite of the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth century has been neglected in studies of the history of English education. The great pioneers of this field, Leach and Foster-Watson concentrated their efforts upon the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their work, supplemented by the monumental researches of Jordan, provided the factual basis for later interpretations of the educational trends in England before 1660. However little of their writings concerned the eighteenth century and no other scholar of the same stature repaired this omission. There were indeed specialist studies of certain facets of education between 1660 and 1800. The dissenting academies were described in some detail by Parker and McLachlan, the charity schools found their historiographer in Miss Jones, and eighteenth century Cambridge was lovingly delineated by Winstanley. The rise of the public schools was examined by E.C. Mack. The education available for women was discussed by Miss Gardiner. A few unpublished theses also dealt with eighteenth century aspects of education¹. Little however was written until very recently about endowed or private schools, although these were numerically far more important.

The second edition of Curtis' history of English education, published in 1950, listed in its bibliography only 11 general works which touched in passing upon the eighteenth century, and a further 53 that dealt with English schools from 1660 to 1902. Apart from the specialist studies already detailed above, only one book in the lists highlighted eighteenth century education, and this, N. Carlisle's Endowed Grammar Schools, was a publication of source material rather than a work of scholarship². The general histories of English education, such as Adamson, Barnard, de Montmorency or Curtis, themselves reflected the neglect of the eighteenth century. They devote but few pages to that period, and these such as they

are dwell upon the S.P.C.K. schools and the dissenting academies. The poverty of material upon eighteenth century education in these texts reinforced the accepted condemnation of the schools of that period, making acceptable quite extreme views of its deficiencies³.

Since 1950 interest in eighteenth century education has increased and brought with it a considerable body of evidence to modify the view that it was a period of decline or "educational sleep". Comprehensive studies of the grammar schools of the eighteenth century, based upon the Wase returns and the charity commissioners reports, have questioned the view of general decline; a view based too simply upon the disparity between success of the grammar schools in the seventeenth century and decay described in Carlisle⁴. Recent local studies support these re-appraisals of the grammar schools⁵. These and other surveys of eighteenth century educational provision in restricted areas of the British Isles⁶ have also extended considerably knowledge of private education in that period.

The book by Nicholas Hans, published in 1951 under the title "New trends in education in the eighteenth century", had a most important part in spreading interest in this field. It cast light upon areas of eighteenth century education which had previously been almost untouched. The chapters dealing with various forms of private academies, private classical schools and adult education all broke new ground. Much of the wealth of new data was the result of the approach used in this study of the eighteenth century. Hans chose to work from large scale biographical investigation of pupils and teachers towards judgement of the extent and efficiency of the various forms of education available at that time. A biographical method had already been used in the study of English writing masters and a similar project covering mathematical practitioners was to reach the press in 1954⁷, but neither dealt, except incidentally, with pupils. By working from these

towards their teachers and schools Hans was able to provide quantitative and numerical judgements of the popularity and success of each form of education then available.

The biographical approach had necessarily to be limited in some way when dealing with so large and populous an area as the British Isles. The limitation chosen by Hans, in the case of the pupils, was inclusion in the Dictionary of National Biography and birth between the years 1685 and 1785. These dates would comprehend children who were about to enter university in 1700 whilst excluding those born very late in the century whose education took place in the nineteenth century. In any case there are ample reasons in the political and social history of England for considering the period 1685-1785 to be more of a unity than the arbitrary years 1700-1800⁸. The group extracted from the Dictionary of National Biography included a considerable number of schoolmasters, tutors and lecturers. Many others were mentioned in the individual biographies for their part in the training of these outstanding men and women. Detailed and numerical examination of these two groups, the representatives of the eighteenth century in D.N.B. and their teachers, was the basis of Hans' study.

This approach was productive of much that was original and opposed to the traditional view of education in that period. Four of the ten chapters in the book were devoted to private education and two covered adult education. This proportion in itself indicates the most important aspect of the pattern of English education in the eighteenth century described by Hans. Private schools, academies and home tutors were shown to have played a significant part in the training of boys for their future careers, whether in trade or profession. Previous studies had

almost entirely ignored this function of private education, emphasising rather the endowed schools and the dissenting academies as the normal means of continuing a boy's education after he became literate. The private school had received little attention, except as a facility for very early training in the shape of an English or dame school⁹. Hans however found that roughly one third of his D.N.B. group had been educated privately¹⁰.

An inevitable consequence of this new importance attached to private forms of education was the diminution of the part traditionally ascribed to the endowed schools.¹¹ Hans' results indicated that the ancient grammar schools in particular were of far less significance in the education of the elite than they had been in the previous centuries¹². The great public schools on the other hand were already training a disproportionate number of the future leaders of society in the eighteenth century.

The present study began as an examination of the validity of the pattern of eighteenth century education, as described by Hans, for a small provincial area of England. It was not to be expected that the education of the elite of one locality in the British Isles would be an exact microcosm of the national trends; any county or group of counties in England would be likely to exhibit individual characteristics in educational pattern which would deviate from the national norm, especially when that norm was influenced by the great urban centre of London. The inclusion in Hans' figures of men educated in Scotland, Wales and Ireland also made it unlikely that nationally observed trends would be exactly repeated in a provincial area of England. On the other hand if comparison between the education of the D.N.B. men in one area with that of the whole country showed very great variation, this might cast doubt upon the usefulness of postulating national trends and perhaps

upon the very method of study itself.

Restriction of the area from which the D.N.B. group was chosen also made it possible to use sources, which from their immensity could not be comprehensively utilised on a national scale. Hans was able to make use of printed university registers but it was hardly possible to check all the printed school registers¹³, whilst school and university MSS which might provide information about alumni are far too numerous for research except in a limited area¹⁴. The individual biographies which appear in the D.N.B. were based upon the best material available when they were written but can often be supplemented by more recent local research and from family MSS which have come within reach with the proliferation of Record depositories since D.N.B. was compiled.

Education was still very much the responsibility of the Anglican church in the eighteenth century, at least in theory. The MSS of the metropolitans of each see contain a mass of information about the schools and schoolmasters of England. Whilst this source provides little biographical information about the scholars it does give essential data about the status of lesser known schools¹⁵. The church took very little cognizance of private establishments for education¹⁶; there was however one further major source which supplied a detailed description of this aspect of education, whilst adding also to the picture of endowed education. This was the newspaper. Where long runs of eighteenth century newspapers survive they offer a sight of the reality of education which is not readily available from statutes, visitation evidence or even biography. These could not be used on a national scale, and lacking any kind of index to them¹⁷, it was not possible to extract any data they might contain about an individual or a particular school, without the very close examination which could only be attempted for a

restricted number of newspapers. As all these new sources could be brought to serve a regional survey of D.N.B. men's education the results could hardly fail to be more accurate for the men of that area than Hans' survey.

It was naturally essential that the local group should be selected by exactly the same criteria as the national D.N.B. men, if the results were to be compared. The material upon which Hans based his survey of education was a group of men selected from D.N.B. on the following principles. "All born 1685 and 1785, who received any formal education in any school are included. Men who received their training exclusively through experience in their vocations are excluded. Thus all sailors, soldiers, surgeons, architects, musicians, painters and craftsmen, who did not attend any school and became famous through practical application of their natural talents alone are excluded, because in their cases their eminence was the result of special inborn ability for some particular vocation.....Schoolmasters and scientists are included even if they were self-taught (autodidacts) and had no school training."¹⁸ As it includes any persons in the excluded professions who are known to have spent some time at a school this definition of the group creates some problems. A local survey will inevitably include a number of men excluded by Hans, because the more detailed research possible into the smaller group will have unearthed the formal education of men placed by Hans in the experience trained category. In all some 2,000 of the 5,500 men in D.N.B. born in the period had to be excluded from Hans' figures because of lack of information or because their appearance in D.N.B. was a result of sensationalism rather than merit¹⁹. Therefore the local group will differ to some extent from the men of that area used by Hans. The further criterion of authorship²⁰ effectively excludes some vocations such as painters and other artists but most natural talents found expression to some extent in publication.

The four most northern counties of England, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, were chosen as the area for study²¹. This area, which contains one important urban centre, Newcastle upon Tyne, is divided geographically by the Pennines. In the eighteenth century both sides of the Pennines were fairly prosperous, although the north-east was only approaching its period of great economic expansion. Whilst being predominantly agricultural like all provincial England at that time the north already contained important industries and therefore had as much urban development as most areas of comparable size in England apart from the capital. Although geography naturally imposed some regional peculiarities on the north, as elsewhere, there appears no prima facie case for considering the area in any way atypical of provincial England in the eighteenth century.

Just under three hundred men and women from these counties who come within Hans' criteria appear in D.N.B. This total includes those born or educated in the north and those men whose families were normally resident in the north, even if they themselves were born and educated elsewhere. A number of upper class children were born at their mother's home or in a town house in London, and later educated at public school in the south of England, and yet were clearly worthies of the north of England. Excluded were those born in the north whose families moved out of the area within the first five years of the child's life and did not return. The education of this northern elite is summarized in Table I. Before comparing these results with those of Hans²² one minor problem of compilation must be noted. Most men of the local group went to more than one school. A considerable number went to different types of school. A footnote to Hans' Table I states that "Seven pupils of great public schools, who proceeded to Dissenting Academies, are not included in the first graph, (public schools), but are included in the fourth, (Dissenting Academies)"²³.

TABLE I (pp 7 - 18)

The educational careers of 289 men and women from the north who appear in DNB

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|-------------------------|----|-----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|-----|------|
| Oxford | 2 | 31 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 43 | 15% |
| Cambridge | 14 | 29 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 62 | 20% |
| Edinburgh | 0 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 27 | 10% |
| Other | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 12 | ---- |
| Scottish Universities | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | ---- |
| T.C.D. | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | ---- |
| Leyden | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | ---- |
| Other | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | ---- |
| Total to University | 17 | 76 | 13 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 19 | 153 | 55% |
| Directly to Professions | 5 | 34 | 6 | 8 | 16 | 23 | 8 | 11 | 11 | 14 | 136 | 45% |
| Grand total | 22 | 110 | 19 | 12 | 23 | 34 | 9 | 16 | 11 | 33 | 289 | |
| % of G.T. | 8 | 35 | 7 | --- | 8 | 12 | -- | 5 | --- | 12 | | |

Significance of columns:

1. Public schools
2. Grammar schools in the north
3. Grammar schools not in the north
4. Academies not in the north
5. Dissenting academies
6. Village schools or private schools.
7. Catholic colleges
8. Home or tutor
9. Autodidact
10. Education unknown
11. Total of columns 1 to 10
12. Column total as a % of population

It has been preferred to separate those definitely known to have been educated at home or by tutor from those whose education before university is unknown. These were united in Hans' table I, which is summarized in Table II. Percentages smaller than 5% have been omitted.

This seems to indicate that Hans used the last formal place of education before university as the basis of his compilation. This practice has been followed here, although in some cases the time spent in the last school was only a small proportion of the child's education. Similarly many attended more than one university. In Table I graduates have been assigned to the university of their first degree. University alumni who took no degree are listed under that which they first entered. Men who received honorary degrees later in life are not counted as graduates on that basis alone.

Comparison of the education of the northern D.N.B. men and women with the national group shows considerable variation between the two. Some of the most important trends shown by the national figures are not apparent in the north. Indeed so different are the trends in much of Tables I and II that it is necessary to examine each kind of education in detail.

A. The Public Schools.

Hans found that the nine great public schools alone educated just over a quarter of the D.N.B. group.²⁵ Only about 8% of the northern D.N.B. shared this form of training. Indeed but for the inclusion of the Percy family in the northern list the proportion educated in these schools would be much smaller. However this disparity is not wholly unexpected in view of the considerable distance between the north and even the nearest public school. Although it is clear that these nine schools were becoming increasingly national in their intake of pupils in the eighteenth century²⁶ the greater distance that a northern boy had to travel to attend a public school, compared with most English children, must at least partially account for the smaller proportion in DNB. It would seem from Table I that the attractions of these schools were not sufficient to bring them pupils from the north in any great numbers before 1800. However as the number of pupils

TABLE II (pp 3 - 4, 8 - 18)

A summary of the national results enumerated in Hans Table I, p. 18

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|
| Oxford | 303 | 168 | 7 | 0 | 68 | 264 | 810 | 27% |
| Cambridge | 264 | 204 | 3 | 1 | 76 | 218 | 764 | 25% |
| Edinburgh | 8 | 16 | 16 | 1 | 17 | 125 | 183 | 6% |
| Other | 10 | 6 | 19 | 0 | 7 | 150 | 192 | 6% |
| Scottish Universities | 7 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 45 | 88 | 147 | 5% |
| T.C.D. | 5 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 34 | 49 | --- |
| Leyden | 10 | 10 | 4 | 19 | 5 | 19 | 67 | --- |
| Total to University | 607 | 407 | 62 | 21 | 219 | 898 | 2212 | |
| Directly to Professions | 173 | 187 | 203 | 104 | 95 | 69 | 831 | 28% |
| Grand total | 780 | 594 | 265 | 125 | 314 | 967 | 3043 | |
| % of G.T. | 26 | 16 | 9 | --- | 11 | 32 | | |

Significance of columns:

1. Nine great public schools.
2. Grammar schools. A combination of columns 2 and 3 in Hans Table I.
3. Dissenting Academies. A combination of columns 4 and 5 in Hans Table I.
4. Catholic colleges.
5. Private academies and schools.
6. Private tutors and Home education. This includes "about 200 men who proceeded to the university but whose education is not stated in the D.N.B. which as a rule means home education."²⁴
7. Total of columns 1 to 6
8. Totals of lines expressed as percentages of the grand total.

Certain of the columns in the original have been omitted in this summary. Thus no figures appear for the schools of Wales, Scotland or Ireland as the number attending such schools from the north was very small. For this reason the totals of each line that appears above is less than that in Hans' Table.

examined in Table I is under 300 such a conclusion can be only tentative. Further even these famous and well-documented schools are incomplete in their lists of alumni. Eton, Westminster and Winchester were by far the most important of the public schools in the eighteenth century²⁷; many pupils at these three schools in that period are known by surname alone. It is more than possible that some of the D.N.B. men whose education is unknown attended one or other of the public schools, perhaps without leaving even a surname in the school records²⁸. The number of D.N.B. men trained in these schools is probably underestimated in both Table I and II.²⁹

The success of the public schools in the eighteenth century was largely a result of the support they increasingly received from the higher strata in society. The lesser part they appear to have played in the education of northern boys may be a reflection of social differences between the north and the rest of England rather than the simple consequence of geography.

B. The Grammar Schools.

The most striking variation between the national and local results occurs in the columns which enumerate the boys trained in grammar schools. Hans found that all the grammar schools of England together produced less of the eighteenth century elite than the nine public schools. Only 16% of the men in D.N.B. were educated in a grammar school compared with 26% in public schools, and 32% at home. Great emphasis naturally was placed on this surprising result. "It is noteworthy that 170 grammar schools produced only 594 of our selected men, whilst nine great public schools, 787, or the four leading schools..602. Thirty-nine grammar schools have produced only one man each for the whole century and 47 two men each; only 42 schools produced 5 or more. These schools could hardly be called the nurseries of the elite."³⁰ This conclusion is completely invalid for the north of England. Of the 289 men in the northern group 110 were educated at a grammar school in the north of England and a further 19 at grammar schools.

elsewhere. Thus over 40% of the local men in D.N.B. had their final education below university level at a grammar school. The public schools with only 22 such men provided a mere 8% of the total.

It is at once clear that in the north of England the grammar school remained the nursery of the elite. Their importance is further clarified if account is taken of all the schools which took part in the education of the D.N.B. group, rather than of only those which trained the boys just before university. Table III contains the results of examination of the select group under this principle. This shows that the grammar schools were frequently used by D.N.B. men who later went on to Public School or Academy. The latter establishments seem to have been uniformly final places of education before university. No boy from the northern D.N.B. group went to a grammar school after attendance at either. More surprisingly none of the group went on from academy to public school, or vice-versa.

The great emphasis in the north upon grammar school education was not the result of the presence there of one or two successful schools. Although two of the schools in that area, Newcastle and Durham, did educate as many D.N.B. men as the three most outstanding grammar schools noted by Hans³¹, there were eight other such schools which trained more than three of the D.N.B. group. The two most successful grammar schools, by the criteria of number of pupils to appear in D.N.B., Newcastle and Durham were both on the eastern side of the Pennines. However, with the exception of Houghton-le-Spring G.S., all the other schools listed in Table III are in the west and are spread between Cumberland and Westmorland. It would seem that grammar school education was attractive to parents all over the north.³²

Despite the small number of D.N.B. men adduced from the north the contrast in the role played by the grammar schools in Tables I and II is so great that it would seem that some features peculiar to the area, whether they be social, economic, historical or educational, must have been present to

TABLE III (pp 10, 13, 17)

The contribution towards the education of Northern DNB men by various schools

| | Oxford | Cambridge | Edinburgh | Other Scottish Universities | T.C.D. | Dissenting Academies | Foreign Universities | Profession | Totals of columns 1-8 | Some group totals |
|-------------------------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------------|--------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Newcastle G.S. | 8 | 3 | 3 | - | 1 | - | 1 | 7 | 23 | |
| Durham | 6 | 6 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 6 | 19 | |
| Kendal G.S. | 3 | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | 12 | |
| Appleby G.S. | 3 | 2 | - | 1 | - | - | - | 4 | 10 | |
| St. Bee's G.S. | 4 | 3 | 1 | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 10 | |
| Carlisle G.S. | 2 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | 7 | |
| Cockermouth G.S. | - | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - | 4 | |
| Houghton-le-spr. | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4 | |
| Kirkby | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | |
| Lonsdale G.S. | - | 3 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 4 | |
| Heversham G.S. | 2 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4 | |
| Other local GS | 7 | 8 | 6 | 3 | - | 3 | 3 | 15 | 45 | total local G.S. 42 |
| Sedbergh | 2 | 4 | - | 1 | - | - | 1 | 1 | 9 | |
| Hawkshead G.S. | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | |
| Other GS outside the north | - | 7 | 1 | 1 | - | 2 | - | 5 | 16 | Total other GS 29 |
| Eton | 2 | 7 | - | 1 | - | - | - | 2 | 12 | |
| Westminster | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4 | |
| Other public S | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 6 | Total public sch. 22 |
| Quaker/Baptist S | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 7 | 8 | |
| Academies outside area | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | 8 | 12 | |
| Local public S | 4 | 1 | 6 | 2 | - | - | 1 | 17 | 31 | |
| Village & charity schools | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 9 | 9 | |

Table III (contd.)

As every school attended by northern DNB man is counted the vertical totals are meaningless. Those men listed in columns 7 - 10 of Table I have been omitted from Table III. Autodidacts and home tutored boys by definition did not attend another place of education; Catholics did not apparently stray from their own educational path³²; and where the education of a boy is unknown he could not of course be enumerated.

create such deviation from the mean, if the national average can be accepted as valid.

C. The dissenting academies.

There were only two major dissenting academies in the north in the eighteenth century, those of Dixon at Whitehaven and Rotherham at Kendal. These alone were successful enough to bring the number of D.N.B. pupils up to roughly the same level as that of the national survey; roughly the same proportion also went on to the universities from these academies. The importance of dissent in northern education cannot however be judged solely on the basis of the pupils of these two academies. In the first place a majority of their D.N.B. alumni were not born in the four northern counties but in Yorkshire and Lancashire. To this extent they were centres of education in the area rather than academies for the local dissenters. Secondly, dissenters played a prominent part in private education in the north. Eight D.N.B. men were educated at dissenting schools. Dissenters were also active in adult education, lecturing and the production of academic texts in the north.³³ In so far as they concern dissent the figures from the restricted population of Table I indicate that it was active in the north, without in any way illustrating its part in education.

D. Catholic schools and colleges.

There was a strong Catholic community in the north in this period, especially in the north-east. The Returns of Papists collected for the House of Lords in 1705 and 1767 show that only the Lancashire area surpassed the north-east in the number of Catholic families resident. These reports also establish the presence of a few Catholic teachers, and others are known through Anglican records. However, as in the rest of England, known Catholic schools were rare, and none of these apparently contributed to the education of the Catholics in D.N.B. All of these followed the pattern of schooling normal to affluent English Catholics at this time. They

received their earliest education at home and then went abroad to Catholic schools and colleges on the continent.³⁴ Most of them entered the priesthood and returned to England when their studies were completed.

E. Village schools.

There were very few parishes in the north of England in the eighteenth century which did not possess some kind of endowed school. Some of these were grammar schools, founded as such, teaching a classical curriculum and the regular concern of those interested in the progress of grammar schools such as Wase, Carlisle or the Taunton Commission.³⁵ The majority however were more humble schools which catered for the children of their own neighbourhood. It was quite common in the north for such schools to offer classics as well as English and elementary arithmetic. The Bishop of Carlisle wrote to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in 1717 to enthuse over the new charity foundations for the education of the poor. He remarked in that letter that "There's hardly a parish in my diocese where there is not a grammar school slenderly endowed, and in some of the largest there are often two or three of that kind, in all which the poor masters take upon them to teach Latin, and sometimes Greek, which raises the spirit of the children above the fortunes of their parents and very frequently to their own ruin. If all these schools, excepting one or two in each deanery, could be brought by Act of Parliament under the rules of the charity schools, the masters being only licensed to instruct their children in the church catechism and other English books and in writing and accounts, by this means I am of the opinion that both the Greater and Lesser Schools would be much more useful than they are now."³⁶

Despite the great number of these schools, which can hardly have been a phenomenon peculiar to the north, they apparently played very little part in the education of the men of D.N.B. Hans mentions only that "In England or Ireland Parish or Village Schools produced selected men in exceptional cases

only, so that we could not even make a separate column for these isolated examples.³⁷ He contrasts this with the important part played in Scottish education by the parish schools there. At first glance the evidence of the northern D.N.B. men supports this conclusion. Only nine are enumerated in Table III as gaining from this form of education. However schools are only classified as village schools in that table if they were strictly endowed non-classical. Any endowed school which regularly taught classics is included as a local grammar school, even if the master was taking private pupils for his own profit. As Hans found only about 220 grammar schools to have contributed to the education of his D.N.B. group many of the schools classified in Table III as local grammar schools must have been allocated elsewhere in his figures.³⁸ Certainly there are problems in classification between grammar, endowed non-classical and private classical schools.³⁹ For the present purposes however where an endowment existed and the master is known to have taught classics that school is classified as a grammar school.

The evidence of the north then substantiates Hans' criticism of the English parish school, as long as it is strictly defined as endowed non-classical, but many schools which were endowed and were clearly not classed by Hans as grammar schools contributed to the education of the northern men. To facilitate comparison of the northern and national results endowed schools which were not established grammar schools have been counted with private schools in Table I.

F. Private schools and academies.

A small number of the selected men from the north had some part of the whole of their education in private academies outside the north, usually in London. These have been separated in Table I from pupils of other private schools because there was little similarity between the multilateral academy of the capital, which trained upper class children, and the local private school. The latter catered for a much lower class and often also

provided adult education for artisans and clerks. At the same time it is well established that some masters of private schools taught children of the upper classes. Some such as John Howard and Peter Nelson taught subjects outside the normal curriculum to the local grammar school boys. Such an arrangement may have been impromptu or the result of an agreement with the headmaster of the endowed school as it was in Nelson's case. Other private teachers combined their school with an active teaching life as a private tutor for the wealthy. William Turner and John Bruce supplemented their incomes in this way.

The only private teacher to train more than one of the D.M.B. men of the north, Charles Hutton, did both. He taught the boys from Newcastle G.S. and gave private tuition to the local gentry. His case illustrates how difficult it is to separate private tutors from private schoolmasters in any tabulation of the schooling of a large group such as the D.M.B. men.

G. Private tutors and Home education.

Hans found that "In the eighteenth century the role of home and private tutors was more important than any group of schools..937 out of 3,500 were trained at home or prepared by private tutors for the Universities."⁴⁰ It must be made at once clear that this classification includes quite different forms of education. A large proportion of the highest classes in England kept their sons at home and employed private tutors. This fashion was followed in the eighteenth century by the richer of the merchant class. It did not spread lower in society until the very end of the century and the early years of the next.⁴¹ Another group to have their sons educated at home were the clergy, but in their case the reason was one of economy rather than preference. Many clergy were themselves teachers, either of private schools or in endowed schools. These naturally chose to save by training their own children. Finally those

sons of the lower classes in society who attained a position in D.N.B. were often kept at home. In their case however the cause was poverty and the need of the family for their labour even in their early years. These men were not educated but rather trained themselves.⁴²

It seemed somewhat unnatural to group together these three kinds of education and maintain that the final total showed the importance of the role of home tutor. In Table I they have been separated; boys taught by their father in his school are enumerated under the kind of school he taught; autodidacts are listed alone; and only those boys whose parents chose to have them educated at home or by a tutor are so counted.

There is also a further reason to treat with caution the numbers Hans accredited to private and home education. Included in his total of 967 children so educated are "about 200 who proceeded to the universities, but whose education is not stated in the D.N.B." Hans took this to mean as a rule home education. There is some justification for exaggerating the known part played by tutors in this fashion. Of all the forms of education available the tutor was the least likely to leave some record of his activity. When a teacher who acted as tutor did leave some details of his pupils it becomes at once apparent that many more children benefited from this kind of education than can ever be enumerated. William Turner mentioned six such pupils in his register as being under his private care before 1801; although three of these went on to Cambridge and another to Durham school no note of Turner's part in their education appears in either of the relevant registers.⁴³ The chance survival of an old school term card showed that John Bruce was acting as private tutor to 12 families just after the turn of the century.⁴⁴

However the failure of D.N.B. to detail a boy's education is but a fragile peg upon which to hang the conclusion that most of these men were

educated at home. The instance of Edward Delaval can hardly be an isolated exception. This scientist is stated by Hans to have been educated at home or in private schools, presumably on the grounds that no schooling is mentioned in D.N.B. He actually entered Westminster school in April 1738 at the age of eight and did not leave until 1747 when he went up to Cambridge university.⁴⁵ The case of Studholme Hodgson has already been noted. As a soldier and with no educational career mentioned in D.N.B. he would not be included in Hans' elite. In fact he was educated at Carlisle G.S. and should therefore be added. There is in fact little discrepancy between the figures for home education in Tables I and II; only the arrangement is different.

H. Universities.

Whilst the most striking difference between the national and local results lies in the part played by the grammar schools, almost as remarkable are the proportions that made use of university training. Hans found that almost three-quarters of his group were university alumni, exclusive of those entering dissenting academies and Catholic colleges. In the north the proportion of men going on to university is just over 50%. The simplest explanation of this variation would be to suppose a deficiency in the number of boys going on to higher education from the north. In fact however entrance figures to Oxford and Cambridge show that the four northern counties sent up at least the proportion of pupils commensurate with their population in the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ The causes of the difference appear to be connected with more complex social and economic factors, which will be discussed when the social composition of the northern group is examined.

It is possible however to indicate immediately one reason for the smaller percentage of university men in the local group. The deeper study which

can be made of a smaller and restricted group naturally reveals the educational background of some men whose youthful careers were unknown to the compilers of D.N.B. This would tend to correct the bias in favour of university alumni which is created by Hans' method of excluding certain groups if their educational background is unknown. More is known about the school education of university entrants than the rest of the population because certain colleges required their alumni to register their place of education. A majority of Oxford and Cambridge colleges did not follow this practice but those that did so were amongst the largest and most important. This suggests that the figure of 50% is perhaps a better indication of the proportion of the intellectual elite who enjoyed university training.

The proportions going to the English universities from the north differ in detail from the national group; more northern D.N.B. men attended Cambridge than Oxford. This is a slightly surprising result in view of the greater numbers at the latter in the eighteenth century. However the numbers of alumni involved are not large and in fact more men from the north did enter Oxford in the eighteenth century than went to Cambridge.⁴⁷

Conclusion.

It appears from comparison of Tables I, II and III that in certain respects the national trends in the education of the elite, if these are accurately assessed from D.N.B. are not valid for the north of England. In particular there was not the same emphasis upon the use of public schools and home education. Rather the grammar school seems to have been still the most frequent and most successful form of educational establishment in the north. Less of the outstanding men of the north attended university than would be expected from the national figures. Reasons have been put forward for some of these anomalies. However the choice of a mode of education was determined in the eighteenth century by social

and economic factors to such an extent that peculiarities of the area may explain all the variation. It is necessary therefore to examine the social background of the northern men and to compare this with that of the national group.

Social composition of the selected group from the north.

The social background of the national group was examined in as many cases as possible by Hans. The results he obtained from England and Wales are summarized in Table V. A similar examination of the northern men produced the figures in Table IV. Certain significant differences appear from a comparison of these tables; differences which help to explain at least in part the variations from the national pattern in educational choice shown by the north.

If these results in Table V are roughly grouped together into upper class, professionals and the rest the proportions of these three are 32%, 34% and 34% respectively. In the north greater weight is found on the lower end of the social scale. There the proportions are 20%, 37% and 43%. In detail certain classes contribute proportionately more pupils to the D.N.B. in the north than nationally. Thus the sons of farmers, members of the medical profession, clergy, and above all, craftsmen are all more strongly represented in the northern group. On the other hand, the sons of the upper classes and of merchants are less well represented. These results offer one reason for the comparative neglect of public schools and private academies by northern parents. The greater number of parents in the lower social groups would be likely to increase the use of local schools, and particularly local free schools for reasons of economy. The proportion in the lower income range is in fact underestimated in Table IV. The largest contribution to the total of children from professional families comes from the clergy group. Many of these were very poorly rewarded for their work and enjoyed an income

TABLE IV (pp. 18-19)

The social background of the northern elite

| | Schooling | | | | | | Universities | | | | Catholic Totals | |
|-------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|--------|--------------|-----------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----|
| | Educated at home | Public School | Grammar and Village | Dissenting Academy | Private School | Totals | Oxford | Cambridge | T.C.D. AND Scottish | Foreign Protestant | | |
| Peers | 4 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 7 |
| Baronets | 1 | 5 | 17 | 1 | 4 | 28 | 9 | 12 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 31 |
| Gentry | 1 | 4 | 23 | 2 | 1 | 31 | 7 | 13 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 26 |
| Clergy | 7 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 13 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Teachers | 0 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Lawyers | 0 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 3 | 15 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 13 |
| Medics | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Other professions | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 8 | 6 | 46 | 3 | 5 | 68 | 13 | 25 | 9 | 1 | 0 | 48 |
| Services | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Merchants | 1 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Farmers | 0 | 1 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 19 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| Craftsmen | 0 | 0 | 28 | 2 | 6 | 36 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 17 |
| Workers | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Grand Total | 15 | 18 | 117 | 10 | 26 | 186 | 32 | 52 | 28 | 4 | 9 | 125 |

It was not possible to arrive at estimates of the social background of 103 of the northern D.N.B.

TABLE V (pp 18 - 19)

A summary of the social composition of the national elite (Hans Table III)

| | Educated At Home | Public School | Grammar School | Dissenting Academies | Private Schools | Totals |
|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------|
| Peers | 40 | 109 | 3 | 0 | 8 | 160 |
| Baronets) Clergy) | 199 | 198 | 95 | 11 | 50 | 553 |
| Clergy | 133 | 131 | 127 | 62 | 23 | 476 |
| Teachers | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 28 |
| Lawyers | 13 | 33 | 19 | 1 | 5 | 71 |
| Medics | 34 | 34 | 29 | 6 | 17 | 120 |
| Other Professions | 7 | 21 | 11 | 1 | 15 | 55 |
| Total Professions | 191 | 223 | 191 | 75 | 70 | 750 |
| Services | 14 | 34 | 22 | 4 | 9 | 83 |
| Merchants | 62 | 77 | 110 | 48 | 64 | 361 |
| Farmers | 41 | 7 | 45 | 19 | 22 | 134 |
| Craftsmen | 42 | 22 | 43 | 21 | 40 | 168 |
| Workers | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Grand total | 597 | 697 | 530 | 206 | 283 | 2313 |

Figures for Scotland and Ireland in Hans's table are omitted. The university totals therefore were not valid for the columns above.

more on a par with a craftsman than the other professional groups. The clergy of the north were particularly unfortunate in this respect.⁴⁸

The greater weight on the lower end of the social scale is almost the only difference between the patterns of Tables IV and V. Despite the small numbers employed in Table IV there is considerable similarity in the educational choice displayed by each social group. It was the upper classes in the north which chose home tutors and public schools; the professional classes and to a lesser extent the gentry made use of grammar schools; private schools were patronised by all strata in society as they were nationally. The only other striking contrast between the national pattern and that of the north apart from the social balance is in the education of the sons of farmers and craftsmen. In the north these children normally attended a local grammar school whereas in England as a whole they appear to have made considerable use of private schools or in many cases to have remained at home.

The predominance amongst the northern D.N.B. men of the lower classes helps to explain some of the divergence between the trends in educational choice observed there and those produced by the wider survey. However it is also apparent that the national trends produced by Hans are of little use in the study of eighteenth century education in this region. This raises the question of the validity of national trends for any provincial area. It is quite possible that the north was exceptional in its deviance; that it lacked in some manner the educational facilities available elsewhere and that the social pattern was abnormal. If however closer examination revealed that the north afforded ample opportunity for private and public education as well as grammar schools, and that it was not an economic backwater, then the usefulness of the national averages would be in doubt. There is a clear prima facie case from the northern results to question

whether the group of D.N.B. men studied by Hans, or for that matter, the northern D.N.B. group, can provide a valid picture of the education of the intellectual elite of any century. Hans points out that "the picture presented by the selected men of D.N.B. admittedly is not a true picture of the general distribution of educated men in the eighteenth century. The selection accentuates the position of the privileged groups and if we could tabulate all educated men in the eighteenth century the percentages for the public schools and for the two groups of peers and gentry would be much smaller."⁴⁹

The present study is an attempt to so tabulate the educated men of the north with the intention of establishing to what extent the education of D.N.B. men is a useful guide to national trends. As in the national study cognizance will be taken of all men whose secondary⁵⁰ education can be traced and of all schoolmasters no matter how little is known of them. The wider basis of selection of this local group should reduce the emphasis on the privileged classes, whilst quite eliminating any form of selective bias which may have influenced the compilers of D.N.B.⁵¹ The pattern of northern eighteenth century education which will be revealed^e will still be biased towards the upper classes as the basic material is the group of educated men⁵². Within this limitation only is the present research a study of trends in education in the north of England in the eighteenth century.

NOTES

1. For example Morris, Stroud and Hubbard.
2. Omitted from that bibliography however was a very important general survey of eighteenth century education, that of Dobbs.
3. Boyd pp 280-1, Carpenter pp 46-7, Tuberville pp 160-1. The most recent study of English education as a whole was published in 1964, before the local material discussed below became available. Armytage still devoted only a small proportion of his book to the eighteenth century, although private schools and the impact of science are more emphasised than in earlier works.
4. Vincent 2, Oakeshott 1 and 2, Tompson.
5. Sanderson, Harding, Robson.
6. Law, J.A. Harrison 2, Wynne and the theses relevant to education in Leicestershire which are detailed in Simon 2.
7. Heal, E.G.R. Taylor 1. The volume by the latter author which dealt with the eighteenth century did not appear until 1966.
8. Mingay pp 13-4.
9. This neglect of private education was common to local studies as well as more general texts. A thorough survey of educational records extant in the north-east, made in 1952, devoted only a two paragraph appendix to the private schoolmaster. Pococks.
10. Hans Table I p 18.
11. Because the sources Hans used laid great weight upon the successful men of the eighteenth century his book had little relevance to the charity schools or other forms of what would be now termed elementary education.
12. Hans Table I and p 20.
13. See below p. 278. Most are listed by Jacobs.
14. Yet these sources provide an essential supplement to the biographies in D.N.B. Foster's register of Oxford alumni is limited in its information about the educational antecedents of matriculands and can be assisted by the Rawlinson MS. Edinburgh university registers supply virtually no biographical data but MS in the university library and the printed MD theses are of value. School MSS might provide even more additional information but only a thorough search of hundreds of schools would reveal how much. A mere scribble in a school book may supply a gap in D.N.B. See for example Studholme Hodgson in Appendix I and VII p 172.
15. See below Ch IV pp. 90-91 for a caveat.
16. Private schoolmasters were occasionally licensed. See John Stirling.

17. Only York PL of the libraries consulted had any kind of subject index to its eighteenth century newspapers.
18. Hans pp 16-7.
19. Hans excludes criminals and freaks. Thus Fletcher Christian is not counted in the tables of this chapter although his education is known.
20. Hans p 17.
21. Henceforth these four counties will be taken to comprise the north of England.
22. A summary of Hans' Table I appears here as Table II.
23. Hans p 18f.
24. Hans p 18f.
25. Hans p 19. The figure rises to nearly one third if all the British Isles are included.
26. E. Mack passim See also Ch IX pp. 277-9.
27. Hans Table II p 19.
28. See Ch IX pp. 278.
29. See p.16 below and note 45.
30. Hans p 20.
31. Hans p 20.
32. See Ch. IV
33. See for example Isaac Thompson, John Wilson and John Horsley. All references in text or notes to individuals indicate an entry in Appendix I.
34. The large proportion of Catholics given in Table I as entering directly to the professions does not in this case indicate lack of higher education, as Catholic schools and colleges are grouped together in one column.
35. The problem of defining a grammar school is deliberately avoided here, being deferred to Ch. IV.
36. S.P.C.L. Alb. Letter of 4.11.1717. If this comment appears somewhat patronising see Ebenezer Hepburn. H387.
37. Hans p 30.

38. Some 43 schools classed here as grammar schools contributed to the education of the northern DNB men. It seems unlikely that 2/11ths of English grammar schools contributing to DNB should be in the north.
39. See chapters IV and VI. The established grammar schools could also be perverted by the head master until they took on the nature of private academies. Wallis 2.
40. Hans p 23. Note that this is a misreading for 967 from p 18.
41. Musgrove 2 p 169.
42. Hans p 28.
43. Thomas William Carr, William Croudace, Charles and William Ord, and John Henry Rigg.
44. J.B. Williamson p 64.
45. Russell Barker, Welford I. Hans' figure of home educated pupils are hardly sufficient basis to support a claim that the 18c saw a great movement towards greater parental responsibility in education. Uncritical use of his percentages renders dubious any conclusion from them. Musgrove. 1. p 2, 12, 17.
46. See Chapter III p. 62 . Entrants to the Scottish universities cannot be calculated. The registers and lists of alumni have many gaps, and where extant rarely provide sufficient biographical data to trace the student back to his place of origin.
47. See Chapter III p. 62.
48. See Chapter II p. 45.
49. Hans p 31. Another valid criticism of the use of D.N.B. men to examine the efficiency of various forms of education was made long before Hans came to write. Given that many of the men in D.N.B. were of genius quality it must be considered that their success would have occurred irrespective of their education. In this view only the ordinary man can be used to assess the success or failure of his education. Musgrove 1. p 13.
50. In the modern sense.
51. Some groups and occupations are clearly over-represented in D.N.B. Authorship in some fields, such as theology, provides a common entree for men of minor stature. On the other hand certain trades and professions appear to have been neglected. A few omissions amongst northern worthies may substantiate this point. See in Appendix I references to Isaac Thompson, John Banks, John Fryer, John son of Caleb Rotheram, Matthew White Ridley and John C. Curwen.
52. See the definition of inclusion at the beginning of appendix I.

Chapter II

The north of England in the eighteenth century

Educational methods are necessarily an expression of the needs of the society in which they have evolved. The institutions of education which gained the approval of parents in the north of England in the eighteenth century did so because they provided the kind of training sought by groups in that specific society. Examination of the north's contribution to D.N.B. in that period has indicated that the outstanding men of that area were not educated along the same lines as the national group investigated by Hans. It is essential to ascertain something of the nature of northern society in order to estimate how much of this divergence from the national pattern was the result of peculiarities of social structure in the north. The results quoted in Chapter I provide a prima facie case to suppose that the forms of education had developed in a different manner in the north from the rest of the country. If on the other hand it can be established that the north enjoyed all the forms of education, private schools, tutors, academies both classical and technical, that abounded elsewhere then the validity of the national results would be gravely questioned.

If general trends are to be traced in the progress of northern education in the eighteenth century it is necessary to have first some indication of the degree of homogeneity of the area. The four northern counties of England are not a geographical unit; on the contrary the dividing line of the Pennines creates a sharp dichotomy between east and west. Yet at the same time there is much more identity of interests between the north-east and north-west coastal areas than between either of these and their agrarian hinterlands. It is not to be expected that the same type of educational development would occur over such a diverse area.

Something must also be said of the social, economic and geographical features of the north to show that it was comparable with the rest of provincial England rather than an isolated backwater. Only then can trends apparent in the north be given a national significance as opposed to a purely local one. Therefore the first section of the present chapter will be concerned with those more permanent characteristics of the locality which had effect upon the nature of educational provision, such as population, topography, industry, agriculture, religion, class and social institutions. The recent political history of the north from the late 17c on to 1800 also impinged sometimes upon educational development.¹ It is not however intended in any way to offer a "view of the north"; only those features of society which were directly relevant to the growth of education will be described. Detailed enumeration will be limited to those figures, such as population or the number of dissenters in the north, which will be part of later discussion of developments in education in that area.

The rest of this introductory chapter will be devoted to the very impermanent materials which make up the real basis of this study; the pupils and teachers who came from or worked in the north of England in the eighteenth century. Inevitably studies in the history of education tend to concentrate upon the growth of institutions, schools and colleges, societies and libraries, newspapers and journals, rather than upon the transient figures who made up these bodies. This is particularly true of those parts of the educational system which were administered by self-perpetuating governors. These tended to leave records for posterity which concentrated upon the fabric of the institution rather than its personalities. Private schools and the illegal make-shifts used by dissenters and Roman Catholics on the other hand left little record of their buildings or finances but rather more about the teachers. Yet in the study of even such ancient bodies as the grammar schools it becomes increasingly clear that the personality of the master was of far

greater importance than the governors or the foundation statutes. It would be an exaggeration, of course, to claim that a few men of great ability could change the educational preferences of the society around them.² However a brief mastership could have a profound effect upon the future of an individual school.³

The schoolmasters made the decisive contribution towards the development of education in northern society. They and their pupils were also a very large part of that society. Measurement of groups in terms of numbers, wealth, religion or density can never give a complete description of their society. Anthropological studies such as those of Margaret Mead have shown that there is also much to be learnt from the individuals in society. Knowledge of the behavioural extremists of a group can be of value in setting the limits to the variation from the mean that society will tolerate. When they survive the full details of an individual's education add considerably to the bare lists of alumni at schools and universities. Therefore the people of the north, schoolmasters and pupils, will be the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

1. The Area

(A) Population

The greatest originality in Hans' work on eighteenth century trends in education was to introduce a quantitative measurement to the study of the various types of education available at that time. In a local study it is feasible to extend this method by numerical examination of teachers and pupils. However if the success or failure of northern education is to be judged in quantitative fashion against national results on some such scale as university entrance or prominence in D.N.B., then it is essential to have at least estimates of the proportion of the national population living in that area in the eighteenth century. Estimates are all that can be hoped for,

as the first national census did not take place until 1801. It is that census which must provide the basis for any retrospective calculation into the previous century. The aggregate results for the northern counties of the 1801 census are detailed below, with the national total appended.⁴

| | Durham | Northumberland | Cumberland | Westmorland | All north |
|-----------------------|---------|----------------|------------|-------------|-----------|
| Population | 149,384 | 168,078 | 117,230 | 40,805 | 475,497 |
| % of National Results | 1.65 | 1.85 | 1.3 | 0.45 | 5.25 |

The total population of England and Wales was given as 9,192,810.

In 1801 roughly 1/20th of the population of England and Wales lived in the four northern counties. About 2/3rds of the northern population lived on the eastern side of the Pennines. These figures, which are themselves known to be inaccurate, have been used, together with such earlier totals as can be traced from parish registers, burial lists, local population surveys and tax returns, to make estimates of the English population before 1801.⁵

Only the first of these estimators dared to go on to make estimates of the county figures before 1801. Rickman's county totals are known to be even more inaccurate than his national estimates; however they do illustrate two trends which are accepted in local studies of population in the eighteenth century, even though these dispute Rickman's totals. The county figures are quoted to demonstrate these trends.

| | Est.Pop. 1670 | % of G.T. 1670 | Est.pop. 1700 | % of G.T. 1700 | Est.Pop. 1750 | % of G.T. 1750 |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Durham | 122,496 | 2.0 | 114,272 | 2.0 | 139,799 | 2.5 |
| Northumberland | 119,685 | 1.9 | 120,006 | 2.1 | 149,385 | 2.7 |
| Cumberland | 74,981 | 1.3 | 91,421 | 1.6 | 87,109 | 1.6 |
| Westmorland | 44,897 | 0.8 | 40,685 | 0.7 | 38,634 | 0.65 |
| England | | | | | | |
| Wales | 5,773,646 | | 5,653,061 | | 6,066,041 | |

These figures are extremely tentative. The north-western totals are probably overestimates. Using surveys conducted in that area in the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries G.P. Jones concluded that the population of Cumberland in 1700 was closer to 65,000, whilst that of Westmorland was around 30,000.⁶ Irrespective of the numerical discrepancies between these estimates certain points of agreement are apparent. It is accepted that the population of the north increased in the eighteenth century, and that the rate of increase speeded up after the middle of the century. All estimates further agree that the increase in Westmorland and large parts of Cumberland was well below that of the country as a whole. For present purposes it seems fairly safe to conclude that the north of England was inhabited by about one twentieth of the population of England Wales in 1801, and that this proportion was slightly lower than it had been during the previous century. Corroboration of this latter suggestion is provided by the returns of the hearth-books of 1690, where the number of houses given for the northern counties comes to roughly one eighteenth of the national total.⁷

The 1801 census is also invaluable for the indications it gives of the way in which the population of the north was spread at the end of the century. In the broadest terms it shows that the two north-eastern counties had similar populations of around 150,000 each, Cumberland was further behind with about 120,000, whilst Westmorland was sparsely populated with just over 40,000. No estimates of eighteenth century population have been found which suggest that the ratios between these groups had changed radically in the hundred years before 1800; however in view of the totals of entrants to the universities from the four counties, to be quoted in the next chapter, it might seem worthwhile to support the normal estimate of relative populations on the two sides of the Pennines with an independent yardstick. If the population of the north-east was roughly twice that of the north-west throughout the eighteenth century then it would seem likely that the former area would provide roughly the same relative proportion of entrants to any form of national body, as long as it had no regional bias. Entrance to the

Inns of Court provides a comparable standard. From 1700 to 1810 Gray's Inn receive 189 entrants from the north: 60 from Durham, 66 from Northumberland, 40 from Cumberland and 23 from Westmorland. The Middle Temple in the same period grossed 157 northern entrants, in proportions of 60, 59, 26 and 12 respectively. The proportions entering Lincoln's Inn and the Inner Temple are very similar.⁸ These figures substantiate the accepted ratio of population between the north-east and north-west of England.

The county division between the four northern counties is rather more meaningful than those between most counties of England. The Pennines form a real barrier between east and west, whilst there is a national boundary to the north. The mountainous character of Westmorland makes it different from the other three. There are geographical ties between that county and Lancashire to the south, and especially to Furness in the west. The communications provided by the Lune valley and by Windermere help to account for the large number of boys from Westmorland and south-western Cumberland who attended the grammar schools at Sedbergh and Hawkshead.⁹ On the eastern coast the Tees was not in itself a formidable barrier between Durham and the south, but ecclesiastical boundaries combined here with county boundaries, as they did not in the west, to preserve the unity of the north-east.

For any judgment of the adequacy of educational provision it is more important to have data on the main population centres and their relative sizes than to take cognizance of county boundaries.¹⁰

In 1801, as it had been for centuries, Newcastle was easily the largest centre of population in the north. With over 34,000 inhabitants it was $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as large as its nearest rival, Sunderland. Nevertheless as it possessed only about $\frac{1}{14}$ th of the northern population it did not absolutely dominate the economy of the area. There were communities of over 7,000 at Sunderland, South Shields, Durham, Gateshead, Berwick, Carlisle and Whitehaven.

Because of the complications of parish boundaries it is not possible to give exact populations for towns, even in 1801; moreover it would be mis-leading to judge as a community centre only a sizeable town, as a conglomeration of smaller towns, such as existed in southern Durham, could make up an important centre. The main general centres of population are shown on map 2. Apart from Newcastle itself, which was the most concentrated area in terms of inhabitants, there were six well populated areas. North Durham, comprising a triangle from Gateshead to Whickham and on to Durham itself, included the populous townships of Chester-le-Street and Birtley, and had a total of about 60,000 inhabitants. The north-east coast from Tynemouth down to Sunderland had about 51,000 inhabitants. South Durham, a quadrilateral between Barnard Castle, Darlington, Stockton and Sedgefield, although it lacked a major town, had a population of over 30,000. The north-west coast from Maryport to Whitehaven and inland as far as Cockermouth was the most populated area on the other side of the Pennines with about 45,000. Smaller but still considerable centres existed around Carlisle, about 20,000 and Penrith, roughly 15,000. The market towns of Alnwick, Morpeth, Hexham, Kendal, Berwick and Kirkby Stephen had much smaller resident populations. However whilst emphasising these important concentrations of people it must be remembered that the majority of the inhabitants of the north still lived in small communities, many of which were remote from a town centre. Most of Northumberland, western Durham, southern and eastern Cumberland and almost all of Westmorland was very sparsely populated.

The pattern of habitation presented by the census of 1801 is not in itself adequate as a description of the spread of northern population in the eighteenth century. Real changes had occurred in the previous hundred years; in particular two of the most important of the centres extant in 1801 were eighteenth century growths. The survey of Cumberland made by Denton in 1688, showed that the area around Whitehaven and Workington was at that time relatively undeveloped. Whitehaven itself had a population of just

over 1,000, Workington slightly less, even though the former was already one of the four greatest coal ports in England.¹¹ Both of these towns had over 6,000 inhabitants by 1801. Maryport, another important town in the north-west coast complex by 1801, was entirely an eighteenth century creation. The north-east coast too expanded into a major population centre in the eighteenth century. In 1681 the combined populations of Wearmouth and Sunderland were around 2,500; in 1719 the population of Sunderland had grown so much that a new parish had to be provided for the town. By 1781 the two towns had roughly 21,000 people living in them.¹² The late growth of these two areas accounts for the peculiarities in educational provision that both display. Despite their wealth and importance these two areas were very poorly supplied with educational endowments, especially of a classical nature. Instead private forms of education flourished in the absence of endowed competition.¹³

Apart from these two special areas the general picture of the spread of population in the north presented by the 1801 census seems to be fairly reliable as a guide to eighteenth century distribution, although the size of individual communities had changed, most of them increasing. Certainly there were parishes that did not follow this trend¹⁴ but such surveys of the north as do survive from the eighteenth century show general growth towards the 1801 figures.¹⁵

Economy

There is an obvious connection between the size and distribution of the population and the development of schools. Perhaps less immediately apparent, although just as important, is the influence upon educational development exerted by the physical geography of an area and the economy that area supports. The ancient agricultural economy of most of the north imposed its needs upon the schools, masters and pupils. Country schoolmasters frequently complained of the seasonal wastage of their schools in harvest time. The credit and barter system essential as a result of the long-term profits of agriculture weighed on the teacher too. He had to

share in the labours of his neighbours, either by farming in a small way himself or by accepting part of his wages in kind. "Whittlegait", a system of paying the master by boarding him out in rota amongst the parents' houses, was common from Cumberland to Holy Island. The poorer agricultural areas, such as Weardale or western Northumberland, did not encourage collective settlement in considerable villages, but rather led to widespread and solitary farms and a small number of hamlets. There the school drew its pupils from so distant homes that many pupils were forced to leave off attendance in the winter because of the physical difficulties of travel.¹⁶

There is reason to believe that the quality and duration of education available in the countryside varied with the prosperity of the area. Research in Cambridgeshire has suggested that schools were less regularly kept in the poorer localities. Such areas sent fewer boys on to university and the general literary level may have been lower there. Clearly there was less likelihood of the sons of a farm labourer continuing their education into their mid-teens than in the case of his employer's children.¹⁷ The economic situation of the family normally set definite limits to the extent of schooling possible for the children. Farm labourers were by no means the only group to suffer under economic pressure; yeomen or statesmen and the village schoolmaster himself all had to provide for life before providing for learning. Jonathon Boucher's father was the village schoolmaster at Blencogo in the 1740's. He was obviously eager for his son to receive a good education, as he eventually sent him to grammar schools at Bromfield and Wigton. Yet the son complained in his autobiography that he was still ignorant after nine years at Bromfield, but he did not blame the masters. Rather he saw as the cause of his ignorance the regularity with which his parents made him stay off school to work.

It would be wrong however to over estimate the control over the family wielded by the economy. Boucher did eventually receive a very full education

although he never went on to university. Determined parents could, by self sacrifice, keep their children at school for the improvement of their learning, even if the family was poor. There appear to have been many such parents in the north in the eighteenth century. "Boucher commented that "it was and still (in 1789) is much the fashion where I was born to bring up their children to be what they call scholars." John Robinson's diary illustrates the same attitude in the north-east, but in much more humble terms. After describing about nine years of his education he added "coming home and never minding the small learning yt I with much Pains to my selfe and Cost to my parents had gotten and indeed extraordinary was ye Care Love and pains yt my dear Mother alwas tooke on me if I had been well all was well with hir She wrought very sore one harvest and gave 4s6d for a bible for me- And alwas when any Schoole wages wanted for me She was alwas Ready and Willing to give or cause to be given.¹⁸"

The whole area, but especially the north-west, had a reputation for sending able and educated boys to the capital to work in counting houses, printing offices and general trade.¹⁹ The north was known too for the study of mathematics.²⁰ Such popular comments are interesting but hardly evidence. However it is true that the same area sent far more than its proportion of boys up to the English universities.²¹ There seem to have been many parents in the north who sought for their sons career in trade or the professions which would take them away from agriculture and away from the north. Such ambitions for the next generation are hardly unique but they do appear to have been especially prevalent in the remoter areas of the north at this time. In motives such as these may lie the reason for the survival of the grammar school in the north, which the education of the elite has indicated.

Agriculture and its influence upon education were too ancient to be the springs of great new trends in school. During the eighteenth century the

expansion in the population and the rise in prices combined to make efficient farming more profitable. This was the economic impulse behind the agrarian revolution. Farmers were encouraged to increase their crops and stock. Above all the value of new methods and new equipment came to be appreciated. Northern farmers proved eager to experiment. Cuthbert Clarke epitomised the mechanical aspect of this desire for knowledge, whilst John Christian Curwen was foremost amongst northern farmers in trying new methods. The greed for agricultural profit was a minor stimulus to education. The Culley brothers were sent to Dishley to learn the secrets of stockbreeding from Bakewell. The need for accurate surveyors for the large estates of the north-east brought mathematicians to the countryside, and these men often added to their income by teaching.²² However on the whole the skills demanded by agricultural employment remained the same as they had been for centuries. Consequently the educational needs of the country folk did not change. Industry and trade however expanded in the north from the late seventeenth century to such an extent that it can be considered in some ways a new influence on local society.²³ The coal trade in the north-east and the tobacco trade in the north-west were the two most important, but there was a multitude of lesser industries on both sides of the Pennines by 1800.²⁴ Naturally most of these were concentrated in the populous areas, although the existence of natural resources had led also to the development of profitable industries in areas as remote as Millom and Alston. The coal trade of the north-east expanded rapidly in the eighteenth century. Newcastle exported roughly 175,000 chaldrons of coal per year in the first decade of the century; in the 1770's this total had risen to 380,000 and by 1800 it had reached 475,000. The expansion of coal exports was even greater at Sunderland where there was less difficulty in loading. There the average of c1700, 65,000 chaldrons, had been multiplied by almost five. In 1800 the port exported over 300,000. The expansion in trade in the north-west was even more meteoric, if less securely based.²⁵ The growth of trade and industry affected education in a

number of ways. The formation of large groups of workmen in the employment of a few individuals encouraged a paternalistic attitude on a much wider scale than the old apprenticeship system had fostered.²⁶ At Winlaton and Swalwell the Crowleys assisted their workmen to set up a school and to employ both a minister and a schoolmaster. The Delavals maintained schoolmasters at and around Hartley for the benefit of their employees. The governors of Greenwich Hospital, who had gained control of the Derwentwater estates after 1715, supported schools around Alston for their workers in the lead mines. Even before the beginning of the century the ship owners of Whitehaven had combined to finance a private teacher of mathematics, on the contract that he would teach their sons and servants.²⁷

Whilst the schools at Winlaton, Alston and Hartley seem to have been of an elementary nature, akin to charity schools, and are only connected to industrial growth in that they were the by-products of new communities and far-sighted owners, the Whitehaven arrangement indicates a more profound effect of industry on education. As the processes of production became more complex greater skill and, above all, greater knowledge became necessary. As trade increased more and more skilled sailors were needed. As business itself multiplied more skilled book-keepers and accountants were demanded to organise the machinery of trade. Agriculture, too, felt the effects of this expansion; as the profits of land increased, so grew the call for able stewards, exact land surveyors and successful mineralogists. The great increase in interest in science and mathematics which the propertied classes of the north displayed in the eighteenth century was economically inevitable. It was their support which encouraged so many lecturers on natural philosophy and mathematics to teach in the north. It is the gentry who appear as the most prominent subscribers to the advanced texts on these subjects, such as Howard's Spherical Geometry. At the end of the century one of the members of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle was to make an impassioned plea for the creation of a permanent lectureship which should

provide public education in science, and in so doing he emphasised the technological needs of the north-east. He was however at least a century late in setting forth his arguments. Scientific lecturers in the north had been making the same point since Jurin in the first decade.

The association of science, mathematics and industry was a mutually rewarding connection. It was the wealth of the northern coal-owners which brought Triewald to the north to instal machinery in their mines, but he stayed to teach science to the public. The problems which they faced in their day to day work led men such as Rastrick, Buddle and Westgarth Forster to study the theoretical background to their labours, and they passed on their discoveries. Although there is little evidence of the actual composition of the audiences of the regular lecturers on natural philosophy it seems most likely that these kind of men and their employers were an important element there. The mine owners themselves financed one of Thompson's lecture courses and the problems of "aerology, fire engines, pumps and mills" were always well to the fore in the lecture syllabi. Triewald and Richard Fothergill, teachers both, produced patented inventions to improve mining techniques. Throughout the century northern industrialists were regular subscribers to local and national mathematical works.²⁸ The increase in the number of mathematical schools in the area, which is especially noteworthy in the more industrial parts of the north, can only by inference be connected with the needs of trade and business, but there are instances of direct influence. In 1712 Newcastle Trinity House fraternity set up a school for the children of the brethren; although it may have begun as a private charity school it was offering instruction in navigation by 1757. The occasion of a new commercial treaty with France was at once seized upon by an anonymous Newcastle mathematics teacher to offer tuition in the French language and measures.²⁹ By the end of the century most mathematical schools made a point of advertising the practical applications of their teaching. Those in the ports certainly had close ties to trade; there must have been others

as well as Thomas Wright who found that the winter was the profitable time to teach in the north because the weather closed down all the sailings and filled his classroom.

The growth of industry and of urban life had a complex influence upon education. It encouraged certain types of school; the list of subjects given by Thomas Watts in his "Essay upon the proper method for forming the man of Business" of 1716, Writing, Arithmetic, Accounts, Geometry, Algebra, Law, Surveying, Geography, Navigation, Drawing, English and Modern Languages, became the normal curriculum (except for law) in many academies before 1800. Evening schools for the benefit of adults and scientific lectures were also promoted by industrial demands. The extent to which these trends were accompanied by a decline in demand for classics is more debatable.³⁰

Religion

As the laws of England debarred certain religious groups from enjoying complete freedom to direct their children's education it is necessary to distinguish between the facilities for Anglicans, Catholics and the Dissenters. Some indication of the distribution of the main sects, and, if possible, an indication of their relative strength is also desirable if the adequacy of these facilities is to be judged.

The established Anglican church divided the administration of the north between four authorities, although the final ecclesiastical authority over all lay with the archbishop of York. Almost all of Northumberland and Durham was in the bishopric of Durham; the exception being a few peculiars of York in the more northern county. In the north-west the geographical links between the Lake district and Lancashire and Furness were recognised in the ecclesiastical boundaries. Most of Westmorland, together with southern Cumberland, were in the Bishopric of Chester, the rest of both counties being under the control of the Bishop of Carlisle.³¹ These boundaries are of considerable importance in the study of northern education in the eighteenth century. In theory the bishop continued to licence teachers in endowed classical schools to the end of the century, and in the

seventeenth century his powers had extended much further. In fact this control became more and more of a dead letter.³² After c1730 the number of licences taken out gradually dropped, yet at the same time presentations for unlicensed teaching ceased. Nevertheless ecclesiastical records from the Anglican authorities remain a major source of information for educational history. Teachers continued to be listed at the yearly visitations long after licensing declined;³³ special surveys of educational provision were made in all three bishoprics during the eighteenth century. Many schoolmasters were active clergymen. Such records of their lives as survive normally do so in the ecclesiastical archives.³⁴

The quality and quantity of extant ecclesiastical records varies a great deal from bishopric to bishopric. At Carlisle there is an almost complete run of yearly visitation returns for the whole century. The bishops' registers there regularly note the issue of licences to schoolmasters. Both bishops Nicolson and Waugh left valuable surveys of their see. There are less visitation records from Chester diocese, but these are supplemented by a considerable number of surviving curricula vitae from parish bundles (illustration 2) and by subscription books. The records in the north-east are less satisfactory. A number of visitations survive, and some surveys of the diocese, notably Chandler's, but as a whole the records extant for that area are fragmentary compared with those of the north-west.³⁵

Anglican records are also of value for the study of Dissent. The presentations which occur in the early part of the century were usually of dissenting teachers. Investigations of the extent of dissent, and of Catholicism, were sometimes made by Anglican authorities. The important survey conducted c.1736 by Bishop Chandler of Durham gives details of Dissent in the north-east at that time. It shows that the Presbyterians were very strongly represented in Northumberland. As one would expect they were most numerous in the north of the county, close to Scotland. There they were in a majority in most parishes, and in one parish held complete

THE CURRICULUM VITAE OF STEPHEN ELLIS

DRC/10 CROSSCRAKE

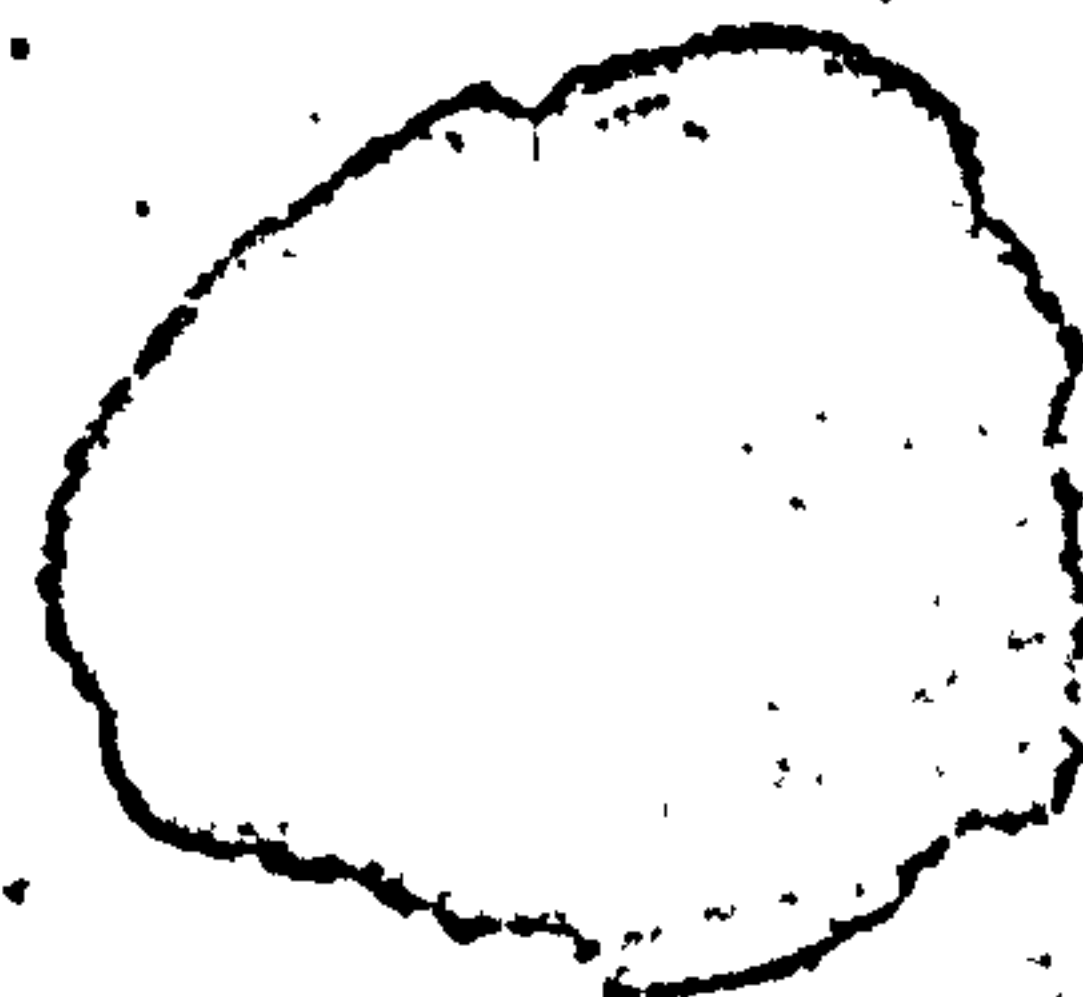
CRO

To the Right Reverend -
Father in God, Edmund, by divine per-
mission, Lord Bishop of Chester

I therefore certify your Lordship,
that I, Henry Wilson, Vicar of Fleureham, in the
County of Westmoreland, and your Lordship's
Diocese, do hereby Nominate, constitute, and
appoint, Stephen Ellis of Goswicate, in the
parish of Fleureham, to perform the office of
a Curate, in the Chapel of Goswicate aforesaid,
and to continue him there, till he shall be pro-
vided of some Ecclesiastical preferment, unless
by any Fault, by him committed, he shall be
lawfully remov'd from the same.

Witness my Hand, this 13 of September
in the year of our Lord - One thousand, seven
hundred, and fifty seven

Henry Wilson

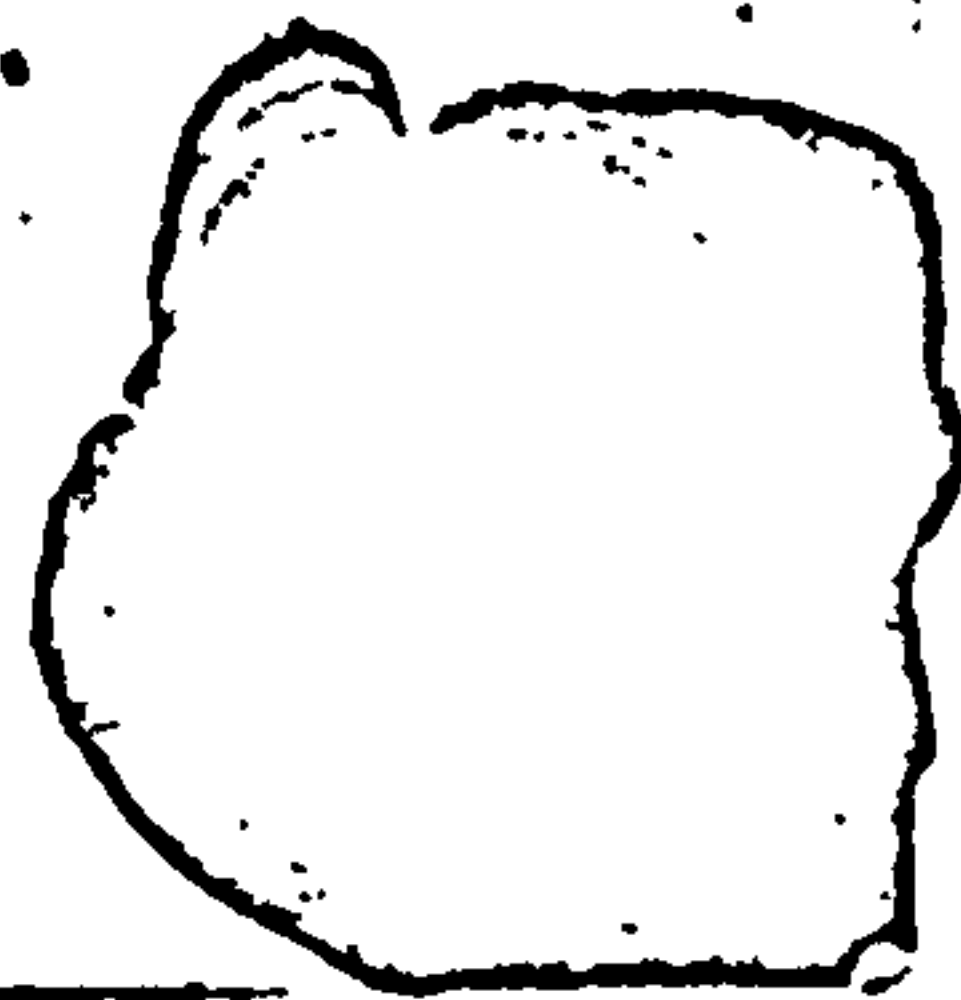


To the Right Reverend Father in God
Edmund, by Divine Provision,
Lord Bishop of Chester.

My Lord!

Whereas, the Chapel of Cresscrake,
in the Parish of Erewash, & County of Westmoreland,
and in your Lordship's Diocese, is become vacant by
the Resignation of the Reverend M^r. Ellis; I hereby
nominate & appoint Matthew Hartley, Schoolmaster of
Cresscrake, to be the officiating Curate of Cresscrake
aforesaid, humbly begging your Lordship's Approbation,
that he may be admitted into the Holy Order of a Deacon, and
Licensed accordingly. In Witness whereof, I have
hereunto set my Hand & Seal, this nineteenth Day of
October, in the Year of our Lord, One thousand Seven
Hundred Eighty Eight.

Henry Wilson Vicar



1732 August 20th was baptised Stephen y^e Son of Stephen
& Eliz. Ellis —

The above is a true Copy of the Register belonging
to the Parish Church of Bentham, searched this
fourth Day of August 1757 as witness our Hands

Tho. Benison Curate of Bentham

John Thornber Parish Clerk
Tho. Wilson Churchwarden

This is to give Notice that Stephen Ellis
School-Master of Crosscote in this Parish intends
to offer himself a Candidate for y^e holy Order of
a Deacon at y^e ensuing Ordination.

Many Person knows Cause why y^e said Stephen
Ellis shou'd not be admitted into y^e said Order,
you are now to declare it

The above was read on Sunday y^e 18th of September
and no Objection alleged — Witness my Hand

Henry Wilson

Jona^s Brackley
Robert Denlay } Church Wardens

To the Right Rev. Father in God Edmund,
Dⁿ Bishop of Chester.

Wheras Stephen Ellis School-Master of Crook-hall in the
parish of Hunsbam, County of Westmorland, and your
Lordship's Diocese, hath declared to us his Intention of
offering himself a Candidate, for y^e sacred Order of a Deacon;
and for that End hath requested of us Letters Testimonial
of his Learning and good Behaviour: We therefore whose
Names are hereunto subscribed do testify that y^e said
Stephen Ellis, having been personally known to us for y^e
Space of three Years last past, hath, during that Time,
lived piously, soberly, and honestly, and hath diligently
applied himself to his Studies, nor hath he at any Time
(as far as we know, or have heard) maintained, or
written any Thing contrary to y^e Doctrine, or Discipline
of y^e Church of England, and that he is a Person well-
affected to his present Majesty's Person, and Government
and moreover we think him a Person worthy to be admitted
into y^e sacred Order of a Deacon.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands and
Seals this 16th Day of July 1757.

Alex. Bayett Curate of
Gressingham & Utholme

J^{no} Tatham Vicar of Melling

Silvester Petty Curate of Dorrhill

Please to turn over

To the Right Reverend Father in God,
Edmund, Lord Bishop of Chester

Whereas Stephen Ellis, Curate of Boscawne, in the
parish of Eversham, and County of Westmorland,
and your Lordship's Diocese, hath declared to us
his Intention of offering himself a Candidate for
the holy Order of a Priest; and for that End hath
requested our Letters testimonial of his good Life
and Conversation: We therefore whose Names
are hereunto subscribed, do testify, that the said
Stephen Ellis, having been personally known to
us for the Space of one Year, last past, hath, during
that Time, lived piously, soberly, and honestly,
and hath diligently applied himself to his Studies,
nor hath he at any time / as far as we know, or
have heard / maintained, or written any thing
contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England,
and that he is a person well attached to his Majes-
ty's person and Government; and moreover we
think him a person worthy to be admitted to the holy
Order of a Priest. In witness whereof, we have
hereunto set our Hands, and Seals this fourth Day
of September 1768.

Henry Wilson, Vicar of
Eversham

William Sounson
Curate of Watland

John Wilton, school-
master of Eversham

This is to give Notice, that Stephen Ellis, Curate
of Goswake, in the parish of Ewerham, intends
to offer himself a Candidate for the holy Order
of a priest, to the Right Reverend the Lord
Bishop of Chester, at the ensuing Ordina-
tion.

If any person know Cause why the said
Stephen Ellis should not be admitted to
the said holy Order, such person must
signify the same to his Lordship, before
Michaelmas next.

published this third Day of September
1758.

by me
George Taylor Henry Wilson, Vicar.
Rich. Backhouse }
Jona Brackston } Church-wardens

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality

These are to certify your Lordship that the within named Stephen Ellis
Immediately after his leaving the publick Grammar School at Benthain
Came to Archolme ^{In the parish of Melling} where he taught a Subscription School three year with
great Diligence and Industry and behaved himself very commendably
As witness my hand this sixteenth day of July one thousand seven hundred
and fifty seven

Wm. T. 1122. 1121. 1120.

I Clear your Lordship I am personally acquainted with Mr. Carrow. he is a Man
of good Character and truly believe he deserves it. I am your Lordships
Sincerely
Most obedt. Servt. John Shaw

Mr. Curson Secy of the Honble
to Sirquis of the Honble

EXTRACTS FROM THE CALL BOOKS

OF

CARLISLE DIOCESE

D/pc 5/5, 20, 77

CRO

Deanatus
Westmerlandie

Die Dominice Socino septimo die
scti Laurentij in Aprilibus (Socii conuentione
prouisione divina. Carliod Ep[iscop]i Inq[ue] p[re]s[ent]is me[re]

Nomina Cleri &c.

Kirkby Stephen M^r Iohes Alkinson vicarius ibid[em] eod[em]
Iohes Thompson clericus parochialis eod[em]
M^r Guil^l Noble Vicarius ager eod[em]
M^r Thomas Harrison Curat[us] de Soulbey eod[em]
M^r Geo: Alderson Vicarius de Waitby eod[em]
M^r Thomas Gascoyne Curat[us] de Malwinstrey eod[em]

Brighthelmston M^r Francis Thompson vicarius ibid[em] eod[em]
Thomas Nicolson clericus parochialis eod[em]
M^r Iohes Richardson Vicarius - - -
Capella sub Brighthelmston M^r Iohes Bruchin Curatus ibid[em] eod[em]

Crosby Gurreot M^r Guil^l Birch Rector ibid[em] eod[em]
Guil^l Grassinger clericus parochialis eod[em]

Ravenstonale M^r Robtus Moinssey Curat[us] ibid[em] eod[em]
Iohes Goodale clericus parochialis eod[em]
M^r Thomas Gullton Vicarius eod[em]

Musgrave magna M^r Simon Dindar Rector ibid[em] eod[em]
Iosephus Sorvell clericus parochialis eod[em]
nub[is] - Edmund How - Vicarius - - -

Warcopp M^r Matthew Lamb vicarius ibid[em] eod[em]
Iohes Sanderson clericus parochialis eod[em]
Guil^l Nelson - Vicarius eod[em]

Cransley M^r Tho: Lawley - Rector ibid[em] eod[em]
M^r Guil^l: Wharton Curat[us] - eod[em]
Guil^l: Mills clericus parochialis eod[em]

1700
Dunbury -
of
Wootton Bassett
St. Jackson
and Morland
preached -

Monday the ninth Day June in the year four
thousand seven hundred and thirty
of course in this behalf lawfully authorized

The Names of the Clergy &c

Sturkby { The Rev. Thomas Cookson . . . Vicar ab.
The Rev. John Selby . . . Curate of
The same Schoolmaster . . .
William Mills parish Clerk . . . of

Soulby { The Rev. Jonathan Sewell . . . Curate of
~~The Rev. George Brown~~ Schoolmaster of Wattleby
Richard Frankland Schoolmaster of Wintole
~~Anthony Taylor~~
~~Edward Brown~~ Schoolmaster of Haber

Walterstony { The Rev. Jeffrey Brown . . . Curate of
~~The Rev. James Clerk~~
The Rev. John Robinson assistant Curate . . . of

Broughton { The Rev. Samuel Bellas Vicar . . . of
The Rev. Thomas Bowman parish Clerk . . . of
James Sewell Curate & Schoolmaster

Stainmore The Rev. John Mason Fenton . . . Curate of

Crosby Garth { The Rev. William Bird . . . Rector . . . of
George Leatham parish Clerk . . . of

Wootton Bassett { The Rev. Jeffrey Brown . . . Curate of
John Wilkinson parish Clerk . . . ab.
John Robinson Schoolmaster . . . of

Newgrange { The Rev. Edmund Saw . . . Rector &c.
The Rev. ~~James Brown~~ Curate of
George Mastell parish Clerk . . .

sway. Even in the south of Northumberland they were normally the strongest dissenting group. The Thompson MSS lists of dissenting congregations active in 1722 has a significant comment upon the list for Northumberland. "The State of dissenting interest in this county is somewhat singular. Almost all ministers coming from Scotland and bringing with them the prejudices of their education and that invincible attachment to the peculiarities of their own country, which so strongly marks the character of a North Briton." In all the Presbyterians made up at least a quarter of the population in that county. The Roman Catholics were the only other non-Anglican group of any size, although a few Quakers were scattered over the county and there was a small community of Independents at Ovingham. Anabaptists are also mentioned. The returns for Durham have much less detail. However they do show that considerable numbers of Presbyterians also existed in that county. In addition the Durham returns indicate strong centres of Roman Catholics. As in Northumberland this sect generally appears in the figures in groups rather than spread thinly over many parishes. The fierce legislation against them, which in the past had made the friendly protection of a Catholic landowner almost essential for less wealthy Catholics, was probably ultimately responsible for this. There were also centres of Quakers in Durham, especially in the south of the county.

The actual numbers of the various sects reported to Chandler can have little aspiration to accuracy. They were almost certainly returned by Anglican clerics, who no doubt did not wish to advertise their own inefficiency; a number of parishes sent in no returns; others are only given as approximations, such as "1/3rd Presbyterians"; the Durham figures particularly appear vague. However, if of little use in indicating the true numbers of dissenters in the north-east in 1736, they do show the relative strength of the main groups, given the proviso that the Anglican numbers were probably exaggerated.³⁶

| | Presb. | R.C's. | Quakers | Other Diss. | Total Families |
|----------------|--------|--------|---------|-------------|----------------|
| Northumberland | 4,267 | 336 | 57 | 43 | 16,476 |
| Durham | 279 | 345 | 204 | 16 | 13,701 |
| Total | 4,546 | 681 | 261 | 59 | 30,177 |

These figures suggest that the Presbyterians may have made up as much as 1/3rd of the population of Northumberland in 1736 and that the Roman Catholics were the strongest non-Anglican sect in Durham and South Northumberland. The latter at the same time appear unlikely to have grossed more than 2,000 people in each county. There is some evidence that indicates that the number of Catholics dropped between 1736 and 1800; otherwise there seems no reason to suspect any marked change in these proportions in the rest of the eighteenth century.³⁷

Nothing so comprehensive as Chandler's survey is extant for the north-west. Some parishes did send in returns of the number of their dissenters in the middle of the century, and these show much the same pattern as in the north-east, with one exception. Nicolson and Burn quote returns from 57 parishes in Cumberland, and of these 55 give actual numbers. The more northerly parishes were strong in Presbyterians, just as in Northumberland, and for the same reason. Indeed in the return from Kirkandrews upon Esk, where 100 of the 360 families were of that sect, the nearness of the parish to Scotland is remarked upon. There were few Roman Catholics in the Cumberland returns; the returns of papists ordered by the House of Lords in 1705 and 1767 show this to be accurate. The only considerable bodies of Catholics in the north-west in 1767 were 90 souls at Whitehaven and 165 at Kendal.³⁸ The exception to the eastern pattern which appears in Cumberland is the prevalence of Quakers.

| | Presb. | R.C's. | Quakers | Other Diss. | Total Families |
|------------|--------|--------|---------|-------------|----------------|
| Cumberland | 396c | 36 | 312c | 9 | 8,490 |

These returns cover only the 55 parishes which sent in returns from 1730 to 1746.³⁹ Others certainly contained dissenters. Mosser for example returned "many Quakers." The Friends were certainly even more numerous in Westmorland where they had a long tradition of successful witness. Their educational records indicate how numerous they were in that county.⁴⁰ The MSS compilations of John Evans and Josiah Thompson provide further evidence of the pattern of dissent in the north in 1715 and 1773 respectively. Both of

these list active congregations, with only occasionally the total of dissenters; consequently they are of little assistance in computing the total population of these sects. However the number of congregations does indicate the comparative strength of dissent between the four counties.

Table VI

Number of dissenting congregation in the north in 1715 and 1773.

| | 1715 | 1773 |
|----------------|------|------|
| Cumberland | 15 | 16 |
| Durham | 9 | 15 |
| Northumberland | 24 | 40 |
| Westmorland | 5 | 3 |

These figures exclude Quakers but the earlier compiler adds that there were approximately 20 Quaker meetings in Cumberland, with 2,000 hearers, and 17 in Westmorland with 6,000 hearers. Quakers are also mentioned as significant in Durham, but no estimate of their number is given. All surveys seem to agree that the strongest area of dissent in the north was close to the Scottish border. The Quakers excepted, non conformity was not strong in the north-west, although there were isolated centres which continued to flourish.⁴¹

Northern society in the eighteenth century

Society in the north, in common with the rest of the country, was more in flux in the eighteenth century than it had been since Tudor times. The industrial and agrarian revolutions brought great fortunes to the entrepreneurs and bourgeoisie, whilst some of the ancient landed class saw a decline in their wealth and social status. This was particularly true of the north-east, where a number of the gentry, notably the catholic families, supported the Jacobite cause in the '15 and '45, with disastrous results. These changes and the political squabbles between Whig and Tory had however little effect upon education. A school might become the brief

focus of political conflict, as Morpeth did on occasion in the eighteenth century.⁴² National strife between parties sometimes encouraged the church to tighten its hold over education.⁴³ A headmaster was occasionally attacked for his political views and even dismissed.⁴⁴ These were however rare events. As wealth and social leadership changed hands the new leaders came to adopt the educational patterns of the men they had superseded. The Curwens, Senhouses, Cotesworths, Ellisons and their like sent their children to local schools at the beginning of the century when the impoverished Chaytor family was still endeavouring to send its heir to Chaterhouse; by 1800 all these rising families sent the elder sons to public school. These social changes occurred later in the north than in the rest of England. Their effect upon education was similarly delayed. The rising classes continued to make use of the more middle class paths in education, the grammar schools, the private academies, until late in the century. It is perhaps this delay in the transfer of wealth and social status that is the main cause of the most significant anomaly between the educational pattern of the north and that of the rest of England; namely that alongside its full share in the new educational developments of the period, the scientific lecturers, the private academies the philosophical societies, libraries and the popular press, the old grammar school and university education continued to flourish and generally strove with success to meet the demands of the age.

Whilst the upper classes did continue to make use of the traditional forms of education, they also helped to promote more typically eighteenth century media.⁴⁵ Newcastle was one of the best served provincial towns in terms of a popular press, with usually at least two flourishing weeklies in the eighteenth century. Often there were more quite apart from the occasional periodical. The north-west was less well supplied locally but the Newcastle papers circulated in that region and thereby filled the gap until the Pacquet appeared in the seventies. Printing was by no means restricted to newspapers. Although there was little in the way of major

works of scholarship printed in the north in the period there was a large and successful output of school texts. All printed books were spread to a far wider public than ever before by the circulating libraries which became common by 1800. The first known example in the north was opened in Berwick by Robert Taylor, a bookseller, in 1739; another followed in Newcastle before 1746. At least six such libraries operated in Newcastle alone before the end of the century. The success of these ventures shows the existence of a considerable literate public, which is further testified to by the great number of booksellers that abounded in the north at this time. Frequently the functions of printer, bookseller and librarian were performed by one and the same person, but nevertheless the number of businessmen involved bespeaks a very wide market for their productions.⁴⁶

The interest in and concern for knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, demonstrated by the leisured classes culminated at the end of the century in the foundation of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle. Although nominally devoted to the study of both arts and sciences the society spent most of its time in the early years discussing and listening to scientific topics. It was to set up a permanent scientific lectureship within a few years.⁴⁷ Its membership was predominantly local, but many figures of national repute had been enrolled as honorary members by 1800. The local members who made up the active part of the body do include a few names from the old landed gentry, but the great majority were from the new business interests and the professions.⁴⁸

II. The People

In dealing with the social institutions of the north the people have come more to the fore. As it is the roll of educated men of the north which forms the basis of this study it is at once essential to clarify what this group was composed of, how it differed from the D.N.B. group, and what, if anything, is gained by treatment of a larger group from a small provincial area. It must be emphasised that the larger group is only slightly nearer to

a cross-section of the eighteenth century population than the D.N.B. group. It consists of all those men and women born in the north between 1685 and 1785 whose education has been traced, with the addition of any schoolmasters or lecturers who were active in the north in that period, irrespective of their own birth-place. The group as so defined contains men from all strata of society. However very little use can be made of those pupils who survive only as a name in some kind of school list or register. Consequently the great majority of pupils known to have been educated at charity schools, endowed non-classical school and girls' schools have little or no weight in any tabulation of results.⁴⁹ Only those pupils whose later career can be traced provide useful evidence of the state and efficiency of their alma mater. This restricts the effective basis of this investigation somewhat severely to the middle and upper classes and to those members of such classes that received a higher education.

At the same time the educated of the north did include children of lower class parents. Such grammar school registers as survive from this period show that these schools were catering for a very wide strata of society, from the highest gentry to the artisan and labourer. University alumni from the northern counties came from as diverse social backgrounds. This may have been partially a result of the less structured society which existed in the country districts of the north, and especially the north-west. There the "statesmen" were more in the mould of the old yeomen class than in the rest of England, operating their own communities without direction from above, filling the parish offices, clerk, schoolmaster, curate and vicar, from their own ranks, and often governing their own school.⁵⁰ So, whilst the D.N.B. group does include men from all classes of society, but is weighted with far too heavy a contingent from the aristocracy and higher gentry, the local "worthies", as this educated group may be termed, are a more representative section of the north, although still weak in members of the lower orders.

Nevertheless the predominant group in Appendix I is that of the professions. The majority of university alumni went into the church, the law,

medicine or, at worst, teaching. Even without a university training it was the members of these bodies that tended to leave records of their education, such as testimonials or memoirs. The professions covered a wide range of classes; from the dignitaries of the church and the successful lawyers down to village schoolmasters or land stewards was a huge social step. In each profession there were many grades; when the land stewardship of the Crewe trust at Bamburgh became vacant in 1779 there were some 25 applicants. The applications show how the members of that profession alone varied from the near illiterate to the cultivated scholar, destined to earn a place in D.N.B.⁵¹ Therefore whilst the professions dominate the "worthies" those clerics and lawyers bred from the upper classes are balanced by the more numerous poor clergymen, land surveyors, instrument makers, publishers, newspaper proprietors and accountants, who tended to come from humbler ranks in society. Some of these latter occupations are closer to trade than profession; but it was from this group and the artisans that much of the original thought and invention in the north came. Of the successful applications for patents from the area in the eighteenth century, 20 were made by craftsmen or engineers, 16 by gentlemen, 4 by merchants, 2 by mariners and teachers, and 1 each by a surgeon and a coal viewer. The first of these occupations would certainly seem to be under-represented in the "worthies."

Because of the nature of this study the schoolmaster is by far the best covered profession in Appendix I, making up over 1/3rd of the entries. As all schoolmasters that have been traced operating in the north between 1685 and 1800 have been included, even if only the name survives, a much fuller picture of that profession is afforded than the limited one of other groups. It is also possible to attempt an approach towards quantification of teachers, at least in the well documented town of Newcastle. At the same time it is clear that only a proportion of active teachers have been traced; in the remoter villages only a small proportion. An indication of how few schoolmasters are known from such areas is provided by the chance

survival of a militia book for Northumberland from 1762.⁵² This lists men between 17 and 45 and gives the occupation in every case. It includes 62 schoolmasters of whom only 23 have been traced from other sources. This may be a slight exaggeration of the proportion of missing teachers as the list omits clerics, who did no militia service, and these were rather more likely to have left record of their teaching. As the ecclesiastical records are much more complete for the north-west than for the north-east probably rather more than half of all the teachers active in the north have been listed.

Despite this deficiency the schoolmaster as a person in his community does become more distinct when examined in the mass. The most immediately striking characteristic of the schoolmasters' status is the great contrast between the eminent headmaster of a large grammar school and the poorer sort of elementary teacher. At the peak of the profession there were Richard Busbys in the north who had the respect of the highest echelons of society. Most eighteenth century heads at Newcastle grammar school treated the city councillors as equals. Jurin was already on the way to being nationally recognised as a mathematician and scientist; Dawes was an outstanding, if eccentric, classicist; and H. Moises earned respect by his ability as a teacher. Jackson of St. Bee's in his old age commiserating with Cumberland for its loss when he should die demonstrates the same confidence in his position in society. It was natural that an able and successful teacher, given a sympathetic character, should be lauded by his ex-pupils later in their lives, as Farrer and Boustead were, but some masters moved amongst the higher social groups of their own age. Nor were these men only the headmasters of great endowed schools. Private teachers such as Turner, Hutton or Wright held a respected place in society by dint of their intellectual ability. The same was true of many of the lecturers that toured the area in the century.

The majority of schoolmasters however did not have the personal force or intellectual ability of a Hutton or an Emerson, and the position of

schoolmaster itself carried little or no social status. The economics of the profession alone condemned it. The average income of the lesser gentry in the eighteenth century has been computed at between £300 and £1,000 per annum. The humblest landholder, the freeholder (or statesman in Cumberland), earned between £30 and £300 per annum. At the bottom of the working scale the labourer averaged less than the poorest freeholder. Wages for that group in the north improved during the eighteenth century, rising from just over £11 per annum in 1700 to over £26 in 1790.⁵³ Most schoolmasters came very near the bottom of this scale. Very few masters of endowed classical schools in the north received more than £50 and the majority were paid about £20-£30. Admittedly this was not usually the sum of the teacher's emoluments. Additions must be made for perquisites such as a free house, extra payments from the parents, and the proceeds of associated offices such as parish clerk or curate. However these additions would not suffice to raise the salary far above the earnings of a labourer. The payments made to ushers and masters of lesser endowed schools were far less. It is impossible to compute the earnings of private schoolmasters because these depended entirely upon the number of pupils obtained, and such information is very rare. It is probable that the most successful of them earned somewhat more than masters of endowed schools, but the great majority can be classed financially with labourers.⁵⁴ Only the most successful private teacher and a few headmasters of the larger endowed schools earned salaries commensurate with those of the middle class. Few members of the gentry entered the profession, and when they did so it was normally the result of penury or social disgrace.⁵⁵ The private tutor, if only because he was more closely associated with the upper classes, tended to be on a slightly higher social scale than a public schoolmaster. Even this type of teacher however was only just above the status of a servant;⁵⁶ further as they lacked the security of tenure of a master in an endowed school, they were liable to considerable misuse. Once a tutor had accepted a position, especially one in a country district,

he was to a large extent at the mercy of his patron.⁵⁷ Payment being made partially in kind, partially by accommodation, disagreements were very likely to arise, and the diminished salary made it difficult for the teacher to break free from his post. The poor rewards available to most teachers naturally discouraged the more able men from entering the profession. Not only was the wage low but there was little possibility of increasing the emoluments to the extent that a master might save for his old age. Numerous petitions are extant from eighteenth century schoolmasters who were approaching the age when teaching would be impossible; others continued with their employment when they were clearly incapable. That this threat was felt by all types of schoolmaster is evinced by the membership lists of the Protestant Schoolmasters' Association, an assurance body set up in 1774, whose very object was to protect its members and their relatives from the consequences of illness and old age. This association, which flourished well into the nineteenth century, included amongst its members eminent grammar school headmasters, such as Farrer of Witton-le-Wear and Hartley of Carlisle, well known private teachers, for example Turner and Tinwell of Newcastle, as well as more humble village schoolmasters. Its membership had easily passed 100 before 1800. The scheme, limited as it was to masters from the four northern counties, did not attract the amount of public support that its institutors had hoped for in 1774. Nevertheless the association had already aided 20 of its members by 1800, together with a much larger number of widows of deceased members.⁵⁸

This benefit society shows that the threat of poverty was a very real one to all types of teacher, and that some of them could organise to meet it. There were factors against any form of unity in the profession in the eighteenth century. A large number of teachers were clergymen first and schoolmasters second; the intellectual gap between the best and the worst was much greater at that time than it is now; and the proportion of private teachers who were in active competition with one another was large. Yet

there were signs, such as the Association that some teachers were beginning to think of themselves as a group. Some united to recommend one another's books, others to protect themselves from what was judged to be unfair competition.⁵⁹ Whilst not yet ready for an educational register on a national scale their strength and disposition was made apparent by the spread of town and national directories in the later decades of the century.⁶⁰

The majority of northern schoolmasters spent their whole teaching life in the north. Undoubtedly there were many teachers on the fringes of the region who moved into Scotland, Yorkshire or Lancashire, but these basically remained local teachers. There were also however intellectual links to more distant places. The dissenters and Roman Catholics, being minorities in a hostile land, naturally kept in contact with their fellows all over the country. Both maintained schools, academies and colleges outside the north which were attended by northern children. The itinerant lecturers provided a regular flow of new ideas to and from the provinces. Northern teachers were prominent in certain outstanding public and private schools in the south; Soho Square, Cheam and Rugby had successions of such men, and some of them kept up very strong connections with their native areas.⁶¹ Individual scholars also went south to continue their careers; Hauxley, Davison, Wright and above all, Charles Hutton, each in their own way continued their northern connection.⁶² There were similar bonds between the north of England and Scotland, with educationalists passing from one to the other. The degree of mobility ~~displayed~~ displayed by all concerned in education, pupils and teachers alike, is quite extraordinary in a century noted for the inefficiency of its transport system. Despite the poor quality of the roads, which saw improvements on a large scale only at the end of the century⁶³ itinerant teachers and lecturers were a well-known feature of education at that time.

Specialists in the teaching of writing, languages, the courtly skills of riding, dancing and swordsmanship, all normally worked circuits rather than setting up a permanent school in one place. This kind of itinerant was

common even in Westmorland, where the terrain made travel extremely awkward.⁶⁴ Equally common were the travelling lecturers in natural philosophy, elocution astronomy and a multiplicity of associated subjects. Yet these were in their way the more remarkable in view of the considerable equipment that such courses often demanded. The transport of heavy machinery, including complex astronomical devices down to pieces of artillery, was regularly accomplished to places as remote as Appleby, Kendal, Penrith or Hexham. This kind of teacher, who operated on a peripatetic basis in order to maintain sufficient pupils is familiar enough; only the special problems of travel in the wilder parts of the north give it any significance. Less well known is the frequency with which the run of the mill schoolmaster moved around. Undoubtedly the main reason for this unsettled life was economic. As the "Village Pedagogue" shows the attraction of even a small rise in salary, or the hope of a curacy in the future was sufficient to persuade a village teacher to move. Move they certainly did; very few teachers remained in one appointment for a long period, with the exception of a few well paid grammar schoolmasters. Most endowed school teachers constantly sought better posts. Private teachers were only a little more stable; they found there was a limit to the market for schools even in the more populous areas. It seems to have been more profitable to secure an advantageous position in a small town than to try to compete with established schools in the big centres. Therefore when a successful master retired or died there was always liable to be a rush to fill his privileged place. When John Smith, who had conducted a large academy in Alnwick, died, masters came from far and wide to claim his pupils.⁶⁵ So impermanent did private schools tend to be that it seems to have been a fairly simple matter to damage a competitor by spreading rumours of his imminent departure. Rebuttals of such rumours were regular in the local press.⁶⁶

If there were good economic reasons for the mobility of the teachers and lecturers, there are few for the surprising amount of movement undertaken by

their pupils. It has already been noted⁶⁷ that it is very difficult to assign many of the D.N.B. men of the north to any one school because their school career was spread over a number of schools. It was equally true of their peers who failed to get into that company. In many cases the logic behind the transfers is obvious; a typical school career would begin with a local village school, continue at a nearby grammar school and end perhaps at a national public school or one of the greater grammar schools in the north. Alternatively many boys were taught at some time by private tutors or in private academies, although attending a grammar school for their regular education.

John Braithwaite of Parton, near Whitehaven, enjoyed a multitude of schools. The basic subjects of English and arithmetic he learnt in a school in Whitehaven. Then he moved to a private school in that town run by an Anglican minister. There he learnt classics. During the same years he was a pupil at a dancing school and at Ward's private academy. After training in these establishments he entered a drawing school. Finally at the age of 13 he was adjudged ready to enter a merchant's accounting office, but he was not done with formal education even then. After two years in the counting house he took up full time study of the classics again under another Anglican clergyman. This educational career, which ^{has} parallels in diversity, demonstrates one reason for boys attending more than one school. As few schools provided every kind of training that an educated member of the middle class would need in his later life it was natural that such movement should occur. Some academies did provide courses in all subjects, including classics, but they did not afford the university scholarships available at the leading grammar schools. Many grammar schools offered a wide range of subjects, including all the science and mathematics taught at a good academy, but they did not provide the close supervision and personal care of the smaller private boarding school.

However a good deal of the movement of pupils does not fall into that category. Such lists of pupils at the larger grammar schools as can be

compiled show that many boys entered schools far from their homes, even though equally good endowed schools were closer at hand. The grammar schools of Newcastle, Durham, Appleby, Carlisle, Sedbergh and Hawkshead have left records sufficient to trace many of their alumni. All of these schools received pupils from great distances. There were boys from all over England, from the colonies and America. Those that came from overseas were normally returning to the native area of their parents, where they could be assisted and protected by friends or relations.

The machinery of trade was another cause of boys attending schools far from their birthplaces. William Turner listed six boys from France and three from Norway, all pupils at his school in Newcastle before 1800. All of these were children of merchants trading with the north-east. There must have been many reciprocal cases of boys from the north who went out with their families to foreign trading centres. On the other hand there is no evidence in the north to support the contention that Anglican and dissenting business men made a practice of sending their children to the continent for their education, in the way that Catholic families did in large numbers.⁶⁸ More inexplicable are the cases of boys leaving a home in Newcastle to gain their education in Carlisle, or vice-versa. This appears to have been a fairly common practice which was not restricted to the major grammar schools. Pupils coming from what would now be termed other schools' catchment areas are known at a number of lesser schools.⁶⁹ In many of these cases there must have been some positive inducement to send the boy to that particular school, rather than simply a preference for education away from the family. Smart was sent to Durham school all the way from Kent because of the connection of his parents with the Raby family; Armstrong was probably following in his father's footsteps when he entered Carlisle grammar school at the advanced age of 20; the Cotesworth boys moved from Newcastle to Sedbergh because the family were displeased by the removal of Jurin from the former school. Such examples could easily be multiplied. The individual motives are unimportant but it is plain that parents were quite

ready to allow their children to travel considerable distances, often over rough roads, and to be separate from the body of the family for long periods. Nor was this freedom restricted to the male children; daughters also frequently spent much of their school life away from home.

The separation of parent and child culminated, for those who could afford it, in the grand tour. This aspect of upper class education was peculiar to that social strata rather than peculiar to England. Its value was much under debate in the eighteenth century, but it continued to be a common practice until the revolutionary wars. It was the ultimate expression of the belief in education apart from the home which seems to have been held by many of the middle and upper class in the eighteenth century. It continued in a narrower form in the nineteenth century with the expansion of public school education as the grammar schools decayed.

This willingness to choose a school or academy for what it offered, irrespective of the problems of travel, meant that trends and fashions might develop which could affect the fortunes of any particular school, or even a type of school. Families did change their modes of education through successive generations. James Farish of Carlisle had a large family, including five sons born over a period of 12 years. His choice for their education was a local grammar school, the same as many other northern clergymen of the eighteenth century. However he varied his choice of school as the years passed. The elder children went to Carlisle and thence to Cambridge but by 1765 Farish seems to have lost confidence in that school as he moved John from Carlisle to St. Bee's in 1766, where he was joined later by his younger brother Joseph. In the mid 70's Carlisle came back into favour, Charles and William attending briefly from 1773 to 1774, but in the latter year William went up to Cambridge, whilst his brother was transferred to Hawkshead for the rest of his secondary education. Similar inconstancy, perhaps dictated by fashion, perhaps by the personal relationships of parents and teachers, is displayed by a caucus of families

connected with the Farishes.⁷⁰

There was just as much variation on the other side of the Pennines. The Carrs of Cocken profited from the full range of educational opportunity. The seventeenth century progenitor of the family, Ralph, had two sons Ralph and Henry Thomas. The details of their school education have not survived, but Henry entered Clare Hall in 1716, whilst it was probably his brother who matriculated at Padua university in 1714. Henry also had two sons. Both went first to the local grammar school at Houghton-le-Spring. Robert the elder then was sent to a private academy in Fulham. He later entered Caen military academy to prepare for a career in the army. The younger, Ralph moved from Houghton to a private school in Craike. In 1754 his father was undecided whether to send him to Durham school or Eton. After consideration he decided to choose the latter because "He will be under much greater restraint than at Durham which may teach him to submit the more readily to the strict discipline of Clare Hall." Carr's judgement in this case may appear somewhat debateable.⁷¹ Whatever the effects of Eton on the son, when he in his turn came to decide the path of education for his son, again Ralph, he eschewed both local grammar schools and public schools; the boy went to the well known private academy at Hackney before moving on to Cambridge in 1784.

Those examples of parental choice in action, which could easily be increased in number,⁷² illustrate a powerful influence over educational trends. As parents were so willing to entrust their children to schools so far from home they had great freedom of choice when planning their education. Individual schools could very quickly lose many pupils if they became unfashionable for some reason. Fluctuations were bound to occur in school numbers with changes in mastership or any temporary lapse in the school's efficiency. Such evidence as there is of grammar school numbers supports this contention.⁷³ Private schools which lacked the endowments of the older schools would in similar circumstances collapse. The same freedom

of choice possessed by parents who did not want their children near them was a factor in the changes in fortune enjoyed by particular modes of education. The decline of grammar schools, the rise and later fall of private academies and the success of the public schools could not have happened in a country lacking state direction of education, if there had not been a large number of parents who were prepared to move their children considerable distances to better their education.

Notes

1. Fewster passim.
 2. Musgrove 1, Ch I.
 3. Vincent 2, Ch I and Ch VI.
 4. Corrected figures as enumerated in the 1851 census, Division X p 2.
 5. Notably by J. Rickman in the 1841 census, Estimates pp 36-37; by J. Farr in 1686 census, Estimates, Vol III General Report p 22; and by J. Brownlee in Public Health, June-July 1916 pp 211-222, 228-238. The weaknesses of all these estimates are discussed in Glass, Habbakuk, Schofield and Hollingsworth Note in particular the survey of all of them in Eversley pp 221-247. The figures produced by Rickman are unreliable because they fail to take into account changes in society which affected baptism, marriage and burial, and are therefore quite dismissed in the recent survey of Schofield. However they are valid to the present purpose because the concern is only to arrive at rough estimates of the proportion of the population in the north, and because, by the nature of the criticism, the estimates for the eighteenth century are more acceptable than those back into the sixteenth century. See Schofield p 126.
 6. G.P. Jones pp 124-126. More accurate assessments will no doubt be available when the mammoth researches of the Cambridge population study group are completed.
 7. Chalmers. Figures for the later years cannot be used for the present purposes as they include chargeable houses only.
 8. All entrants from the north are listed in Appendix I.
 9. See map I.
 10. An exception to this generalisation is the limitation sometimes placed upon closed scholarships to university.
 11. J.E. Williams, 2 p 396.
 12. Hutchinson, 2, Vol II, pp 523-526. Baptisms in South Shields averaged 114 between 1680 and 1682, 138 between 1730 and 1732, and 238 between 1780 and 1782. 175 Children were bapt. in Sunderland in 1737, but 314 in 1783.
 13. See Ch VI pp174-5.
 14. G.P. Jones p 128.
 15. Relevant surveys include the visitation of the north-east by Bishop Chandler in ~~1736~~ c.1736, that of Cumberland made in c.1688, and the surviving returns from Westmorland of the survey of 1787.
 16. Examples of this kind of problem appear in Appendix I under R. Walker, J. Marshall.
 17. Spufford pp 214-230.
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6. G.P. Jones pp 124-126. More accurate assessments will no doubt be available when the mammoth researches of the Cambridge population study group are completed.
7. Chalmers. Figures for the later years cannot be used for the present purposes as they include chargeable houses only.
8. All entrants from the north are listed in Appendix I.
9. See map I.
10. An exception to this generalisation is the limitation sometimes placed upon closed scholarships to university.
11. J.E. Williams, 2 p 396.
12. Hutchinson, 2, Vol II, pp 523-526. Baptisms in South Shields averaged 114 between 1680 and 1682, 138 between 1730 and 1732, and 238 between 1780 and 1782. 175 Children were bapt. in Sunderland in 1737, but 314 in 1783.
13. See Ch VI pp174-5.
14. G.P. Jones p 128.
15. Relevant surveys include the visitation of the north-east by Bishop Chandler in ~~1736~~ c.1736, that of Cumberland made in c.1688, and the surviving returns from Westmorland of the survey of 1787.
16. Examples of this kind of problem appear in Appendix I under R. Walker, J. Marshall.
17. Spufford pp 214-230.

18. MS diary of John Robinson of Hartburn, Hartburn vicarage. Partially quoted in Donnelly. It is hoped that the forthcoming book subscription list project will provide a
19. Dobbs p 67, George p 117. means to ascertain the reliability of such statements.
20. Welford, I, biographies of J. Fryer, G. Coughran and C. Hutton. MacKenzie, I, Vol II pp 73-76f.
21. See Ch III pp 62-3.
22. See Appendix I, J. Foster, J. Fryer and J. English.
23. There was industry of importance before the eighteenth century in the north, but it developed to such an extent after c.1700 that its influence upon the community changed in character.
24. The best description of the diverse industries of the north during this period is in Hughes, I and 2. See also O. Wood.
25. MacKenzie, 2, Vol I pp 158-160. J.E. Williams, 1 and 2, O. Wood. Hughes, 4, Ch XI. The expansion in shipping is summarised in Jarvis.
26. Apprenticeship indentures in the eighteenth century have been found to yield very little evidence of the continuation of formal education. David Sinclair of Shaddongate, Carlisle, a flax dresser, undertook to instruct his apprentice in reading, writing and the English tongue in 1777. One other example has been found in Newcastle. Pococke p 49.
27. See Ch VI pp 170-1.
28. See Cotesworth, Ellison, Senhouse, Delaval, Ridley et alia in Appendix I.
29. C. 30-9-1786.
30. J.E. Mason p 296, and Ch IV p 94 below.
31. See map I.
32. The inefficiency of licensing from early in the eighteenth century is illustrated in the diary of Robinson of Hartburn, quoted in note 18. On June 14 1726 he and three other schoolmasters of Hartburn parish were presented for teaching without a licence. Robinson wrote in his diary "We all appeared at Newcastle the afforsed day and three of us pd 3s.4d a man for charges and took no licence." Yet he continued to teach at Hartburn for the next 21 years. Note however also D365.
33. The usefulness of visitation records, even as late as 1800 is illustrated by the records of the Deanery of Westmorland. Examples are given from late seventeenth century, mid eighteenth century and late eighteenth century.
34. Particularly valuable are the curricula vitae which sometimes survive in parish bundles in the central archives of the diocese. Unfortunately that type of record has only survived in one of the northern dioceses, that of Chester. The kind of data it can provide is illustrated by the papers of Stephen Ellis.

35. The balance is to a large extent redressed by the relative survival of newspapers. There exist almost complete runs in the north-east from c.1724, whereas the north-west newspapers virtually begin with the Pacquet in 1774.
36. Totals given are in numbers of families. Only those returns which clearly give some indication of the strength of dissent are included. Thus any return omitting dissenters is not included in the county total.
37. See Ch VIII pp 241-2. The growth of methodism is intentionally ignored as the separation of that sect from the Anglican church came too late in the century to affect educational trends before 1800.
38. Returns of Catholics for 1767. House of Lords MSS.
39. Nicolson and Burn. The returns are spread through the two volumes but may be extracted by use of the later index.
40. Ch VIII pp 236. et seq.
41. Nightingale Vol II pp 1251-1252.
42. Fewster passim.
43. The considerable increase in the number of presentations for teaching without licence in the 1690's and after 1715 seem so associated.
44. Apart from the example from Morpeth already quoted there were also political undertones to the resignation of Dawes in Newcastle.
45. More fully discussed in Ch X.
46. C.J. Hunt in prep.
47. See Ch X p. 324.
48. It would be of interest to investigate the practical effects of electing well known scientists to such an institution. Early experiments with the Davy safety lamp were arranged in the north through members of this society. Raine, 2. .
49. Names of charity school pupils, and those at endowed non-classical schools have normally been omitted from Appendix I unless further data of the pupils career was available.
50. Dobbs pp 36, 61, 67-68.
51. Uncatalogued correspondence of the Crewe Trustees.
52. Percy MSS, Alnwick Y series IV Ic (3). Now in N.R.O.
53. Mingay pp 20-25. Gilboy p 220.
54. Ch IV and VI, Tables XII and XVII.
55. Examples are G. Gale and W. Blennerhasset.

56. An exception to this was the Roman Catholic tutor, who was commonly also the family priest. The picture of the tutor painted in Bayne-Powell, 2 pl0 is rosier than most.
57. See for example Baker-Baker MSS 11/85.
58. Rules of the Association, 1805 pp 3-5.
59. Dilworth's Schoolmaster's Assistant was recommended by 58 users, mostly schoolmasters. Local books similarly applauded were those of Kay and Murray (1787). For co-operative action against intrusion see Ch 9.3.1793.
60. The Newcastle Courant carried the following interesting advertisement on 28.3.1778:- "To schoolmasters throughout England, R. Baldwin, Bookseller at No. 47 Paternoster Row, London, convinced that a list of all the material seminaries of learning throughout the kingdom might prove a great acquisition to the community.....hereby invites the several masters of private grammar schools, as well as public foundations for the education of youth.... (to provide him with)...their plan of education, terms of admission and annual expence, their present number of pupils, and limitations of number, if confined..." This, which appeared in other local papers around the same date, does not appear to have produced much response.
61. Hans pp 87-92, 121-126. Solly. Appendix VIII.
62. Hauxley dedicated his Scheme of 1739 to Ralph Jenison; Davison had northern subscribers to his joint Mathematical Dictionary, (with Middleton); Wright returned to teach in the north frequently; and Hutton kept up a regular correspondence with northern educationalists.
63. Ashton p. 81.
64. It is possible that one of the reasons for the extraordinary multiplicity of endowed grammar schools in Westmorland was the great difficulty of moving from one settlement to another, especially in winter. Broken up so harshly by the mountains communities there were isolated rather than sparse as they were in west Northumberland or Weardale. If they wished their children to be regularly educated a school in their own village was essential.
65. Ch VI p. 185.
66. For example C 7.9.1723, 2.11.1754.
67. Ch I pp. 7-8.
68. Mingay, pp 132-134.
69. From lists of pupils at Penrith, Crosby Ravensworth, Bampton. Another major school to receive many "foreign" pupils was St. Bee's.
70. See Wordsworth, Taubman, Raincock and Littledale. Farish's mixed views about Carlisle may reflect the aging of the headmaster, Wennington, who died in office in 1771 and was not permanently replaced for almost a year.
71. The consideration of Carr's education is described in Hughes 1 p 363. For a different view of the efficiency of Eton see Robinson 11.

72. Hughes i and ii has chapters on education in the north which illustrate this mobility. See also Robinson II.
73. Ch IV pp. 120, 130 and Appendix VII.

Chapter III

Men of the north at university

Little reference has yet been made to higher education because there were no universities or colleges in the north of England in the eighteenth century. Attempts had been made to create a university at Durham during the Commonwealth¹, but these had failed. Three decades into the nineteenth century were to pass before a permanent foundation was achieved at Durham. Prior to this boys that wished to continue their formal education after school had to leave northern England. Something between three and four thousand of them did so in the eighteenth century. Probably the majority travelled south to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but many went north into Scotland or even overseas to Ireland or the continent. The geographical position of the north, close to the northern kingdom and with busy ports of egress towards the east and west, brought the area into contact with universities outside England to a greater extent than other regions of the country.²

As there were no facilities for formal higher education in the north the developments in this area of learning are outside the limits of the present research. The merits and demerits of university education in the eighteenth century, both in England or abroad, have received much attention in the past;³ local studies can add only incidental biographical data to the story of the eighteenth century universities. However the records of university entrance do provide essential information about the state of northern education as the century passed. Given anything approaching complete lists of university entrants it is possible to make judgements about the status of schools in the north, about the efficiency of the northern schools relative to the rest of the country and even about the size of the schools themselves.⁴ The main object of the present chapter will therefore be to examine the number of entrants to universities from

the north, in the expectation that this will provide a guide to trends in secondary education.

As even the most cursory examination of the printed records reveals,⁵ some universities have much more complete lists of their alumni than others. It is convenient to deal with the entrants to the English universities first; these have the most complete records of admissions and the compilers of the college and university registers of Oxford and Cambridge have also provided a mass of biographical material.

Entrants to the English universities

The gross figures of northern entrants to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge appear in Table VII. It is at once obvious from this Table that certain trends in national higher education were mirrored in the north. The well-established decline in numbers at the English universities in the middle of the eighteenth century⁶ was paralleled by a similar decline in the number of northern alumni. The graph shows that the nadir for number of entrants to Cambridge comes later than that to Oxford in both the national and local totals. The proportion of entrants from the north also is in accord with the estimated population of that area; whilst 1,000 alumni at Oxford out of a university population in the eighteenth century of 25,000 is somewhat below the expected total, a similar number at Cambridge, which had far fewer alumni in that century⁷, brings ~~it~~ the total northern contribution to the fraction of 1/20th. This is very close to the fraction of the English population which has been estimated for the north in the eighteenth century.⁸

The gross totals of entrants indicate nothing more remarkable than a slight predilection in the north for the less fashionable university, Cambridge. However, when these figures are broken down to divide entrants by county of origin as in Table VII, an abnormal pattern emerges. The

TABLE VII (pp 62 - 3)

Numbers of boys entering the English universities in the eighteenth century

Included are all northern boys born between 1685 and 1785 and those born elsewhere but educated in the north

| Date | Cumberland | | | Durham | | | N'land | | | Westmorland | | | Foreigners Educated in the North | | | Total | | |
|--------|------------|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----|-------------|-----|-----|----------------------------------|-----|-----|-------|------|------|
| | O | C | T | O | C | T | O | C | T | O | C | T | O | C | T | O | C | T |
| -1700 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| -1710 | 30 | 13 | 43 | 9 | 39 | 48 | 12 | 21 | 33 | 31 | 11 | 42 | 2 | 16 | 18 | 84 | 100 | 184 |
| -1720 | 40 | 17 | 57 | 24 | 31 | 55 | 10 | 25 | 35 | 28 | 22 | 50 | 6 | 14 | 20 | 108 | 109 | 217 |
| -1730 | 50 | 9 | 59 | 17 | 40 | 57 | 28 | 21 | 49 | 42 | 20 | 62 | 5 | 17 | 22 | 142 | 107 | 249 |
| -1740 | 52 | 15 | 67 | 19 | 30 | 49 | 24 | 13 | 37 | 43 | 13 | 56 | 3 | 14 | 17 | 141 | 85 | 226 |
| -1750 | 35 | 16 | 51 | 9 | 22 | 31 | 24 | 19 | 43 | 25 | 14 | 39 | 1 | 9 | 10 | 94 | 80 | 174 |
| -1760 | 24 | 18 | 42 | 10 | 24 | 34 | 12 | 25 | 37 | 20 | 20 | 40 | 3 | 10 | 13 | 69 | 97 | 166 |
| -1770 | 33 | 13 | 46 | 17 | 9 | 26 | 15 | 13 | 28 | 16 | 20 | 36 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 82 | 61 | 143 |
| -1780 | 30 | 29 | 59 | 11 | 20 | 31 | 25 | 13 | 38 | 16 | 18 | 34 | 2 | 8 | 10 | 84 | 88 | 172 |
| -1790 | 33 | 42 | 75 | 27 | 27 | 54 | 25 | 30 | 55 | 25 | 33 | 58 | 2 | 9 | 11 | 112 | 141 | 253 |
| -1800 | 30 | 33 | 63 | 13 | 17 | 30 | 20 | 25 | 45 | 15 | 13 | 28 | 3 | 11 | 14 | 81 | 99 | 180 |
| -1810 | 14 | 20 | 34 | 9 | 9 | 18 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 7 | 9 | 16 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 35 | 47 | 82 |
| Totals | 372 | 225 | 597 | 165 | 268 | 433 | 200 | 211 | 411 | 271 | 193 | 464 | 29 | 118 | 147 | 1037 | 1015 | 2052 |

TABLE VIII (pp 62-4, 69)

Intake of northern boys at certain colleges of Oxford and Cambridge in the eighteenth century, to illustrate county bias

| | <u>Oxford</u> | | | | | <u>Cambridge</u> | | | | |
|----------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|--------|------------|------------------|---------|------------|----------|--|
| | Queen's | Lincoln University | Christ-Church | Corpus | St. John's | Trinity | Christs | Peterhouse | Pembroke | |
| -1710 | 61 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 42 | 21 | 12 | 10 | 4 | |
| -1720 | 74 | 16 | 3 | 1 | 37 | 20 | 22 | 18 | 0 | |
| -1730 | 92 | 19 | 3 | 1 | 41 | 15 | 17 | 19 | 0 | |
| -1740 | 99 | 19 | 1 | 4 | 37 | 13 | 6 | 8 | 4 | |
| -1750 | 57 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 16 | 24 | 11 | 7 | 8 | |
| -1760 | 45 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 29 | 15 | 10 | 15 | 8 | |
| -1770 | 41 | 5 | 9 | 3 | 14 | 18 | 9 | 6 | 3 | |
| -1780 | 43 | 10 | 3 | 1 | 24 | 18 | 11 | 15 | 6 | |
| -1790 | 48 | 16 | 10 | 2 | 47 | 43 | 10 | 8 | 2 | |
| -1800 | 35 | 8 | 11 | 1 | 24 | 39 | 4 | 5 | 5 | |
| Totals | 595 | 117 | 64 | 23 | 311 | 226 | 112 | 111 | 40 | |
| of which | C | 2 | 1 | 1 | 73 | 33 | 22 | 25 | 12 | |
| | W | 0 | 0 | 0 | 65 | 49 | 20 | 11 | 9 | |
| | D | 67 | 16 | 10 | 86 | 62 | 12 | 41 | 9 | |
| | N | 25 | 45 | 12 | 57 | 56 | 31 | 23 | 4 | |
| others | 15 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 30 | 26 | 27 | 11 | 6 | |

proportion of entrants to both universities from the north-west is far in excess of its share of the population. This is especially noticeable in Oxford where even the underpopulated county of Westmorland sent consistently more sons than either of the north-eastern counties until the very last decades of the century. A summary of the figures emphasises the paradoxical nature of these results.

| | Pop. in 1801 | Total eighteenth century entrants to O/C. |
|----------------|--------------|---|
| Cumberland | 117,230 | 597 |
| Durham | 159,161 | 433 |
| Northumberland | 168,078 | 411 |
| Westmorland | 40,878 | 464 |

Clearly during the eighteenth century, and especially in the first half of that century, the north-west was sending more boys up to the English universities than would normally be expected in view of its small population. This success in university entrance by boys from the north-west emphasizes the paucity of boys from the other side of the Pennines at Oxford and Cambridge; only thirty boys from the county of Durham entered an English university in the last decade of the century, whilst sixty-three went up from Cumberland.

Although the numbers of boys involved are small, and there is variation in the pattern over the century, the contrast between the contribution of north-east and north-west is so marked that the results cannot be the production of chance. Some factors such as the mechanism of university entrance, the structure of education in the two areas, or their social and economic background must have existed to create this pattern. The entrance figures themselves provide some clues to these factors. It is apparent from Table VII that the great preponderance of the north-west derives from the entrances at Oxford. If university entrances are broken down into colleges, as in Table VIII, the major role of Queen's college,

Oxford, is abundantly clear. Table VIII also shows connections between other colleges and specific areas in the north, such as that between the north-east and Lincoln, Oxford. These established links are clearly important factors in transfer from any area to university.⁹

The most permanent kind of bond was a closed or semi-closed scholarship. There were a number of these in existence in the eighteenth century, some linking parts of the north to colleges, some restricted to specific schools. Their considerable influence upon university entrance is evinced even by their enumeration.¹⁰ Of the awards known to be regularly offered to northern boys during the eighteenth century five were for the benefit of the north-east, whereas eleven aided alumni from the north-west.¹¹ The effect of each scholarship depended upon the terms of the award; it is therefore necessary to examine them in more detail to estimate their influence upon university entrance.

Some awards had been donated to support local boys at university irrespective of their college of entrance. Thus Newcastle council regularly granted £5 p.a. for five yearly periods to ex-pupils of the local grammar school when they went up to university. This grant was not restricted to the sons of freemen but it was expected that the recipient should have been a pupil at the school for at least five years, and should enter university directly from that school.¹² These regulations were probably intended to prevent the practice of attending a number of schools purely in order to accumulate university advantages.¹³ Newcastle ceased to offer this grant in 1736.¹⁴ There were two scholarships of the same nature available to pupils from Kirkby Stephen G.S. These had been donated by the founder, Lord Wharton, and were financed from the Wharton estates in Winton. These were still awarded occasionally in the eighteenth century, by which time the estates and the scholarship had become the responsibility of the Lowther family. Thomas Pearson therefore appealed to Sir James Lowther when he sought these awards in 1782.¹⁵

The Hartwell exhibitions for boys from Newcastle G.S. and Durham school, which were awarded by the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and some of the small exhibitions open to boys from Kendal were also purely local grants. The latter were bestowed by the decision of the council of Kendal, its vicar and schoolmaster. These exhibitions were certainly sought after by those eligible. In 1718 Isaac le Touzey went so far as to apply to Kendal council for some or other of the Park's, Sand's and Smith's awards, as "Mr. Thomas Shaw has been enjoying them for the last four years."¹⁶ However as all these awards were unconnected with a specific college their effect was to ease the financial position of a boy at university rather than to assist his entrance.

Aid to northern students at university was also provided occasionally by the Dean and Chapter of Durham and by the Crewe Trustees. No regular grant was made by either of these two bodies but they did assist in a few cases of need. The payments by the Chapter are scattered through their eighteenth century records.¹⁷ The Crewe Trustees did not employ their charitable fund in this manner until the last quarter of the century.

Far more relevant to the problem of university entrance were those exhibitions which were tied to designated colleges, and whose award was normally in the hands of the college itself. Some of these scholarships had already in the eighteenth century taken on some of the characteristics of a competitive entrance examination. The Durham scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford was regularly advertised in the northern press in the last two decades of the century. This scholarship was clearly awarded on a competitive basis. When it became vacant on the election of Thomas Hornsby to a fellowship in 1760 literary merit was claimed to be the principal recommendation. On that occasion it went to William Scott, the future Lord Stowell. When he in his turn gave up the scholarship in 1765 it was again put up to public competition, to be won by George Clarke. However there had been a contest; the editor of the Newcastle

Chronicle had heard that "Mattison Harrison, son of the Rev. Harrison of Haydon Bridge, who lately stood for a scholarship in Corpus, Oxford... Though he did not succeed...yet has got a clerk's place as he is a very good Greek and Latin scholar."¹⁸

It is rare to have such explicit evidence that some closed awards were competitive; yet most awards must have involved examination of the candidate or candidates. In many cases certainly this had little connection with university entrance as the scholarship award came after acceptance as a member of the college,¹⁹ and then examination would be in the hands of a fellow of the college, and might or might not be a real test of merit. When however the examination was conducted prior to college entrance it was more likely to be of a testing nature. In the 1750's candidates for the Baker exhibitions at St. John's in Cambridge were sometimes sent to James Horseman of Houghton-le-Spring for examination.²⁰ He had educated his own son, who had gone on to St. John's in 1751. The most outstanding example of competitive entrance to university through a scholarship closed to the north lies however in the Hastings exhibitions. These were established by the will of Lady Elizabeth Hastings and came into operation in 1764. Although the final choice for the five scholars was to be made by lot from a short list of eight, this short list was to be arrived at by examination of the work of the candidates. During the eighteenth century the north-western schools that were eligible for this award, Appleby, Heversham, St. Bee's and Penrith, gained 18 out of 34 scholarships, although there were eight other schools in the original endowment. Although these exhibitions were competitive between schools, once an award had been made that particular grant seems to have remained with the school; in 1789 the successful candidate from St. Bee's was one Robinson Wilkinson. He died in February of that year, before he could go up to Queen's. Nevertheless a boy from St. Bee's did receive one of the Hastings awards of that year; he seems

likely to have been an alternative choice from the school rather than the successful candidate of a fresh election.²¹

Even if a scholarship was not a mode of entrance to university in the modern style there can be little doubt that the existence of such awards was an encouragement for boys at the schools so endowed to aim at university. It can hardly be a coincidence that the number of pupils from Appleby G.S. going on to university should show a marked increase immediately after the foundation of the Thanet exhibitions in 1721, although the ability of its current headmaster was certainly a factor in the school's development. Above all the links forged by such endowments between particular schools and colleges eased the path to university, especially from less illustrious schools than Appleby. Of the thirty-six boys who left Kirkby Lonsdale G.S. for an English university twenty-two went to Christ's College, Cambridge; this is plainly a result of the scholarship connections between the two foundations.

Although these endowments did form bonds between the north and the English universities their limitations must be recognised. Few of them were completely restricted to one school, and even those which had been intended to be substantial props of education in a particular area often failed in that purpose because the wording of the endowment left discretion over choice to the college. The Crewe exhibitions were primarily for natives of the diocese of Durham and were so awarded for much of the eighteenth century. However between 1755 and 1784 the majority of these exhibitions were bestowed upon candidates from those other places mentioned in Crewe's will as reserves to qualify only when no candidate appeared from Durham. Some of the reasons for this misapplication of the fund were explained in 1730 when most awards still went to Durham boys. The Rev. Dr. Eden, Prebend of Durham was informed by J. Morley of Lincoln College that:

"There is now vacant one of My Lord Crewe's exhibitions at Lincoln College, which will be filled up about Michaelmas. We had two vacancies last year, which were kept void full as long as could be by the Bishop's will, neither of the persons which appeared being in the good opinion of the Society...(eventually one from Durham and one from Northampton being chosen)..If a second Durhamite had appeared, the Northamptonshire lad could not..have been elected.. (letter then asked for recommendations for candidates)...We seldom have a number of Northern youths sufficient to make a proper choice, nor have we them soon enough to know if they be deserving; this is one reason why some of them have done themselves little good and have proved a trouble (if not a scandal) to the College..."²²

It seems unlikely that the distance from Durham to Oxford and any lack of candidates from the county were the only reasons for the drop in northern holders of this award, which increased sharply after 1755. The college register ceases after the 1730's to include the formal statement that "none from the north appeared" when recording elections of other candidates. A real preference for southern entrants seems a more likely explanation, and one that the letter quoted above foreshadows. From 1784 there was a sudden resurgence of northern holders, although this began to tail off again in the 1790's. It may only be coincidence that the Crewe awards were enlarged by the will of Dr. Richard Hutchins, dated 16.8.1782, which provided relief for the exhibitioners from their university and college dues.²³

It was not only the Crewe awards which went less frequently to northern boys in the eighteenth century. The Cosin scholarships were also designated for Durham school and natives of Durham. Between 1703 and 1726 every award went to a northern boy; after that date only thirteen northerners gained the scholarship out of 67 awards before 1779. The Baker exhibitions show a similar decline in the proportion of northern holders after the middle of

the century. The relative failure of these three important links, the Crewe, Cosin and Baker awards, partially explains the decline in number of boys going from Durham to the English universities in the eighteenth century; a decline which is not apparent elsewhere in the north.²⁴

The awards which benefited the north-west operated more consistently in this periods, although only eight of the Milner scholarships out of thirty-four awarded in the century went to boys from Westmorland even though Heversham was one of the three schools designated for that award. The Braithwaite scholarship to St. John's, Cambridge went to northern boys with more regularity, but even this was rarely awarded to a northern boy between 1760 and 1790.

Apart from the failure of some awards designed to support northern education to answer their purpose consistently, there were other exhibitions which decayed to the point of extinction. In the eighteenth century the Knewstubb exhibition from Kirkby Stephen G.S. was awarded to but one pupil, Robert Islip. The scholarship endowed at Magdalene College by Grindall for his school at St. Bee's does not seem to have operated at all in this period. The scholarship founded by Thomas Pattison was only rarely bestowed, although that award for pupils from the north-east was a supernumerary scholarship, given when there were not sufficient foundation scholarships at Christ's for those born in the area.²⁵

Although some scholarships did fall into decay in the eighteenth century the importance of the rest as factors in university entrance seems established. The concentration of northern boys in a few colleges at both universities, shown in Table VIII, continuing as it did with little change throughout the period indicates the strength of these permanent links. There were undoubtedly less permanent links too, but these are more difficult to substantiate. Certain tutors at university did gain a reputation for fostering their northern connections; Henry Cook and Thomas Atherton, both fellows at Christ's at the turn of the eighteenth

century, were said to have personally attracted many pupils ~~x~~ to that college from the north-east. The existence of fellowships specifically for northerners at Christ's and Magdalene in Cambridge, and at Queen's University College and Corpus in Oxford maintained such personal ties between the universities and certain areas of the country.

Another possible connection between school and university was the headmaster, who, if himself a graduate, might have been expected to guide his pupils towards his alma mater. In fact there is very little indication of this kind of influence in operation in the north. Its absence may be due to peculiarities of higher education in this region. In the first place it appears that there were far fewer graduate masters in grammar schools in the north than elsewhere in the country.²⁶ Secondly those colleges in Oxford and Cambridge which had strong scholarship links with the north did not on the whole possess the means of ecclesiastical patronage in that area. Only Trinity College, Cambridge had the presentation of livings in which there were notable northern schools; Heversham, Kendal and Kirkby Lonsdale. There were altogether only thirteen livings in the north which were presented to by one of the colleges of Oxford or Cambridge. Queen's College, Oxford, which was so dominant in the training of northerners in that university, possessed only the livings of Grasmere and Uldale in the north of England.²⁷

The shortage of northern livings in the gift of the very colleges which received most northern boys had considerable consequences for the church in the north, and for secondary education there. In the present context the result was that those graduates who took up masterships of northern grammar schools in fact came from a wide variety of colleges. Except in the case of St. Bee's G.S., where the master was chosen by the Provost of Queen's Oxford,²⁸ there was no direct pressure upon any of the main contributing schools to favour the graduates of one college rather than another.

It has been suggested then that one of the reasons for the disproportionate number of boys entering the English universities from the north-west was the existence of effective and permanent links in the form of scholarships between the schools of that area and the colleges. To substantiate this theory it would clearly be advantageous to be able to trace the earlier education of the alumni of Oxford and Cambridge. Table IX summarizes such evidence of school background as has survived. Within its limitations this table supports the importance attached to awards. All the schools which made a major contribution to university entrance possessed university advantages. Appleby and Heversham show an increase in the number of their boys going up to an English university after an addition to the schools' awards. Nevertheless there were schools which sent boys regularly to university which had no specific scholarship advantage. In the absence of complete lists of scholars,²⁹ and details of their school background, it is not possible to estimate how many of these boys were holders of more general county scholarships.

The significance of a summary of school effectiveness in terms of university entrance is severely limited however by the nature of the data available. Whilst most of the "Northern" colleges at Cambridge kept records of the background of their alumni none of the relevant Oxford colleges did. Consequently the school career of only 40% of Oxford alumni has been traced, whilst that of more than 80% of Cambridge men is known. These proportions are fairly constant throughout the country.³⁰

Despite the restrictions of the evidence certain features which appear in Table IX are probably valid. The predominant role played by the local grammar school in the preparation of boys for University substantiates the conclusions reached in Chapter I from the evidence of D.N.B. It is noteworthy that the public schools increase considerably in popularity in

TABLE IX (pp 71-72)

Entrants to the English Universities from specific northern schools

A. Oxford

| School | 01-10 | 11-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 61-70 | 71-80 | 81-90 | 91-00 | Total |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Appleby | 2 | 5 | 12 | 18 | 11 | 15 | 10 | 13 | 13 | 7 | 106 |
| Newcastle | 0 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 7 | 50 |
| Durham | 1 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 27 |
| St. Bee's | 12 | 15 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 13 | 73 |
| Carlisle | 3 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 42 |
| Houghton-le-S | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 16 |
| Heversham | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 13 |
| Kendal | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 10 |
| Kirkby Lonsdale | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bampton | 1 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Lowther | 0 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Penrith | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 7 |
| Morpeth | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Wigton | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Public | 6 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 4 | 12 | 10 | 63 |
| Private | 1 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 10 |
| G.S. outside area | 0 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 23 |

Table IX Contd...

B. Cambridge

| School | 01-10 | 11-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 61-70 | 71-80 | 81-90 | 91-00 | Total |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Appleby | 4 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 10 | 9 | 52 |
| Newcastle | 11 | 16 | 13 | 3 | 8 | 13 | 3 | 10 | 10 | 6 | 93 |
| Durham | 12 | 13 | 10 | 19 | 15 | 13 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 115 |
| St. Bee's | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 9 | 40 |
| Carlisle | 0 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 7 | 29 |
| Houghton-le-S | 4 | 10 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 6 | 54 |
| Heversham | 2 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 41 |
| Kendal | 8 | 10 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 34 |
| Kirkby Lonsdale | 3 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 33 |
| Bampton | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 18 |
| Lowther | 7 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Penrith | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Morpeth | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 13 |
| Wigton | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 8 |
| Public | 7 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 11 | 15 | 10 | 14 | 24 | 98 |
| Private | 9 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 10 | 13 | 71 |
| G.S. outside area | 10 | 17 | 35 | 17 | 8 | 15 | 13 | 16 | 40 | 18 | 189 |

Table IX contd.....

C. Summary

| School | 01-10 | 11-20 | 21-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 61-70 | 71-80 | 81-90 | 91-00 | Total |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Appleby | 6 | 7 | 15 | 24 | 17 | 23 | 13 | 14 | 23 | 16 | 158 |
| Newcastle | 11 | 20 | 19 | 5 | 8 | 15 | 12 | 22 | 18 | 13 | 143 |
| Durham | 13 | 19 | 11 | 24 | 20 | 15 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 12 | 142 |
| St. Bee's | 14 | 18 | 10 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 14 | 11 | 22 | 113 |
| Carlisle | 3 | 13 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 10 | 6 | 11 | 11 | 71 |
| Houghton-le-S | 5 | 11 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 15 | 8 | 70 |
| Heversham | 3 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 54 |
| Kendal | 9 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 34 |
| Kirkby Lonsdale | 3 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 33 |
| Bampton | 1 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 25 |
| Lowther | 7 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 22 |
| Penrith | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 14 |
| Morpeth | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 13 |
| Wigton | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 10 |
| Public | 13 | 7 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 15 | 25 | 14 | 26 | 34 | 161 |
| Private | 10 | 7 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 10 | 14 | 61 |
| G.S. outside area | 10 | 21 | 35 | 19 | 8 | 16 | 13 | 17 | 47 | 26 | 212 |

the second half of the century. The large number of boys trained at grammar schools outside the area is mostly made up of boys at the nearby schools of Hawkshead and Sedbergh, which supplied 122 of the 217 pupils concerned. Perhaps the most surprising feature is that, including the two schools just outside the north which have been mentioned above, twelve schools sent up over 80% of the boys whose education can be traced. It is significant too that only three schools, from the north-east Newcastle, Durham and Houghton-le-Spring, sent more than 20 boys up in the eighteenth century, whereas the north-west, without nearby Hawkshead and Sedbergh, enjoyed seven grammar schools which each trained more than 20 boys for higher education in England.

Entrants to universities outside England

(A) Trinity College, Dublin

Some 46 boys can be identified as going from the north of England to Trinity College, Dublin in the eighteenth century. Entry was fairly regular over the century, although only one boy went in the last decade. The great majority of these boys naturally came from the north-west, which had strong economic links with eastern Ireland. The ease of travel between the two areas must also have been an incentive to the parents of the west to make use of the educational facilities of Ireland. There is therefore little significance in the greater number, 44 out of 46, of entrants from the north-west; their secondary education however is interesting. Because of the survival of entrance records in Dublin information is available about 34 of the alumni of Trinity College in this group. Of these 9 were educated in Ireland and individual boys came also from the grammar schools of Carlisle, Appleby, Penrith, Haydon Bridge, Newcastle, Berwick, Wigton and Lowther. Two boys had been educated at Kirkby Lonsdale, Kendal and Sedbergh. St. Bee's however

provided no less than 12 boys, spread through the century. Admittedly the position of St. Bee's in its proximity to Whitehaven made it easy to transfer a pupil to Ireland; nevertheless these figures emphasize the importance of that grammar school in the north-west.

The college was an important additional source of graduate teachers for the north. It provided headmasters for Alnwick, Kendal, Wigton, Irton, Firbank in Furness and Penrith, as well as a number of private schoolmasters.

(B) The Scottish universities

It has been possible to attempt an assessment of the number of northern boys who entered Oxford, Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin in the eighteenth century. Sufficient information survives in the entrance registers of those universities to indicate the background of their alumni before they went up to college. The four Scottish universities however present a much more difficult problem. There are published lists of the alumni of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews; however none of these lists pretend to be a complete record of entrants; the lists of Glasgow and St. Andrews do not cover the whole century, and only the records of Glasgow provide biographical data.³⁴ There is in addition unpublished material, of which the most important is the matriculation lists of Edinburgh university, but only fragments relate to the eighteenth century. The material that does survive serves to show that many Englishmen from the north were entering Scottish universities, but only the vaguest estimate of the actual numbers concerned is possible.

It is clear that Edinburgh and Glasgow were more frequented than the more northern universities. The printed records of Edinburgh university, combined with information from local biographies, provide over 150 names of northern alumni at that establishment. This is certainly a gross under-estimate of the actual total going to that university from the north

of England. The matriculation records of Edinburgh have not been published. From ~~180~~ 1811 onwards these contain information about the place of origin of each student but before that year the students merely signed and it depended on the whim of the individual whether he gave any further data. In fact very few added anything to their signature. In the eighteenth century only a small proportion of arts students even bothered to matriculate or graduate at that university; consequently there is very little evidence of attendance by those students at Edinburgh. However there are sources which provide places of origin for some students of the eighteenth century, and these prove the importance of Edinburgh as a place of higher education for boys from the north of England. The professors normally kept class lists for the purpose of collecting fees. These were not part of the official archives of the university, and normally remained in the possession of the professor. Three such lists have come into the hands of the university archives, those of the history class from 1719-1753, of the chemistry class from 1755-1766 and of the practice of physic from 1790-1811. These lists do add the place of origin to most students. These three lists include respectively 4, 19 and 111 students from the north of England. Only 20% of these are identifiable from the other sources. Other accidental survivals of material also indicate that many students attended from the north of England, but can no longer be traced. A list of students entering Divinity Hall, Edinburgh from 1709-1727 adds a further 7 previously untraced northern names; the dedications of M.D. theses suggest a northern origin for 7 more students who have otherwise no clear place of origin.³²

There is then evidence that a considerable number of students attended Edinburgh from the north of England without leaving any useful sign³³ of their presence. Only an estimate can be made of the size of the missing population, and for this purpose the nineteenth century matriculations may

be of some assistance. A summary of entrants between 1811 and 1815 is contained in Table X.

It is abundantly clear from these figures that there was a strong link between the north, particularly Cumberland and Northumberland, and Edinburgh in the early nineteenth century. This would suggest, together with the other evidence that a similar link existed in the eighteenth century. The table also shows that the great majority of English students went to Edinburgh for the medical training for which the university was already famous. Whilst the university as a whole was fairly equally divided between medicine and the arts, 70% of the entrants from the north of England entered the faculty of medicine. A similar bias exists amongst those students known to have entered the university in the eighteenth century; apart from those traced only through class lists, 93 of the 155 known northern alumni of Edinburgh studied medicine there. This concentration of the English students in the faculty of medicine does mean that the known entrants are probably a somewhat higher percentage of the real total of alumni from the north than might have been expected, because the records of medical students are better than those of the arts faculty.³⁴ In view of this the actual total of alumni from northern England can hardly have been much more than double the amount of known names, and at the most was probably around the total of 600 in the century.³⁵

Much less has survived of the background of Scottish alumni than of those of the English universities. Unlike the pattern at Oxford and Cambridge the north-east seems to have sent more boys up to Edinburgh than the north-west. However the proportion from the latter area was still higher than its population would apparently warrant. Of the medical students who matriculated between 1790 and 1811, and were listed as studying physic 74 came from Cumberland, 36 from Westmorland, 78 from

TABLE X (pp 75 - 7)

Matriculations at Edinburgh University 1811 - 1815

| Year | From Cumberland | | From Durham | | From Northumberland | | From Westmorland | | Total University | |
|-------|-----------------|----|-------------|----|---------------------|----|------------------|---|------------------|------|
| | A | M | A | M | A | M | A | M | A | M |
| 1811 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 626 | 849 |
| 1812 | 0 | 12 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 695 | 797 |
| 1813 | 5 | 16 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 893 | 937 |
| 1814 | 0 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 1 | 875 | 861 |
| 1815 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 12 | 0 | 3 | 925 | 835 |
| Total | 11 | 47 | 10 | 17 | 11 | 54 | 3 | 4 | 4014 | 4280 |

Figures extracted from the unpublished matriculation registers.

A - Arts

M - Medicine

Northumberland and 35 from Durham. This equality of entry at the end of the century may not represent the true picture of the rest of the eighteenth century. Roughly two thirds of the alumni known from other sources are from the north-east. The geographical position of Edinburgh may have been an encouragement to boys from the north-east to use its university, whilst the pupils from the north-west went to Glasgow.

Certainly it is true that the majority of northern entrants to Glasgow university came from the north-west, 104 out of 157 known alumni, but the same problem of the fallibility of the lists of alumni, and the shortage of biographical material on the known entrants weaken the validity of judgements on Glasgow recruitment as they did for Edinburgh. Nor is it possible to draw strict lines between the alumni of the two universities, because it was common practice for medical students to study at Edinburgh for a few sessions even if they intended to take their degree at Glasgow.³⁶ Medicine was not however the main attraction of Glasgow university; only 13 of the northern alumni left Glasgow with such a qualification.

The other two Scottish universities played a lesser but still significant part in the higher education of boys from the north of England. Twenty-four such alumni are known for Aberdeen and twenty-eight for St. Andrews. Both these figures would certainly increase if more biographical data were available. At both more than half of the northerners took a medical degree, normally after study at Edinburgh university. In all then almost 600 students from the north of England are known to have been trained in a Scottish university in the eighteenth century, and the actual number going to Scotland for higher education in that period may have exceeded 1,000.

One motive for the large number of boys going to Scotland has already been indicated. The university of Edinburgh had a deserved reputation for the excellence of its medical teaching; that a large majority of the English alumni went to Edinburgh to study medicine shows that this reputation had

spread southwards in the eighteenth century. The same motive took a small number further north to St. Andrews and Aberdeen. There was another incentive which took boys to Scottish universities, with the emphasis on this occasion on Glasgow. The English universities had religious tests which prevented any member of a dissenting sect from taking a degree there. This did not prevent a few dissenters from attending Cambridge as the tests there were applied at the end of the university course, but those that wished to take a degree and study theology as a step towards the ministry were forced to look outside England. Many, particularly from the north of England, chose to enter the universities of Scotland. Edinburgh, perhaps because of its specialisation in medicine, was not a popular choice for future dissenting ministers; only 13 northern ministers took their degree there. Glasgow, however, trained 40 non-conformist ministers from the north of England, including 18 from the academies of Rotherham and Dixon. As the same university trained slightly more northern alumni to be clerics of the church of England it does not appear to have had a bias towards dissent. Quite apart from those dissenters that sought to be ministers in their own church many children of dissenting families appear to have resorted to Scottish universities; 14 sons of dissenting ministers entered Glasgow alone, aside from those that later became ministers themselves.

The bare figures of northern entrance to Scottish universities do help to clarify the pattern of higher education preferred by the parents of that area in the eighteenth century; they do nothing however to show the process of the move from school to university in detail. There are in fact very few personal descriptions of education in Scotland surviving. One of these rare accounts is contained in the interesting autobiography of Percival Stockdale. He recounts that after his education at Alnwick and Berwick grammar schools he was ready in 1754 to go to university. However his family were too poor to send him to one of the English universities, so he went "on a Wilkie Bursary" to the university of St.

Andrews. The patronage of this award had been in the hands of Wilkie of Foulden since 1730/1, and he had apparently used it to finance students from the north of England on their way to St. Andrews. Five other English holders of this award are known. A somewhat similar grant existed in the university of Glasgow, the Williams Bursary. This was used to provide for the training of ministers for the dissenting congregations in South Britain, and consequently did sometimes go to alumni who originated in the north.³⁷

Apart from these bursaries there is very little evidence of English students receiving financial aid at Scottish universities. It appears that the charity of John Thomlinson towards Rothbury G.S. was on at least two occasions used to supporting a scholar at Edinburgh university.³⁸ This discounts private support for individuals; it is certainly possible that Mark Akenside was not unique in receiving monetary aid from his fellow dissenters to attend Edinburgh university.

Stockdale may have gone to St. Andrews for cheapness, but others saw different merits in the northern institutions. In 1784 Matthew Wise, the son of Henry Christopher of London was ready in his father's eyes for university. He consulted his relative, Sir Edward Blackett, about the choice. The correspondence has not survived, but Sir Edward commented upon Mr. Wise's decisions in extant letters to his own son William. On the 7th of August 1784 he wrote:

"Mr. Wise, who was determined to give his son a Scotch education; first in Edinburgh, then in St. Andrews; which he soon changed for Glasgow, and now he is wild about sending him to Aberdeen; as there are but four universities in Scotland if he changes his mind about Aberdeen, perhaps he may take it into his head to send his son over to Ireland for an education, rather than have him debauched at either of our universities. When he wrote to me and told me that he intended to put his son to Glasgow I really could not help telling him that I had heard a very bad account of it from a gentleman who was at that university. He told me that the refuse of

the Irish were sent there, that they were an abandoned crew, and that the place was by no means fit for a young man..."Sir Edward had already written off St. Andrews as a suitable place for young Wise, by account of the large number of loose and scheming women in which the place abounded. His criticisms of Scotland in general were not well received by the father, but he did eventually act upon Blackett's advice. In February 1785 Sir Edward was able to write to his son that:

".....I received a letter about a week ago from Mr. Wise; he says that he has entered his son at Trinity (Oxford)...He says that he prefers the Scotch universities for study and application, but that he does not like their tenets. I don't believe young Wise would care three half pence about their tenets, but I think the great matter in regard to him was not to throw him in the way of bad company and drink, which was the more likely to have occurred in Scotland."³⁹ Whilst Wise's opinion accords with modern views of the relative academic standing of the Scottish and English universities in the eighteenth century Blackett's criticism was based upon some knowledge; his son had been up at Trinity, Oxford but six years before.

It is hardly possible to comment upon the school background of the Scottish university alumni because so few can be traced back to a particular school. There were certainly boys from the dissenting establishments of Dixon and Rotheram, and from the private schools run by dissenting teachers such as Lowthian and Turner. Nevertheless more boys are known to have gone up from the established grammar schools, especially St. Bee's and Newcastle. Carlisle too sent students to Scotland. These chance survivals of information are however little more than suggestions of the education of a great mass of boys that cannot now be traced to a school.

(C) Universities abroad —

Although individuals from northern England entered universities from Scandinavia to Italy and Austria the only European university⁴⁰ which

appears to have attracted a regular stream of pupils was that of Leyden.⁴¹ Forty-nine students of that university in the eighteenth century came from the north of England, the majority to study medicine. Quite a lot of them had already studied at a Scottish university, normally Edinburgh, and went on to take a degree either at Leyden itself or at Rheims or Utrecht. This stream declined during the eighteenth century; only thirteen of the entrants went after 1750.

(D) Canterbury

A final source of degrees in the eighteenth century was the archbishop of Canterbury, who had the privilege of granting "Lambeth degrees" to his clergy. This right was exercised for ten northerners during the period in question.

Conclusion

Examination of university entrance from the north of England in the eighteenth century reveals certain unusual features which are of significance for the study of education in that area. A much greater proportion of the north-western population enjoyed the benefits of a university training than from the north east. It has been suggested that one reason for this disparity was the existence of a considerable number of scholarships to the English universities, set up for the west, whereas there were few for the east. However as the same disparity exists in entrance to the Scottish universities, although to a lesser extent, this cannot be the complete answer, as the privileges of the scholarships did not extend to Scotland.

The marked success, in terms of university entrance, achieved by certain endowed grammar schools in the area indicates another cause for the superiority of the west. There were far more such schools there than in the east, and few of the north-eastern endowed grammar schools sent boys regularly to university.

The Scottish universities attracted students because of their toleration of dissenters, and because of the fame of their training in medicine. The same motives took students to Leyden and other universities abroad. In all something in the region of 3,000 boys left the north for a university education in the eighteenth century.

Notes

1. G.H. Turnbull
2. D.M. Harding found that very few Northamptonshire boys attended Scottish universities.
3. Hans p 41-62, D.A. Winstanley. C.E. Mallet, Vol III. Sylvester p 210-11, S.J. Curtis p 133, McLachlan p 16.
4. Ch IV p. 100.
5. P.M. Jacobs pp 5-20.
6. J.A. Venn 4 and 5. C.B. Heberden. Hans pp 42-5.
7. Roughly 16,000. Venn 5.
8. Ch II p. 28.
9. Such links were not of course peculiar to northern England; the same principle applied to other areas. For example see Venn 3.
10. These awards are listed in Appendix IV.
11. Only active awards tied to colleges are included in these numbers.
12. C.C.B. 5.5.1712.
13. Ch IX p.273.
14. C.C.B. 30.9.1736. There is no indication of the reason for the change.
15. Swailes p 24. D/Lons stray letter 22.1.1782.
16. Kendal council Record book 12.6.1718.
17. Ex info J.E. Fagg.
18. J 27.12.1761, Ch 23.3.1765, C. 17.8.1782, 15.9.1792 and 18.11.1797.
19. Most of the awards closed to the north were granted after the students were registered on the college books. Note however the Hastings awards and pp (65-66) below.
20. Baker-Baker MS.
21. P 11.2.1789.
22. Crewe Trustees, correspondence C 7. Letter of 19.7.1730.
23. Crewe Trustees minute book.
24. Table VII.

Chapter IV

The Grammar Schools

The traditional picture of English education in the eighteenth century is a gloomy one, and nowhere more gloomy than in the area of higher education supplied by the grammar schools and English universities. The merits of the schools and academies established by private enterprise, by the S.P.C.K. and by the dissenters have been chronicled; the endowed schools of the eighteenth century have received little attention. What has been written about these schools has been largely critical. After describing the great intellectual and social movements of the century Dr. Curtis pointed out the paradox of an inefficient instructional system. "It was not, however, until the close of the century that these developments affected secondary education. The grammar schools, bound by their foundation statutes, were unable to change their narrow classical curriculum even if they wished to. Some schools with meagre endowments became institutions which provided only an elementary education."¹ Armytage devoted two pages to "Criticism of the grammar schools" and made only fleeting reference to them elsewhere, although eighteenth century education as a whole occupied about forty pages of his book. Most general studies of education give the same brief but scathing treatment to grammar schools of this period.²

The reasons for the supposed decline are also generally accepted. "Schools, which still bore the name of 'free grammar school,' had reduced their free pupils to a small proportion of their strength by the admission of fee-paying pupils not on the foundation; and the change usually transformed a local day school into a non-local boarding school. The schools were unsuited both in curriculum and topographical position to nineteenth century needs; it was not possible to adapt the local distribution of these schools to the changed situation caused by the industrial revolution.

Almost invariably their headmasters were clergymen, even in cases where a layman was eligible for the office; the fact was one more obstacle to the use of these schools by the children of Dissenters."³ It appears hardly surprising that so few of the outstanding men of the century had had their education in so stagnant an institution.

The evidence for the decline of the grammar schools is considerable. Carlisle's returns and those of the Charity Commissioners have been frequently quoted to prove the decline in number of the schools, in their status, the quality of the education provided in them, and in the number of pupils attending. The evidence adduced from D.N.B. by Hans gives statistical support for criticism. Personal memoirs and the opinions of the day cloth this numerical case against the schools. The doubts of the advisability of a classical education which the bishop of Carlisle felt at the beginning of the century have already been noted. They were shared by some of his contemporaries.⁴ Later in the century a correspondent of the Mirror of 11.3.1780 bewailed the classical education which had reduced him to the pitiable condition of a private tutor. There was certainly much criticism of the classical curriculum by the end of the century, but the statutes of the endowed schools made changes difficult. In any case modernisation of the curriculum was often associated with a decline in the status of the school.⁵

That there were nevertheless some grammar schools which maintained their status and, at the same time, developed curricula to meet the demands of the industrial age has always been recognised. Hans, when dividing these schools into three types, "public" schools, schools in commercial centres and schools in country towns, demonstrated that the second group began to offer the practical subjects, science and mathematics, in response to the pressure of their economic setting.⁶ Further recent studies have indicated that this response may have been quite widespread. In Cheshire nine of the twenty-five extant grammar schools are known to have extended

their courses to include some form of mathematics beyond simple arithmetic by the end of the century.⁷ Similar changes occurred in Leicestershire although there the growth of commercially biased subjects was closely associated with the decay of the traditional classical teaching.⁸ Despite these modifications the general verdict of each of these studies is in support of the accepted opinion. Indeed one of the most recent studies of the grammar schools as a national institution in the eighteenth century moves the beginning of the decline firmly back to the last decades of the seventeenth century.⁹

The theory of decline itself however has been questioned in the latest study of the eighteenth century grammar school. Tompson argues that the majority of grammar schools in that period did not decay but rather developed and adapted to meet the changing needs of the industrial revolution. As he cogently points out the disappearance of classics from the curriculum need not of itself prove that the school was in decay. Provided that it continued to educate, either by offering non-classical instruction at a higher level or by becoming an elementary school, then the foundation was still satisfying its original purpose. Only those relatively few schools which suffered a serious decline in the total of pupils (rather than merely of the number of pupils who studied classics), could be properly considered to have decayed.¹⁰ It is essential for this revision of the grammar school position to show that the great majority of the schools developed into public schools or modified their curricula successfully to satisfy parental demands.

There is already much evidence that this did happen. The local studies in Cheshire and Leicestershire have been quoted; the same pattern has appeared in large scale researches.¹¹ The evidence from the north of England suggests that the grammar schools there were more successful than in the rest of England. Not only did many schools widen their curricula to an extent far beyond that indicated by Tompson but at the same time they

succeeded in continuing to impart classical instruction to a significant number of pupils. The important role of grammar schools in the north of England, which was suggested by the D.N.B. figures in chapter I, may however have been the result of local factors. Certainly the resilience of that type of school in the north has been noted.¹²

Whether the country-wide trends of the grammar schools was towards decay or mutation there remain many unanswered questions of a more detailed nature. These are perhaps more important than the interpretation of the changes. There is still little evidence of who attended these schools, who taught at them or of the actual process of teaching. The clearest indication of the uncertainties which surround this subject is the variation in estimates of number of grammar schools extant at any one time. Vincent listed one thousand three hundred and twenty as in existence between 1600 and 1660; estimates of the full total have gone as high as four thousand in the seventeenth century; yet standard texts treat Carlisle's four hundred and seventy-five schools as a good guide for the beginning of the nineteenth century and a firm figure of about four hundred has been suggested for the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹³ As there is no sign that the actual total of grammar schools dropped in the eighteenth century, rather that it increased by new foundations, the disparity between these figures suggests a difference in definition of what constituted a grammar school.

Dr. Hans lists 243 private classical schoolmasters in the eighteenth century, of whom six were active in the north. An examination of these suggests a possible reason for his estimate of only about four hundred grammar schools in 1700 and incidentally for the small part apparently played by these schools in the education of the elite. Thomas Richardson is stated to have taught a school at Blencon; the school at Blencowe was in fact an old established grammar school, whose master, William Richardson had held that appointment since 1732. Stamfordham too was an endowed grammar school,

whose master George Salkeld, a non-graduate, had been appointed in 1692, whereas Barnabas Salkeld is known to have taught at Longmarton endowed school. Thomas Steel did keep a school near Millom, but in his capacity as head master of Millom grammar school. Similarly John Firbanke was head master of Kirkby Lonsdale grammar school, although only from 1694 to 1708. The other two masters may indeed have kept private classical schools. Adam Barnes was the schoolmaster at Wigton in 1670, prior to the foundation of the grammar school there and Joseph Blaine, who is confused by Dr. Hans with the Cambridge graduate John Blair, may well ~~sk~~ have kept a private school at Grystoke when he gave up his post as headmaster of Wigton grammar school in 1759 to take up the cure at the former place. Certainly he was teaching there in 1779.

Misapprehensions such as these emphasize the fact that judgements upon the efficiency and worth of a widespread institution such as the grammar school are dependent upon the definition of the body concerned. It would seem very difficult to study any classified group without such terms of reference, yet it is uncommon for writers upon this subject to offer a clear-cut meaning of the title "grammar school."¹⁴ Perhaps this omission occurs in general texts because almost all the schools used as examples of grammar schools so obviously were that type of school. The great schools, including those later to grow into the Public Schools, present no problems of definition for they fulfil all the possible requirements of the class. In the north such schools as Appleby, Durham, Newcastle, Penrith and St. Bee's appear in all lists of grammar schools, contemporary or modern. There were also however many schools whose claims to grammar school status were less well established. The schools listed by Carlisle in 1818 illustrate the great difficulty of classification even to a contemporary. For the county of Durham, Carlisle enumerated only four grammar schools, Darlington, Durham, Houghton-le-Spring and Sedgefield. He omitted recognised grammar schools at Bishop Auckland, Heighington, Norton and Wolsingham. There were also schools functioning at Gateshead, Stockton and Witton-le-Wear which appear

to satisfy all the requirements for grammar school status. The omissions for Durham can be matched by similar oversights for the other three counties, which also include some schools with only dubious claims to the name of grammar school.

The problems which faced Carlisle in his self-imposed task¹⁴ have been alleviated by the speeding up of communications and by the modern availability of school records, but there remains a classification difficulty which cannot now be solved by direct enquiry. However some definition is necessary of the concept "Grammar School" if the data available are to be usefully evaluated. Nomenclature alone is quite insufficient evidence. Not only were many grammar schools termed "public" or "free" schools,¹⁵ but it was common for private schoolmasters of classical academies to advertise their institution as a grammar school. There are however certain obvious factors shared by the "free public grammar schools." As normally used the term includes only those schools which had an endowment. These schools would continue to exist after the death of their headmaster, even if he were not replaced for some time. The existence of an endowment meant the continued interest of some form of perpetual organisation to administer the bequest. The stipulation of an endowment draws a fairly clear line between public and private classical schools, although it does present some problems as indeed do any criteria of a grammar school. There were a few schools which were not endowed but were supported for the benefit of the public and provided a classical education. The school erected in Whitehaven by Sir John Lowther depended upon his favour as there was no permanent endowment; its history in the eighteenth century was chequered by this weakness. There were grammar schools in the north of England which were supported by the town corporation, as was common in Scotland.¹⁶ In fact all of these, Newcastle, Berwick and Alnwick, had gained endowments but they would have functioned as grammar schools in the absence of such financial aid.

Although there is this problem of the exceptional school where charitable support for public education was not in the form of an endowment it is necessary to make a distinction between the public and private grammar school. Private classical schools, which were just as numerous as Hans indicated, cannot be usefully considered in the same category as public grammar schools. Their problems, their character and their very reason for existence were quite different from those of the endowed schools. Because the teacher was the proprietor the private classical school was more responsive to parental demands, and he was quite free to change his curriculum at will. Such schools were likely to be of a temporary nature, being identified with the life of the master. It has been pointed out that the distinction between these two types of school has not always been observed in the classification of grammar schools.¹⁷ In particular it seems dubious to use the criteria of pupils going on to university, masters having a university training or the presence of an usher in the school as proof of a grammar school, unless some form of endowment also existed. Even when all these factors were present there are cases in which the school should be more properly considered as a private school for classics.¹⁸

The teaching of classics is another sine qua non of definition as a grammar school. This curriculum qualified the schools which offered it to train boys for the English universities. The teaching of classics was frequently ordered at the endowment of the school, but, even if this was not specified, as long as classics were taught in a school founded by a lasting benefaction this was then in practice a grammar school. The endowed school at Tynemouth was taught as a grammar school by a number of its head masters in this century although it was endowed as an elementary school.¹⁹

After Cox's case²⁰ in 1714 the legal requirement of a licence from the bishop, as far as the teaching profession was concerned, was restricted to the master and usher of a grammar school. If that had been rigidly

observed, and the records had survived, it would have provided an excellent guide to those schools which were considered to be grammar schools by their contemporaries. However little uniformity of practice seems to have developed. In Carlisle diocese licences were still sought by elementary teachers throughout the century; a caveat was entered concerning the licence of the schoolmistress of Robinson's school in Penrith in 1759 which was surely not a grammar school.²¹ On the other hand many grammar schoolmasters neglected to take out their licence. Both clergy and laymen took less interest in this form of clerical control of education later in the century; the last presentation for teaching without a licence in Carlisle occurs as early as 1739; licences continued to be issued till the end of the period but with diminishing frequency.

Licences issued in Carlisle diocese

| 1684-1714 | 1715-1744 | 1745-1774 | 1775-1800 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 165 | 105 | 31 | 16 |

A similar trend has been observed in Chester.²² Consequently the presence or absence of a licence, even when it is possible to rely on the survival of clerical records, is of little assistance in deciding the status of a school.

Another characteristic shared by most of the schools in the category of grammar schools is the provision of free places to some or all of the pupils. The extent of this freedom varied a great deal, a difference which could have effect on the whole development of the school. It seems unnecessary however to insist on the existence of free places to ~~xxx~~ include the school amongst the grammar schools. If the school provided classical education at small quarterage rates to its locality, and was a permanent foundation run by independent governors, it was fulfilling the same function as a free grammar school. These in any case normally made small charges at entrance, and at fixed times in the year. The change in numbers of free compared

with paying pupils is obviously an important development in the history of these schools, and one that eventually helped to change the entire nature of them, but there is no evidence to suggest that this change had gone so far in the north in the eighteenth century as to completely alter the social intake of any grammar school. In effect as long as cheap instruction was still regularly occurring in the local endowed school, and the subjects studied included classics, that school can be usefully considered as an active grammar school.

If the term "grammar school" is to be used as a description of a certain type of school, rather than simply as a title added at will by the owner of the school,²³ then it must be applied to schools which shared certain features, had a common background and felt the same social and economic pressures. Whether or not it is possible to make sub-divisions, as suggested by Dr. Hans, the original nature of the group must be established. The definition so far put forward--existence of an endowment, which was regulated by some body or person other than the teacher, and the teaching of classics---brings into this category many schools which are not listed in the enquiries of Wase²⁴ or Carlisle. The statistics of such a group would necessarily differ considerably from those produced by reference to the generally recognised grammar schools. This incompatibility is reduced when only those schools are included which are known to have offered a classical course at intervals in the century. Clearly an endowed non-classical school might at some point be fortunate enough to gain the services of a teacher qualified to teach classics. This would lead to the school temporarily offering a grammar school course, but it would be plainly misleading to include such a school, its pupils and masters in the category of grammar school when making a survey of a century of school development. At Bedlington the office of schoolmaster was combined with that of parish clerk for most of the eighteenth century. The six known masters before 1777 held both posts. There is no reason to believe that any of them taught

classics, nor was there apparently any endowment. A vacancy for the combined appointment was advertised in the Newcastle Chronicle on the 4th of October 1777, and in the next month the Rev. John Reay announced the opening of a school there which offered English, Latin, Greek, Accounts, Geography and History. This was clearly a private venture. However when the school was taken over by Daniel Pape in 1779 it was referred to as Bedlington Grammar School. Pape who was later the author of two English text books remained there, teaching a course covering various forms of mathematics as well as the classics, until 1784. His successor, Aaron Fletcher had been educated at the same school as Pape, St. Bee's grammar school, and also called himself headmaster of Bedlington Grammar School. His tenure of the post was brief as he died early in 1786. The school then seems to have reverted to its earlier status of elementary, and was once more taught by the parish clerk till the end of the century.²⁵

This nine years as a "public grammar"²⁶ school cannot justify the inclusion of this school amongst the grammar schools; however the school endowed by Theophilus Pickering in Gateshead, although not listed by Carlisle, clearly deserves inclusion. Its endowment directed that the master should "teach or be ready to teach all the children of the parish of Gateshead and the Latin and Greek tongues, as well as to write and cast accounts, and the art of navigation and plain sailing."²⁷ Further the school is frequently called the free grammar school, had at least one graduate master, Falcon, and the classics are known to have been taught.²⁸

The schools considered as grammar schools for the purposes of the present study are those which fulfil the following criteria:-

1. They were endowed or at least received financial support from an extraneous source.
2. Classics are known to have been regularly taught during the eighteenth century.
3. The school must have operated for at least twenty years as a classical school, during the eighteenth century.

Clearly the third criterion is normally established by the kind of evidence quoted by Tompson as part of his definition of a grammar school.

There were eighty-three schools which come within these criteria in the north of England in the eighteenth century. This may be contrasted perhaps with the forty-eight considered by Carlisle for the four counties. Tompson dealt only with Cumberland of these counties; he classified some seventeen schools as grammar schools in that county. Twenty-six are included by the criteria accepted here. Within that definition there would be clearly far more than the c700 such schools in England by 1819 which Tompson suggested.²⁹ It is not intended however to offer any calculation of a national total; the north was perhaps overendowed with grammar schools and in any case other factors indicate that a calculation based on the figure of eighty-three schools would be an underestimate.³⁰ The eighty-three schools are listed at the end of the chapter.

The Grammar Schools of the North

Amongst these 48 schools described by Carlisle in 1818 there was only one which had so decayed that teaching had ceased. Seven others taught but little classics and two returned no answer to the enquiry.³¹ Thus the great majority of those schools investigated were still offering some form of classical education to their parish, although it is true that many of them now charged quarterage to all their pupils. This report of continued instruction contrasts with the general findings of Carlisle's survey.³² The Charity Commissioners were to reinforce this exceptional result in their national reports; Westmorland was found to be, in proportion to population, the best provided county in England in educating terms. It is to be expected then that the north will not show the same educational trends as a national average; the far greater proportion of D.N.B. men educated at grammar schools in the north, and the relatively high number of university entrants from that area, are illustrations of this divergence from the norm. The continued survival of classical teaching to the end of the century was

most pronounced in the north-west, but is apparent over the whole area, with only one important exception.³³ Numerically the grammar schools of the north did much more than survive; the first known endowment of twenty-five of them comes in the eighteenth century. Of the remaining fifty-eight, at least forty received some form of material assistance by donation in the same period.³⁴ Continued belief in the grammar school as a means of education was demonstrated in the very century in which the tide of charitable bequests turned elsewhere into other channels.

John Cuthbert, by a codicil to his will proved in 1783, gave £300 for the repair and adornment of the two churches of Witton and Hamsterley and of the grammar school of Witton. The latter gained its bequest because "his friend Mr. Farrer had greatly raised the school." In the main body of his will Cuthbert had endowed the school with £200 for the education of six poor boys. This school at Witton-le-Wear had operated as a grammar school before the appointment of John Farrer, its outstanding headmaster, in 1765. Indeed there may have been a previous endowment, now unknown, as the advertisement which led to Farrer's application offers a free school house and a fixed payment of £6.5.0 p.a. in return for the teaching of Classics, writing and arithmetic. It was the great success which came with Farrer's headmastership, attested by the devotion shown later by his former pupils, that encouraged Cuthbert to establish it more firmly.³⁵ It is rare that the reason for an endowment is so plain. John Sibson, when endowing Pumbland grammar school, simply directed the erection of a school house, and the maintainance of two masters, one to teach Latin and English, the other writing and accounts. Although donated in 1759 this grant did not come into operation until the death of Sibson's wife in 1798.

Sibson's endowment typifies the new foundations of the eighteenth century. Twenty one of these were endowed by the will of a local man of no high social status, often aided by the subscriptions of the parish, or by those subscriptions alone. Gateshead, Bootle and Rothbury schools were endowed by the local clergyman and Culgaith and Blencairn grammar school was founded

by a grant from the inclosure commissioners. The numerous re-endowments of older grammar schools in the century follow the same pattern. In Cumberland eight of the grammar schools endowed before 1700 received some form of gift in the eighteenth century. At Dalston the widow of the Bishop of Carlisle continued his support of the school in 1703 but, this apart, all other donations were from the social strata which endowed the new grammar schools. At Dovenby and Millom public subscriptions aided the schools in 1708 and 1710; the same schools were given financial assistance, Dovenby from Jos. Ashley in 1722 and Millom from two Hudlestons in 1700 and 1714. The latter bequests however failed. The Rev. Dr. Thomlinson added to the school at Bromfield in 1741 and this was also one of the schools to benefit from the charity of Thomas Thomlinson in 1798. Mr. Watson of Whitehaven, who had been born in Bothel, aided Bothel school with £10 in 1736; Bowness school benefited from the will of Thomas Pattinson in 1785 as it had already done from that of the Rev. John Pape in 1778. Penrith grammar school received gifts from William Blamire in 1782 and again in 1798; the same kind of bequest, towards prizes, had been given to Bowness by Thomas Dixon of Fullbarrow in 1730. Finally Wreay grammar school was assisted by the interest on £600 given by John Brown in 1763.³⁷ These endowments and others like them given in the rest of the north illustrate the continued support afforded to the grammar schools in the area, especially in the north-west. Such widespread material aid, given by predominantly local men shows that the grammar schools of that area were satisfying the needs of their society, and providing an education that was still desired. This survival of an enthusiasm for the traditional forms of education has been noted already. A.E. Dobbs in 1919 wrote that "In Cumberland and Westmorland at the close of the century there were few illiterates; and the superiority of the northern peasant in general knowledge was a common observation in diaries of travel. The writers allude, more precisely, to the "superior arithmetical and literary knowledge" to be remarked "in the middling and lower classes", among whom were men tolerably acquainted with the classics and "more than

tolerable mathematicians." At a much later date, well on into the second half of the nineteenth century, a government report refers to men of humble station who spoke with pride of their recollection of classical authors."³⁸

Conspicuously rare in the lists of the eighteenth century grammar school benefactors are the higher clergy and nobility. This absence may be a symptom of the growth of interest amongst the wealthier members of society in education at the small number of grammar schools which were to become the public schools, or a result, especially in the north-east, of the decline in the fortunes of the older families.³⁹ Certainly it presents a sharp contrast with the support of local education at the end of the seventeenth century. The leading promoters of education in the north were then of one of those two groups. The links between the greater northern grammar schools and the English universities were mostly forged then and in the first two decades of the eighteenth century by the aristocracy of church or state. The letter book of Philip, Lord Wharton, shows the great interest he took in the progress of education in the north-west. Apart from a natural concern with the grammar school established by his family at Kirkby Stephen he sought to promote schools all over the north-west. In 1693 his enquiries about schools embrace Dean, Cockermouth, Russendale (Ravenstonedale), Shap and Swaledale as well as Kirkby Stephen. Unfortunately the replies of his agent have not survived, so, apart from a book gift to children at Cockermouth, little is known to have come of this interest.⁴⁰

Great benefits, however, definitely came from the educational activities of Sir John Lowther. His letters display a practical concern for the continuation and improvement of grammar school education. He was directly responsible for the appointment of Richard Jackson to St. Bee's for Jackson had left Queen's under a cloud and was practising as a physician near Kendal when Sir John put his name forward for the post. Jackson received constant advice from his patron in the next few years: to build a stable for visiting parents in 1687; to keep up his correspondence with Queen's

for the benefit of his scholars in 1688; to cut down the holidays in 1691. Sir John himself prepared a Greek copy book for the benefit of the school, provided it with shorthand textbooks, and encouraged the visits of a master to teach writing and arithmetic. He donated books to the school and encouraged his acquaintances to assist him in making this the basis of a school library. Sir John's interest in St. Bee's did not diminish when he began to bruit the erection of a grammar school in Whitehaven, for it is clear that he intended this school to fulfil two functions. It was to provide a technical education for the commercial interests of the town, and at the same time, act as a preparatory classical school for St. Bee's. This school was set up by January 1695 and flourished in its early years.

Sir John's greatest educational project however was at Lowther itself. There the grammar school had been founded by Richard Lowther in 1638. In 1637 Sir John set up a new school at Lowther avowedly designed for the education of gentlemen's sons. As the visitation returns record the masters of this new school as those of Lowther, as some of the masters were licensed as masters of Lowther grammar school, and as the visitation returns continue to list schoolmasters at Lowther without a break when this new school closed down,⁴¹ it seems likely that the new foundation took over the functions of the older grammar school as well as providing a seminary for the children of gentlefolk. The statutes laid down by Sir John are justly well known. He ordered that, as well as classics, geography, history, French and mathematics should be taught, by two masters who would alternate in charge of the school each half day. This was ordered together with much wise advice on the upbringing of future men of authority. In fact the school had two masters only till 1716 but did continue to offer the kind of education envisaged by Sir John Lowther until the 1740's.⁴²

The disappearance of such powerful patrons of education in the eighteenth century meant the end of attempts to co-ordinate educational provision, such

as Sir John had made when he founded the Whitehaven grammar school as a preparatory school for St. Bee's, or his other attempts to provide for a permanent mathematics masters in St. Bee's and Whitehaven.⁴³ However the charity of lesser men enabled grammar school education to continue in the north-west throughout the eighteenth century with little sign of decay. The revealing autobiography of Solomon Atkinson, which was published in the London Magazine and Review of 1.4.1825, substantiates in a personal way the Lake District attitude to education in the eighteenth century. Atkinson wrote "My Grandfather determined..that I should at all events be a parson. I was to scrape as much learning together as I was able in our village school, in a remote, I might almost say barbarous, district of Cumberland, to commence my career as an usher, and fight my way as well as I was able to a pulpit....I saw my wealthier school-fellows passing off one after another to the fashionable grammar schools of the north, Carlisle, St. Bee's, Appleby or even Richmond in Yorkshire, to finish their education, or fit themselves for the higher and more liberal studies of an University....'Had I,' (I said to myself) 'but been born in the vicinity of some of our numberless grammar schools I might have gained substantial classical learning at as cheap a rate as I now get the miserable instruction which our village school affords.' Yet he goes on to comment on his entrance to university and indicates that he had gained knowledge of Latin, Greek, Arithmetic and geometry.

Atkinson's story shows the real demand for classical instruction in the north-west and one of the motives for it. This continued demand for a classical education is the more remarkable because it seems to be contrary to trends in the rest of the British Isles. Whether or not it is interpreted as a sign of decline all authorities agree that there was a widespread trend to offer elementary and modern subjects in the grammar schools after c1750. The same tendency has been observed in Scotland⁴⁴. There was a parallel move away from the classics in current literary

publication.⁴⁵ In the north-west of England classical schools continued to be founded and aided, whilst the older grammar schools continued to flourish.

The comparative decline of classical schools in the north-east has already been suggested by the respective numbers of boys going on to the English universities from the north-west and north-east. Simple enumeration of the grammar schools emphasizes this contrast. Of the eighty-four such schools in the north only twenty were on the more populous eastern side of the Pennines. Although the demand for classics was strong enough at the end of the seventeenth century for the vicar of Hartburn to expel a master who could not teach latin⁴⁶ only four important endowments for classics were made in the north-east in the eighteenth century; at Gateshead, Rothbury, Stockton and Witton-le-Wear. Some of the older grammar schools of the area did receive aid in the century, but the schools at Bishop Auckland, Heighlington, Norton, Sedgefield and Wolsingham failed to maintain an active classical curriculum. The contrast is made the more pointed by the considerable amount of endowment and re-endowment that was made in the north-east at this time.⁴⁷

The causes are much less clear than the disparity itself. Dobbs linked it with the society of the west: "Special influences may be adduced in particular cases: an element of Presbyterian tradition on the Northumberland border, in Westmorland a multiplicity of endowed schools. But undoubtedly the more general causes which gave freedom and stimulus to the native genius must be sought in the social environment: in the absence of conditions which elsewhere erected commercial standards, raised the cost of education, and discountenanced the poor, and in the survival of a social order led by the yeoman class."⁴⁸ Closer examination of school provision in the north supports his conclusion. Given a popular

feeling for classical education, the number of the schools may be partially explained by geographical factors. The isolated nature of many villages in Lakeland, cut off by mountain, river and lake from otherwise quite close neighbours, naturally prevented the development of centralised day schools. The population itself was more scattered than in the north-east, lacking as it did relatively concentrated areas of habitation as had developed along the Tyne, and to a lesser extent along the Wear and in southern Durham.⁴⁹ This may help to explain the number of schools in the west; it does not suggest why the grammar school type of education should remain so popular. A clue to this may lie in those exceptional areas in the north which failed to maintain this form of teaching.

The towns of South Shields and Sunderland did not enjoy the facilities of an established grammar school at any time in the eighteenth century, although an examination of their parish registers shows, in the absence of a census, that these were large communities by the standards of the time. Whitehaven, the largest port in the north-west and with a population of 9,063 in 1762 the largest town in Cumberland, produced no endowment for the grammar school set up by Sir John Lowther. As a result, although masters were licensed to it in the eighteenth century, it seems to have had a fitful life and failed to attain the eminence which the economic strength of the town then justified.⁵⁰ Newcastle itself, by far the greatest commercial centre in the north, had indeed a grammar school. This went through probably its most outstanding epoch in the eighteenth century under the headmastership of Hugh Moises. It produced more "members of the elite" in the D.N.B. than any other school in the north, and the modernity of its curriculum singled it out as one of the most progressive schools of the time. Yet despite this one-time eminence, the school in Newcastle, ordered though it was by the Corporation, went through most uncertain periods in this century. At the end of Dawes' headmastership in

1749 the school was "almost empty", and the school sank once more at the end of the century until there were only nine scholars in 1820.⁵¹ This weakness of classical forms of education in the commercial centres, especially the ports, contrasts with the sustained prosperity of the country grammar schools, such as Appleby, Carlisle, Bampton or Penrith.

One of the central themes of Dr. Hans' pioneer work was the increasing competition that the grammar schools had to face in the eighteenth century from private education. This argument has not gone uncriticised,⁵² but there is no doubt that some grammar school masters did feel the pressure of this opposition. John Bartley was expelled from Carlisle in 1710 for teaching a grammar school although lawfully qualified, after a complaint by the headmaster of Carlisle grammar school, John Stephenson. In the same town John Stirling who had probably been headmaster of the grammar school for a brief term was given a special licence to teach in Carlisle, but limited to 25 pupils. In Whitehaven soon after the grammar school had been opened the headmaster, William Jackson, was complaining to Sir John Lowther's agent about the existence of "other private grammar schools", and begging for Sir John's support with the bishop, that he might be licensed; obviously with a view to using ecclesiastical sanctions against his rivals. The inhabitants of Wreay petitioned in 1680 against a private school run by Thomas Crookshanks at Brisco, as he was a great hindrance to Wreay school.

The decay of ecclesiastical control of education brought an end to such complaints by the middle of the century, but there is no reason to believe that later headmasters did not feel the same difficulty. There are good reasons for thinking that this pressure would be greatest in the commercial centres. The larger populations were likely to attract masters who had adopted teaching as a means of living; the customary assignment of the other public offices, parish clerk or curacy if the

master were in orders, to the grammar school master in the country gave the endowed school master an advantage over a professional teacher there. The demand for technical education in natural philosophy and especially mathematics was bound to be greater in maritime and commercial centres because of the vocational element in these studies. The spread of private schools which has been traced for the eighteenth century bears out this theory; its pattern is roughly opposite to that of the grammar schools; private education was most frequently offered in the commercial centres and appears to have been less common in the rural districts.

Whilst the growth of commercial values in the denser populated parts of the north-east, and in the boom town of Whitehaven, detracted from the appeal of the classics as a preparation for life in those areas there were equally sound economic reasons for the survival of the traditional studies in the country regions. The strong ties which some of the grammar schools in those areas had with colleges in Oxford and Cambridge have already been outlined. These provided an avenue of advancement to those with classical learning which was still open to most classes of society even in 1800. Such opportunities were much rarer in the north-east. Those that did not proceed to university could seek employment in schools or in the church, for the possession of a degree was not necessary to gain these posts in the north. Bishop Nicholson commented how few of his clergy in Carlisle diocese were graduates and the incidence of graduate schoolmasters suggests that the amount decreased after his time rather than increased.⁵³ The success of these country schools in training past scholars, some for high places in the professions or political life, and many for respected positions in their own society, was constantly in front of those who lived near a school such as Bampton or Appleby. There were then good social and economic reasons for the higher survival rate of the grammar schools of the north-west.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

Whilst it is possible to speak in general terms of the success of the eighteenth century grammar schools in the north compared with the rest of England, the fortunes of individual schools naturally varied considerably. Those schools which had large endowments and university preferment, and those supported by a borough corporation inevitably tended to be the more stable and flourishing. To this extent the initial endowment was of crucial importance to the school in the north as it has been shown to be for the whole country.⁵⁴ The endowment of some of the schools was too small for the purpose even when it was given. The grammar school of Workington was erected by a grant of £10 from Sir Patricius Curwen in 1664; he also granted the sum of £6.6.8 for the maintenance of the master. This sum does not appear to have been paid. The only regular profit accruing to the master of Workington G.S. came from three closes given to the school in 1672 by Thomas Curwen. In 1721 these produced a salary of £8 p.a. The inhabitants themselves felt this to be so small that in 1723 they agreed to add to the master's wage by paying 6d per quarter for each child. At Swindale the school endowed by Thomas Baxter in 1703 was worth only £10 p.a. and it was only by combining the office with that of curate that it could be made worthwhile.⁵⁵

Other endowments made impossible demands upon the master, especially in view of the price and wage spiral of the eighteenth century. At Burton the 1657 endowment of John Hutton was producing £5.10.0 in 1692, but it was conditional upon the appointment of a M.A. The salary had dropped to £4.16.6. by 1778. It is hardly surprising that there were at least 13 different masters at Burton in the eighteenth century, of whom only one held the demanded qualifications.⁵⁶ Even the grammar school of Morpeth which was supported by the corporation found great difficulty in meeting the

requirements of its statutes that the master should be a M.A., and the usher a B.A. At Bampton the original endowment of 1623 led to an agreement by the governors "that no person should be chosen schoolmaster of the said school but a licensed preacher of God's word, and who should covenant with the governors to preach in the said parish church (Bampton), one every fourteen days if he were in health, and also to teach and keep a Free School there for all such as should come thither to be taught, from what place soever they should come, and likewise duly to catechise and teach the scholars the grounds of true religion professed in the Church of England, and in such other good literature as is usually taught in other grammar schools.."When the school prospered the master found it impossible to perform both his religious and lay duties as together they were too arduous, and was forced to give up part of his salary to the vicar in order to get rid of his spiritual tasks.⁵⁷

The endowed grammar schools of the north were neither better nor worse provided for than those in the rest of England. The practice of the schools as laid down in their statutes also conforms to the national pattern. With a very few exceptions, such as the regulations for Lowther and Gateshead and the orders for Carlisle of 1698, the statutes of northern grammar schools are unremarkable. The normal form of foundation can be illustrated by the school of Waitby and Smardale. James Highmore of London financed the building of a school house at Waitby Dykes in 1680. He later endowed the school as a grammar school in 1682 and 1684. He instructed that "the same should be a free school for the poor inhabitants of the towns of Waitby and Smardale, there to teach the boys and girls of the said poor to write and read English, and likewise the Latin grammar.. "He also appointed governors for his foundation, and these passed the statutes which regulated the school in 1692. They added to his curriculum arithmetic and laid down strict rules of conduct for the master.⁵⁸ Apart

from the admission of girls this foundation was similar to most other northern foundations before 1800. The petty variations in detail are naturally very numerous, but far more significant is the repetition of basic requirements—the teaching of Latin and English; the appointment of local people, sometimes clergy, sometimes gentry, sometimes men of substance in the parish but normally local men, as governors or trustees; the provision of some degree of free education for the poor of the parish; and the regulation of the conduct of master and pupils. The statutes of the northern grammar schools outline the very form of education which was to have sunk into decay by the time of Carlisle's enquiry.

It is true that some school governors saw a need for change in the eighteenth century and amended their regulations. Thus the governors of Dalston G.S. must have been answered a current need when they ordered in 1800 that in future the school was to have an usher whenever it exceeded 40 scholars, and two ushers if it exceeded 80. They also allowed the usher henceforth to take 2d per quarter ~~for~~ from each child. Much more general changes were made in the regulations at Darlington and Haydon Bridge. At Darlington in 1748 the governors issued statutes, perhaps for the first time. These dealt particularly with the duties of the two masters, and appear to have been called forth by the misconduct of the previous master, Cuthbert Allen. At Haydon Bridge the Trustees obtained, in 1785, an Act of Parliament in order to modify the school created by Shaftoe's charity in 1685. The main purpose of the change was to modernise the curriculum. Henceforth there were to be taught "not only Grammar and Classical Learning, but also Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Navigation and the Mathematics." The disposition of the funds of the charity was also altered, in order to increase the payments to the master and ushers. The new subjects mentioned were a recognition of existing practice,⁵⁹ but the increases in salary were necessary for staffing as the school had failed to attract a regular staff since the death of Joseph Harrison in 1777.

The drop in value of salaries has been emphasised as one of the major problems facing these schools at the end of the eighteenth century,⁶⁰ and it was certainly the difficulty that most frequently stirred the governors to action in the north. The salary of the headmaster at Carlisle was raised by an agreement between the Dean and Chapter and the Corporation as early as 1710; at Bishop Auckland the governors allowed the master to charge his pupils 2/6d per quarter in 1733, and raised this to 5/- in 1759; at Bothel, despite a previous declaration that the school was free to the parish, the master was given permission to take 1/- quarterage and extra for subjects other than English, and for the first time permitted to take scholars from outside the parish on his own terms; in 1794 similar permission to take quarterage was granted to the master at Culgaith and Blencairn.⁶¹ This solution of the financial problem was a common one as the returns of the Charity Commissioners and of Carlisle show.

These alterations, spotlighting as they do the growth of school fees and the difficulty of fitting new subjects to older statutes, increase the identification of the northern schools with their national counterparts. However, as Vincent points out,⁶² the rules laid down in the statutes were not necessarily followed. The evidence of the real practice of the grammar schools is inevitably rare and haphazard. The ephemeral nature of school exercise books makes their survival an unusual event; those that have endured⁶³ are normally the books which belonged to a scion of the nobility or higher gentry because it was only members of those classes which stored documents regularly and efficiently. The schools patronised by these boys and girls in the eighteenth century were mostly private academies, "public schools" and the more established grammar schools. Virtually nothing remains of the work done in the majority of grammar schools which catered for a neighbourhood. This gap makes it difficult to assess with any justification

what was actually taught in these schools. It is also therefore possible that the very nature of a school may have been misjudged because of too strict a heed of its statutes.

Richard Brisco, Esq., of Lamplugh Hall granted a rent charge in 1747 to pay the schoolmaster of Lamplugh school the sum of £4 p.a. for the instruction of the children of the parish in the christian religion. He further granted 48s. to the said schoolmaster towards the instructing of twelve poor children in reading, writing and arithmetic. There is no sign here of grammar education, and no other endowment is known of. The visitation returns of 1717 and 1722 deny the existence of a free school, and that of 1789 describes the Brisco foundation as an elementary school for twelve poor children. However amongst the records of the Dickinson family of Lamplugh there is a school exercise book, which belonged to John Dickinson in 1762. This contains mathematical problems of an advanced nature. The family account book of the same period records the entry of four boys to Lamplugh school, and notes beside that of Daniel, who entered in 1768, that he "began this day with Cordery". This is a clear proof that the school was providing some classical education. It continued to do so for the rest of the century. The trustees advertised in 1776 for a schoolmaster, and specified that he should be able to teach English, Latin, Writing, Arithmetic and the main forms of practical mathematics—all this for £6.8.0 p.a. In 1781 they re-advertised the post and this time required Greek as well; similar demands appeared in their advertisements of 1787 and 1791. Only one of the masters employed during these years was a graduate, but there is no reason to doubt that classics were being taught at the school in the eighteenth century.⁶⁴

This example provided by an accidental survival and a few advertisements which the trustees happened to choose to insert in the Pacquet is by no means the only indication that a number of endowed schools were providing a grammar school education, although their statutes ordered only elementary

subjects. John Furnass became master of Heddon on the Wall school in 1790. His advertisement of the school in the Chronicle of 11.9.1790 mentioned Latin and Greek as well as elementary subjects and the mathematics. This would appear to be a private school from the advertisement but Furnass was licensed as head master of Heddon on the Wall grammar school on 24.2.1792. The endowments to Tynemouth made no mention of classics but a succession of masters of the school were licensed as head master of either Tynemouth grammar school or North Shields grammar school.⁶⁵ Bamburgh Castle school was supported by the Crewe Trust. It took both girls and boys on a charitable basis. However the records of the school show that latin was being taught from at least 1778 to 1783. The Crewe Trustees gave five guineas on 8.2.1749 to the minister of Lanchester to build a schoolhouse. The school there received endowment in the 1780's and later but on none of these occasions was there any mention of grammar school education. However there appeared in the Journal of 27.12.1740 an advertisement by the master of "the school house at Pontop, in the parish of Lanchester". He complained that the school had been broken into and a number of books stolen. These, which he listed, included a number of Latin texts as well as a dictionary. There are in all some twenty-six schools in the north which afford evidence that they may have operated as grammar schools.⁶⁶ It is this large number of doubtfully classified schools which makes it very difficult to offer any estimate of the number of grammar schools in England from the northern figures. Not only is the status of those twenty-six schools dubious but the accidental nature of the evidence which supports their claim to be grammar schools indicates that many other endowed schools may have operated as grammar schools in the eighteenth century.

There is in general very little direct evidence of the subjects taught even in the larger schools. Complete descriptions of the course followed at a school have been found. Richard Jackson, the headmaster of St. Bee's, wrote out a full timetable of the studies pursued under his teaching,

probably for the benefit of Sir John Lowther as it survived in that family MSS. This course was copied from that of Westminster school and is entirely classical, apart from introductory English work. It is known from the correspondence between Jackson and Sir John that teaching was also provided occasionally by visiting masters in writing, and accounts, and Jackson himself was encouraged to teach shorthand. At the end of the eighteenth century another complete scheme of education has survived; that for the Newcastle grammar school dated 1793. This too is a classical syllabus, but there are additions of a more modern nature. In the fourth class a small amount of time was spent upon geography, and in higher forms lectures were delivered upon Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry, followed later by Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Optics, Astronomy and the Use of the Globes. These were not however to interfere with the main business of the school, the teaching of classics.⁶⁷ This school like St. Bee's afforded its pupils a wider education than this plan would seem to indicate. The writing school set up by the corporation was used by the school to cover the more practical side of education.⁶⁸

The only books to survive in any quantity as records of the interests of the master and his scholars are those which formed the school library, and therefore might hope for some degree of care. As indicators of the practice of the schools these present the same defect as the personal records; they are restricted to a few of the richer grammar schools.⁶⁹ Where the library has disappeared since the eighteenth century the catalogue of books sometimes survives. All of these libraries were composed of books which dealt with the main business of the school, the classical languages, and others which illustrated the aim of many of the founders, the development of the christian ethic. There were books on other subjects, but remarkably few. These books were used by master and pupils; this is apparent from the inscription in some of them, and at Appleby G.S. the headmaster's check list of borrowers is extant for the last decade of the eighteenth

century. The bias of these libraries re-emphasises the central position accorded to the classics in the grammar schools in this period.

At the schools of Bampton, Crosby Ravensworth and Roughill bequests had been made to provide books for some of the poor scholars each year. Whilst the master did occasionally pervert some of this money into purchase of communal books, in most years the donation was made, the name of the book given and the recipient recorded. The school at Roughill was an elementary one; indeed in one year the mistress appears to have been illiterate; but the other lists illustrate the kind of books thought by a grammar school headmaster to be useful for the poor scholars under his direction. The Crosby Ravensworth lists make it plain that, whilst Latin was understood by some of the scholars, the majority were learning English when they received their gift. Of 359 books given only 33 are connected with the study of the classics. It is perhaps a sign of an able master that most of these are given within one decade, although the list is continuous from 1750. The donations at Bampton are on a completely different footing, as would be expected at one of the most successful schools of the north. Here the emphasis throughout the century is on Greek and Latin texts. Whilst it is by no means exclusively classical, it does show that the poor scholars at this school were getting a classical education right up to 1779 when the list ends. This is significant in view of the internal developments in the school at this time. A change in the balance of the curriculum is also discernable. Until 1757 every book given comes within the compass of classics or divinity; after this date the list includes ten Arithmetic books, of which six were copies of Banson's Arithmetic and English textbooks including seven by Ann Fisher. In 1772 six shillings was spent by the master on a copy of Fletcher's Universal Measurer for the use of the poor scholars in general. This change coincides with the modernisation of the curriculum at Bampton under Langhorne, and shows that in this school at

least the new parts of the course were offered to the poor scholars, even though the headmaster was only obliged to teach them classics.

Although the weight of the evidence so far presented lays stress upon the central position of classics in the studies of all grammar schools, concern for other subjects has been hinted at. The foundations at Lowther and Gateshead both laid down the teaching of a wide curriculum. Mathematics was being taught at Whitehaven and Writing, Arithmetic and, presumably, shorthand at St. Bee's, both before the turn of the century. This interest in the more modern subject, mathematics and its applications, science, modern languages, geography and the vocational skills such as writing, was already strong in the northern grammar schools by 1700.

The lectures given on mechanics by James Jurin when he was head master at Newcastle are well known. He also taught mathematics privately, and probably included these subjects in his full-time teaching, although there is no proof that he did so.⁷⁰ Other lesser known mathematicians were teaching grammar schools in the west at the same time. Alexander Naughley, an Edinburgh graduate, was head master at Crosthwaite from 1702 until 1705. He later taught at Threlkeld where he became noted for his ability in the fields of mathematics and astronomy. William Birkett, whilst teaching at Troutbeck, prepared a work on measuring and gauging, and another mathematician, John Sunton or Sumpton, taught at Wigton and Dovenby at the turn of the century. The headmaster at Dalston, Jonathon Rowland, was sufficiently interested in mathematics in 1705 to fail to return a book on that subject that he had borrowed from Robert Thomlinson. The acquisitions of Appleby library include a number of books upon geography and astronomy which suggest wider studies at that old grammar school from the beginning of the century.⁷¹

A number of foundations in the first decades of the eighteenth century include a requirement to teach more than English and classics: Lowther, Gateshead and Carlisle have already been considered; the 1714 endowment at

Wigton specified writing and cyphering as well as classics; similar demands were made in the Thomlinson endowment at Rothbury in 1720. Some older foundations already required the master to teach these subjects: this was so at Heighington, Kendal and Kirkby Stephen.⁷²

These regulations make it plain that the teacher of these extra subjects was not to interfere with the main work of the school. This continued to be the attitude towards them in many grammar schools for the whole eighteenth century. There is evidence of such teaching in the eighteenth century at the grammar schools of Allendale, Bootle, Bromfield, Burton, Crosby Ravensworth, Crosthwaite, Darlington, Dean, Heversham, Kirkby Stephen, Morland, Old Hutton, Orton, Sedgefield, Selside and Troutbeck. The appointment of a specific permanent writing and mathematics master clearly betokens more teaching than half a day per week plus the holidays; these occurred at Alnwick, Heighington, Kendal, Carlisle and St. Bee's. At the late foundations of Alston, Bolton, Bothel, Lamplugh, Plumbland, Westward and Wreay mathematics and the associated subjects appear on an equal footing with classics in the records and advertisements of the schools.

John Baily learnt chemistry and mathematics whilst a pupil at Witton-le-Wear under Farrer. Thomas Gibson was able to offer a comprehensive course of classics, mathematics and geography when he opened a school at Warkworth in 1785. He had been educated at St. Bee's and was only 21 years old. He was one of the many private masters to annex the title of "Grammar School" for his institution and apparently considered the wide course he was offering appropriate to that nomenclature. The school at Tebay would have only a dubious claim to be considered a grammar school had not John Robinson given a detailed account of it in his description of the parish of Orton.⁷³ The course he detailed included the classics, arithmetic, geometry and French.

Some grammar schools went further towards modernising their curricula than adding extra subjects to a basically classical course. The schools at Berwick and Alnwick were controlled by the corporations of the towns. They were therefore peculiarly amenable to the demands of the parents. By the end of the century both schools had developed separate departments for English and Mathematics, which were not inferior in status to the Latin side. Indeed the classical master was not the best paid teacher in either school by 1800.⁷⁴ These developments and that of a writing school in Newcastle are close parallels to borough schools on the Scottish pattern.

In 1794 the school at Alnwick was advertised as offering Latin, French, Greek, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Accounts, Navigation, etc. (sic).⁷⁵ Haydon Bridge moved in the same direction in 1785. Gateshead grammar school was advertised in 1765 by its head, George Busby, as catering for Greek, Latin, Reading as described in Fisher's English Tutor, Arithmetic, Writing, Book-keeping and Mathematics. This is not surprising in view of its statutes, but similar courses were offered at other grammar schools: at Norton by John Pattinson, like Busby to be highly criticised in his later years; at Cockermouth by Joseph Gillbanks; at Stamfordham by Robert Baxter; at Wolsingham by John Walsh. The latter taught not only English Grammar, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Writing, Arithmetic, Accounts, Algebra, Mathematics and Geography but also the elements of Natural Philosophy. The grammar school at Witton-le-Wear was brought to its peak by Farrer who broadened its curriculum to include Classics, Geography, Modern Languages, Chemistry and Mathematics, which were all continued by his successor Rawes.

These schools were poorly endowed and lacked great traditions. An enterprising master would face little opposition in changing his curriculum to attract paying pupils, and covertly convert a free endowed school into a virtual private academy, although there is no evidence that the public function of these schools was being neglected. However the change to a

broader course of study also happened in some of the more established grammar schools. The headmaster of Penrith grammar school, John Cowper, advertised in 1758 that he and two assistants would teach Greek, Latin, Reading, English, French, Accounts, Navigation, Algebra and the other forms of useful Mathematics. John Stephenson, headmaster of Blencowe taught Latin, English, Greek, Geography ancient and modern, Writing, Arithmetic, Mensuration, Accompts, Gauging, Surveying, Geometry, Trigonometry, Dialling, Navigation, Projection of the Sphere, Algebra, Conic Sections, etc. (sic), in 1797. He also assured patrons that French, Music, and Dancing would be provided. The appointment of an assistant to Houghton-le-Spring in 1784 was accompanied by the announcement that he would in future teach Writing, Arithmetic, French and Italian at that school. The books donated to the school by the previous headmaster, Griffith, indicate that these subjects were not new to the school.⁷⁵ French was also being taught at Kirkby Lonsdale G.S. in 1799, by the writing master of the school.⁷⁶

The courses being offered at these grammar schools clearly owe a great deal in style and content to the private academies which were mushrooming up in this century. It has been claimed that the growth of such courses, coupled with the disappearance of free places, was a facet of decay rather than a development. Certainly economic pressure was to destroy the free element of these schools, although it seems to have come later in the north, but there is no evidence that the free and low quarterage pupils were receiving a lower kind of education than the master's private pupils at this time. What little evidence there is is to the contrary. It is unnecessary to see greed for gain or even economic pressure as the sole reason for the growth of new curricula. There is apparent by the middle of the century an increased realisation amongst some masters of the function of their school. A purposiveness, again developed in reaction perhaps to the obvious material appeal of

the new academies, enters their applications to the public. James Holmes was head master of Kirkby Stephen G.S. from 1765 until 1775. He had previously been usher at Bampton G.S. when it was taught by the dynamic Langhorne. In February 1775, before he was appointed to the vicarage of Shap, he advertised that he was about to extend the course of studies by engaging an assistant for Writing, Accounts and Mathematics. He then stated that he intended to train boys for trade and business as well as university. When Gillbanks advertised Cockermonth G.S. in 1780 he was at pains to make clear that the school educated for Business, the Professions and especially the Church. St. Bee's school remained basically classical, although it did possess a writing and mathematical teacher, and may even have heard lectures on natural philosophy,⁷⁷ but its head master, Robert Scott, had a very firm belief in his purpose. So resolutely did he direct his pupils towards the church that his signature is by far the most common on the clerical testimonials extant in parish bundles. He prepared his scholars for this future by using as texts the very books which the Bishop of Carlisle habitually recommended to candidates for holy orders.⁷⁸ Even Appleby grammar school, one of the most successful classical schools in the north, aimed to attract a wider group of parents than those which sought only a university training for their sons. Waller became headmaster in 1795 and advertised at once a course for those "intended for commerce."

The outstanding example of a grammar school turning to a wider concept of education is at Bampton. William Langhorne, himself the son of a local schoolmaster, was nominated headmaster on 14.11.1756. He had previously been headmaster at Staveley, where he offered in 1755 to educate youth for university, law and trade, by teaching them English, French, Latin, Greek, Writing, Shorthand, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Algebra, Surveying, Dialling, Navigation, the Use of Globes and Mathematics. He claimed to have considerable scientific apparatus. As master of Bampton/^{he}completely altered the method of the school. He advertised in 1764 that he educated

youth for university, army, law and trade. As well as the subjects he had offered at Staveley the school provided Fortification and Gunnery. It also had the facilities of apparatus for experiments in natural philosophy and a large public library. "The headmaster flatters himself that youth are as well qualified in his school for the different apartments of business, as at the academies in and near London, and hopes the public will not discourage an attempt of this kind in the north, as it was his employment many years in the south. The few gentlemen already sent to the universities are sufficient to recommend this school for classical and mathematical learning." Later advertisements announced that lectures on natural philosophy were given every evening, by Mr. Steytin, the French assistant.⁷⁹ Langhorne continued as master at Bampton until his death in 1775. The school continued to be successful under his successor Bowstead, but the curriculum may have reverted to a predominantly classical one. When John Hodgson was a pupil he learnt mathematics, botany, chemistry and biology but not from classes conducted by one of the masters. Instead he picked up knowledge in these subjects from books in the school.

The most important feature of the evidence from Bampton grammar school is the record of books donated to poor scholars. The nature of these books has already been mentioned; it must be re-iterated that every year up to the end of the data in 1779 a considerable number of secondary texts, mostly classical but inclusive of other subjects, were given to the poor scholars of the school. These books were not standard items given as a matter of course, but varied every year, indicating a positive choice by either master or pupil. This seems conclusive proof that the poor scholars were still getting the full benefit of the charitable foundation even though the school was attracting paying pupils from far afield.

An alternative method of providing education in subjects outside the classical curriculum was the use of a nearby school as a modern department. Frequently private schoolmasters supplied such a facility but it was also

occasionally endowed. The writing school in Newcastle had served this purpose since the beginning of the seventeenth century and continued to do so in the eighteenth. Berwick paid for a teacher of writing and mathematics from 1626. It was more common for a private school master to make some form of agreement with the grammar school to teach its boys modern subjects. Hutton's mathematical school in Newcastle took the grammar school boys and it was probably in this sense only that John Howard was a master of Carlisle grammar school. At^{79a} Durham a private schoolmaster, Peter Nelson, was "induced..to come up to the Palace Green for the better conveniency of the writing scholars, which at that time came..from the public school." This led to a squabble in 1692 with the headmaster of the school, which incidentally illustrates again the concern of grammar schoolmasters about private competition. The most ambitious eighteenth century attempt to combine a grammar and a private school in the north was at Hawkshead. The Pacquet of 15.10.1788 carried an advertisement of a "Military Academy, Hawkshead. Mr. Mingay intends opening a house, adjoining Hawkshead School for boarders, where they will be prepared for army, navy, university or counting house...They will get classics and Mathematics at Hawkshead school, whose pupils also can be taught other subjects by Mr. Mingay.." He had previously operated as a peripatetic master of dancing and the small sword, visiting Hawkshead amongst many other places. The venture was short-lived.

Peripatetic masters of writing and arithmetic, as well as the social graces, formed another possible source for practical education in the grammar schools. There was one at St. Bee's in 1688. The ephemeral nature of the teaching in grammar schools of these men was unlikely to leave records, but the practice seems to have continued into the eighteenth century.⁸⁰ This extended treatment of the avenues of wider education in the grammar schools has been felt necessary if only to refute the old view that "no attempt was made to teach natural science at any public school..⁸¹ It must be re-emphasized that the classical languages were still the basis of grammar school education, except at a few schools. Clearly too it is impossible

to maintain Dr. Hans' tripartite division of these schools in the north. The new tendencies were displayed generally, not merely in the commercial centres.

Witherington has recently described similar trends in Scotland in the eighteenth century. There the pressure of commercialism became apparent at the end of the previous century. The same kind of expedients were used to provide teaching in mathematics and geography. Whilst in the larger towns private schools and corporation endowed modern schools supplied the need the country grammar schools tended to broaden their courses or even to turn away from classics. Similar opposition arose against the classical curriculum; Bishop Nicholson's criticism of the too prevalent grammar school was exactly mirrored in Scotland by the 1704 Proposals, attributed to Andrew Fletcher. Witherington points out that the broader courses available in the country grammar schools was not a reflection of a more progressive attitude outside the cities; but rather that the need was supplied in the latter by means outside of the grammar school. The evidence from the north of England substantiates this proposition. However it would not seem to support his further conclusions that it was only in the cities that enough boys were interested in a classical curriculum to justify a grammar school and that the country schools did not attract private schoolmasters because of the smaller populations. On the contrary there was sufficient demand for classics in the rural north-west to attract private classical teachers to compete with the endowed schools.⁸² The continued links between the English universities and the endowed schools of that region partially account for this discrepancy.

The Masters

The decisive factor in the success of a grammar school at any one time was the ability of its master. A well endowed school of good reputation could be quickly discredited by a slack or unlearned teacher; the appointment of George Busby was disastrous for Hexham G.S.A., complaint of 1798 stated

that "In the time of Mr. Busby's predecessor the school was well stocked with scholars..but very soon after he entered, it began greatly to decline." The letter goes on to complain that the head had hired improper ushers, neglected the school himself, and punished certain pupils most severely with the result that "for some years past Mr. Busby has not had more than one or two scholars." This was by no means the only complaint about this particular master, but he remained in the post until his death in 1799. The successive headships of Lodge and of the quarrelsome Dawes reduced the prosperous school at Newcastle to very small numbers by 1749.⁸³ At Newcastle the decline was perhaps caused as much by the contrast of the teaching of Lodge with his illustrious predecessor, Jurin, as by any real deficiencies in the new master.⁸⁴ This was a very common phenomena. The departure or death of an outstanding teacher brought with it an almost automatic, if temporary, fall in the school's fortunes. Examples of this type of fluctuation are demonstrable from many schools; Watson at Heversham, Hugh Moises at Newcastle, Jackson at St. Bee's were all followed by a decline in school numbers. The death of the headmaster William Taylor was the prime influence in persuading William Senhouse to remove his sons from Hawkshead in 1789.⁸⁵ The number of boys at Carlisle G.S. dropped sharply on the death of Miles Wennington in 1771 from a steady 50-60 to 27, and did not pick up until 1773.⁸⁶ Conversely an outstanding teacher, whatever his academic background could raise a school to new heights, even to the extent of changing the very status of the school. John Farrer raised the remote school of Witton-le-Wear to about a hundred scholars, and established it as one of the leading grammar schools of the north.

Exceptionally capable or incapable masters made their mark on local education because of their characters; the quality of the general run of teachers was dependent upon their own education, degree of commitment to the post and the conditions of their service. A recent examination has been made of these factors over the country as a whole.⁸⁷ From a close study of a sample of 617 grammar schoolmasters the conclusion was reached that "the

TABLE XI (pp 120-2)

Masters of Grammar Schools, Regional and National

1685-1800

| | <u>Graduates</u> | <u>Mattics</u> | <u>Non-graduates</u> | <u>Holy Orders</u> | <u>Pluralists</u> |
|----------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Cumberland | 33 | 7 | 186 | 126 | 25 |
| Durham | 28 | 4 | 41 | 46 | 10 |
| Northumberland | 37 | 9 | 29 | 49 | 10 |
| Westmorland | 50 | 19 | 417 | 215 | 22 |
| Total | 148 | 39 | 673 | 436 | 73 |
| Carlisle's | 124 | 30 | 396 | 301 | 60 |
| Vincent Line A | 427 | 54 | 78 | 449 | 222 |

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The figures quoted from Vincent are from 121 grammar schools and refer to masters between 1660-1770

proportion of graduates among the schoolmasters remains at about three-quarters in all the samples, while the number who had experienced at least something of a university education is even higher." In numbers, "Of our total of five hundred and fifty-nine schoolmasters who can be identified, four hundred and eighty-one were university men. At least four hundred and forty-nine men were in holy orders and of these two hundred and twenty-two were pluralists." Vincent found also slight evidence of a decline in the eighteenth century in the number of graduate and matriculated masters and a similarly slight increase in the number of masters in holy orders. The amount of change in these factors was however too small to be of significance in view of the nature of the sample.⁸⁸ These figures provide a mathematical basis for a well accepted generalisation; that the grammar school master of the eighteenth century was normally a cleric of the Church of England and had been educated at one of the English universities. Thus Tompson; "Further he was more often than not a former student and possibly a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge. It was normal for him to be in holy orders." Oakeshott dismissed the lay headmaster as insignificant in number.⁸⁹ However the accepted pattern does not appear in the north.

Whilst there is no reason to expect the comparative figures from a region to correspond exactly with the national average the results of a similar survey for the north are surprising. Of the 83 grammar schools under consideration for the north 60 have sufficiently full lists of known masters to make comparison possible. These 60 schools were taught by a total of 840 known schoolmasters. The results of similar analysis are presented in Table XI. Clearly part of the variation between these results and those of the national survey comes from the nature of the schools surveyed. The definition of a grammar school used here brings in schools which were certainly not in Vincent's table. His method of selection, which was dependent upon the existence of a written study of the school or a description of it in a Victoria County History, also further tends to place the schools considered in his study in the higher echelon of grammar schools.

This does not however suffice to explain the degree of difference; if only those schools which are included in Carlisle's survey of the northern grammar schools are checked for the same factors a considerable variation is still found.⁸⁹ These figures indicate that the north as a whole lacked graduate schoolmasters, and that a much smaller proportion of teachers of grammar schools were in orders in the north than in the rest of the country. These are not entirely surprising conclusions: Nicholson commented on the scarcity of graduate clergy; Dobbs pointed out the practice of "recruiting the clergy from yeomen families;"⁹⁰ but the figures of university entrance from the north rule out the explanation that there was a shortage of boys from the north trained in Oxford and Cambridge. Actually the paradox appears of a high degree of university entrance but a comparatively small degree of feed-back of graduates into the local clergy and teaching profession.

The small endowments of many of the local schools were insufficient to draw graduates; even before the price rise in the second half of the eighteenth century some of the salaries were tiny; the example of Burton has already been quoted. It is also relevant that the colleges favoured by northern students rarely offered to their graduates any preferment in the north. University College, Oxford held the presentation of Long Benton and Corpus of Oxford that of Skelton, but the main northern college, Queen's had none in the north, except Uldale and Grasmere. At Cambridge only Trinity could promote clerical northerners in their home counties; this college held the presentations of Heversham, Kendal and Kirkby Lonsdale in Westmorland, and those of Bolam, Barnard Castle and Gainford in Durham. This was the sum total of patronage available in the north from those colleges at Oxford and Cambridge which normally received northern students.

The proximity of the north to Scotland and its universities did compensate for this to a certain extent, but apparently not enough to make up for the lack of English graduates. The deficiency of the north in academically trained teachers increased through the century. From 1690 to

1745 some 139 graduates are known to have taught; after this date only 64 can be traced before 1801.⁹¹ Whilst one cause of this decline must have been the serious drop in university numbers in the middle of the century, it may also be symptomatic of the drop in value of teacher's remuneration in the eighteenth century. Until 1728 when Edward Holmes ended his mastership Ravenstonedale normally had graduate headmasters; there were no more in the eighteenth century after him. The same tendency is to be observed in the lists of masters at Alnwick, Berwick, Bishop Auckland, Burton, Cockermouth, Crosthwaite, Hexham despite its statutes, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kirkby Stephen and Wigton.

The north as a whole falls behind the country in provision of graduate masters, but the north-west was far further behind than the north-east. This and the relatively small proportion of clerical masters were results of a tradition of schoolmaster appointment peculiar to the north-west. It was common for masters to be appointed at a very early age. John Robinson was headmaster of Ravenstonedale when he married in 1766. The combined ages of bride and groom were but 32 years.⁹² Such youthful appointments were commonly made by choice of young men who had been performing the job of usher at one of the greater schools. John Tebay became headmaster at Kirkby Stephen in 1780 at the age of twenty, after he had worked and learnt as an usher, first at Kirkby Stephen itself and later at Appleby. The attraction of a paid position as usher and early promotion to a headmastership prevented John Farrer from following the advice of his master to go to a university. The possibility of following a career in teaching from an early age and without a degree must inevitably have distracted others from a university course and cut down the number of graduates who were willing to teach in the north. At the same time, as appointments could be made so early, many of the young teachers were below the age when even deacon's orders could be taken. Consequently a number of poorly provided schools, such as Whicham and Millom, held their masters for only brief periods. As soon as the master was old enough he tended to take orders, and to move on to a cure, a better

provided school or out of the district. Of the non-graduates who acted as grammar schoolmasters in the eighteenth century 49 at least took orders at the end of, or after, their mastership. Another effect of this system of election straight from school to headmastership was to produce extremely long tenures of office. The heavy personal problem, noted by Vincent,⁹³ of the schoolmaster who was forced to continue teaching long after the modern age for retirement, because of the lack of a system of pension, was especially valid for the north, where so many of the masters lacked an academic qualification. In this area alone 34 masters served more than twenty years in one school, 34 more than thirty years, 25 more than forty years, and 17 more than fifty years. The 121 schools surveyed by Vincent could only produce 14 serving more than fifty years, although many more gave twenty years service. The potential disadvantages of such long term duty are plain; Darlington G.S. declined as a result of the 52 year spell under Morland; but the personal plight of the master as he aged must have been grave. Something of this pressure perhaps produced the defiance of Blacklin at Heighington, and Pattinson at Norton.

Although the clerical schoolmaster is not so common in the north as in the rest of England, the ~~par~~ proportion is still high. The stress which the holding of two or more offices placed upon clerical schoolmasters is apparent in the north as elsewhere. It became apparent at Bampton in the seventeenth century; it was given as one of the reasons for the ill-conduct of Busby at the end of the eighteenth century. The general public were sufficiently aware of the difficulty for attacks to be made in the press on the union of the two offices.⁹⁴ It was rare however for the criticism to lead to any action, although Thomas Holme, the head master of Lancaster grammar school, was suspended in 1717 and again in 1721 for neglecting his teaching duties to attend to his clerical tasks.⁹⁵ The small endowment of many northern grammar schools made it necessary for the master to augment his salary in some way; at some like Beetham by holding the post of parish clerk, at others such as Swindale by filling the cure. Without these

additional perquisites the smaller schools would face considerable difficulty in obtaining a properly qualified teacher. The parishioners of Hale and Ponsonby nominated Thomas Miller as their curate on the understanding that he would continue to teach the school as his predecessor had done. Between 1684-9 they petitioned the bishop three times to remove Miller because he refused to teach the school, and no other master could be obtained. They did not get redress.⁹⁶ Economic considerations were as important for the schools of the north as they were in the rest of the country.

The known salaries of schoolmasters in the area are shown in Table XII. These substantiate the pattern of small endowed schools in the north-west, and generally low wages. Many of the small schools offered payments which would have been low a century before. A number of schools, whose resources could be expanded as in the case of a school financed by a corporation, did increase the salary of the masters. This became more frequent in the second half of the century. Others, without those resources, allowed the master to increase his own salary by some such means as quarterage. For this reason it is very difficult to estimate the true benefit the master gained from his post, especially if his appointment had carried with it that to another office. In any case, provided the school was not rigidly controlled, there was no reason why the master, given enterprise, should not make a good living out of his post by taking private pupils. Only where he was limited to his salary for all comers was there no opportunity of this nature;⁹⁷ in this case he could usually charge for those subjects which were not mentioned in the foundation. This was naturally one of the attractions of a modernised curriculum.

Almost as important as the master was the usher. Hoole in the seventeenth century considered the existence of an usher to be almost essential if the master was to have time to make his school efficient in the classics.⁹⁸ Certainly the 32 schools in the north which are known to have had ushers in the eighteenth century were the more successful schools. The statutes of

TABLE XII (p. 125)

Schoolmaster's Emoluments

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Allendale | £12.12.0 and £5 1766. £20 p.a. and quarterpence 1774. |
| Alnwick | £25 1730c; £35 1737; £40 1794. |
| " | Writing Master £50 1790; £80 1799. |
| " | English Master £25 1790; £40 1797. |
| Alston | £5 1736; £16 1748; £20 1756; £10 and Q 1791; £16.7.0 and £53.4.0 Q in 1805, of which £30.8.0 went to the usher. |
| Ambleside | £40 1789. |
| Asby | £22 1793. |
| Bampton | £20c 1717; £28 1735; £25 1756. |
| Beetham | £5 1717-1725; £14 1778; £16 1789 |
| Berwick | £60 less £20 for the usher 1708-1750. |
| " | Mathematics Master £25 1727; £40 1799. |
| " | Reading Master £35 1799. |
| " | Writing Master £50 1799. |
| Blencowe | £50 1788. |
| Bolton | £12 1778. |
| Bootle | £25 1797. |
| Bothel | £10 1688; £17 1776; £22 1785; £30 1797. |
| Brough | £6.19.2 and house. 1749, 1800. |
| Burton | £4.12.0 1698; £5.10.0 1692; £5.2.6 1717; £4.16.6 1778. |
| Carlisle | 40 marks until 1710; subsequently £40. |
| Cockermouth | £26.15.0. 1717; £16.15.0 1722; £30 1721. |
| Crosby Garret | £5 1703. |

Table XII (contd.)

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Crosby Ravensworth | £26.0.8 1801. |
| Crosthwaite | £32.5.0. |
| Crosthwaite and Lyth | £10 1789. |
| Culgaith and Blencairn | £32.6.8 1783; £17.15.0 1792; £20 1796. |
| Darlington | £41.12.11 but to pay usher 1704; £33.12.11 ditto 1705. |
| Dean | £10 1717; 1721. |
| Dovenby | £20 1700c; £15 1705; £14 1747. |
| Drigg | £20 1778; £10.16.0 1789. |
| Gateshead | £16 1709. |
| Haydon Bridge | £50 1759; £25 1765. |
| Heighington | £30 1720; 1793. |
| Heversham | £19.13.4 1723; £20.8.0 1778; £50c 1788; £40 1799. |
| Hexham | £24 1700c; £20 1713; 1720; 1730; £30 1791; £40 1796. |
| Huggill and Ings | £12 1717; 1778; 1779; 1789. |
| Irton | £4 1721. |
| Kendal | £9.8.0 1700; £28.3.4 1717; £35 1774. |
| Kirkby Lonsdale | £25 1721; £30.8.4 1778. |
| Kirkby Stephen | £20 1726; 1732; £30 1779. |
| Lamplugh | £6.8.0 1747. |
| Lowther | £50 each (two h.ms.) 1697. |
| Morland | £24 1781; £20 1799. |
| Morpeth | £100 1771. |
| Newcastle | £50 1698; 1749; £120 1752 |

Table XII (contd.)

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Norton | £30 1793. |
| Old Hutton | £15 1717; £20 1721; £18.10.0 1789. |
| Penrith | £8 1710. |
| Plumbland | £4 1786. |
| Ravenstonedale | £20 1703. |
| Rothbury | £14 1719; £26 for usher as well 1793. |
| St. Bee's | £30 1686; £70 1789. |
| Sedgefield | £9 1793. |
| Selside | £16 1730; £20 1778. |
| Stamfordham | £80 18c. |
| Staveley | £20 1789. |
| Swindale | £10 1703. |
| Troutbeck | £5 1692; £4 1721; £7.7.6 1723; £8 1778; £12 1789. |
| Waitby and Smardale | £10-£12 1684-1766; £16.18.0 1781; £12.10.0 1786. |
| Whicham and Millom | £16 1717; £13 1723. |
| Wigton | £70 but to pay usher fd. |
| Windermere | £10 1613; £18 1778; £10 1790; £50 1797. |
| Witton-le-Wear | £6.5.0 and house 1765. |
| Wolsingham | £15 1770; £30 1793. |
| Workington | £8 1721. |
| Wreay | £17 1749; £26.6.0 1799. |

Only post 1685 salaries are given. Earlier payments are sometimes recorded in the Wase returns. All payments have been converted into salaries p.a.

some schools made provision for an usher; at Sedgefield he was to be the local parish clerk; and some demanded a high academic qualification, as at Morpeth; but the majority of schools made use of one of the senior pupils. Whilst there is often clear evidence of this function, (Farrer at Appleby, Tebay at Kirky Stephen and Appleby, may be instanced), it is likely that many more pupils served in this capacity without formal recognition in surviving records. William Armstrong entered Carlisle G.S., ostensibly as a pupil, in 1768; he was however then 21 years of age, and as he served as temporary headmaster for one year after the death of Wennington in 1771 it is probable that he had been acting in some teaching post. Enough other examples are known of similar late entries to make it apparent that this was a widespread practice.⁹⁹

It is not possible to generalise about the teaching practice of the usher. Many taught only the petties, whilst themselves learning classics from the master. However where the usher was a graduate he must have participated more fully in the 'business' of the school. At Newcastle, which often employed two ushers, the post was better paid than many headships; indeed Henry Wilson the headmaster of Penrith gave up his school to become usher at Newcastle in 1710. The salaries there of the usher and under-usurers were £35 and £31.13.4. in 1682 and were raised in the eighteenth century. Most schools offered far less, even if they officially required an usher; the sums offered at Kendal and Heversham, £8 and £4, were much more typical, although by the end of the eighteenth century a number of schools, Alnwick, Alston, Berwick, Darlington, Gateshead, Haydon Bridge, Morpeth and Wigton, had been forced to increase the payments for assistants to between £30 and £50 in order to maintain staff. Darlington was exceptional in offering £60 to the usher in 1795, but this generosity was probably the result of the headmaster's age and incapability, and was more in the nature of a headmaster's salary.

These increased payments to the usher were associated with the growth

of departmental independence inside the modernised schools. The reports of the Charity Commissioners illustrate the danger involved in such a development; the prevalence of grammar schools which became unbalanced in favour of their English departments. Nevertheless the existence of a competent usher seems to coincide with a successful grammar school in the eighteenth century; only a few northern schools showed indications of a change of nature by 1800.

The narrowness of the main curriculum and the established rigidity of the grammar schools as a whole foster a picture of the master as a man confined in interests to his own school and, usually, cure. This obscures the wider part played in education by some grammar school masters. Jurin, the headmaster at Newcastle apparently initiated scientific lecturing in the north, and was active as a private teacher of mathematics; Wibbersley and Steytin lectured later in the century. The regular flow of masters between grammar and private schools must have assisted the exchange of methods and mores exemplified in the growth of modernised grammar schools and classical academies. Pape and his successor at Bedlington emphasised that they would follow the method of St. Bee's; The schoolbook writer, Daniel Fisher, had taught private school for twenty years when appointed headmaster at Cocker mouth in 1758 and must have brought to that classical school the professional methods of his earlier career. It is hardly surprising that a number of grammar school masters became authors, usually of educational works; some masters also took a lead in the provision of elementary education in the neighbourhood of their schools, Mordecai Carey, headmaster of Morpeth G.S. was elected a corresponding member of the S.P.C.K. in 1718, and became the chief agent of the charity organisation in that town; a similar part was played by John Walton, headmaster at Carlisle, from 1715, and, later in his career, at Corbridge. The masters of Bishop Auckland G.S. were normally appointed to teach the charity school.¹⁰⁰

THE PUPILS

Lists of pupils, the *raison d'être* of schools, have survived to a much smaller extent than details of the masters. Many schools do not appear to have kept any form of permanent register; some of those that did were haphazard in entry; and registers have been lost.¹⁰¹ Apart from a few incidental lists over brief periods the only comprehensive register of eighteenth century pupils at a northern school is that of Carlisle G.S. This register indicates that the school was being used by very much the same classes of parents at the end of the century as at the beginning. Broadly the school catered for sons of the gentry of Cumberland, the clergy and official classes' children, and for those of the tradesmen and handicraftsmen of Carlisle district. The proportion of the local lower class children was normally about 60%. This proportion certainly had not fallen at the end of the century; indeed entries from the lower classes increased in proportion in the last decade.¹⁰² The evidence of one school can mean little, especially as Carlisle G.S. has features in its organisation which make it unusual.¹⁰³ There is however some support for stability of intake up to 1800 in the north; Manchester G.S. took in far more pupils, and a slightly higher proportion of the lower group, but the ratio between the two remains fairly constant in the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ Two other schools considered by Tompson, Christ's Hospital and Merchant Taylors', show slight indications of an increase in upper class children in the eighteenth century, but both schools remained predominantly middle class. Other studies have confirmed that the grammar schools had not become exclusive schools for the upper classes before 1800. On the contrary the high proportion of lower class pupils at these schools may have discouraged the aristocracy and higher gentry from making full use of them.¹⁰⁵

There must have been some change in social background of pupils at those grammar schools which began to offer expensive courses in modern subjects, even if the number of poor scholars remained constant. The fees demanded for these courses were beyond the means of the lower classes, although they

compare quite favourably with the charges at private academies. Langhorne at Bampton charged 8 guineas p.a. board and 1 guinea p.a. per subject, although he raised his fees in 1764. By 1797 Stephenson at Blencowe could charge 20 guineas board and 30/- per subject. This was high for a modern grammar school course, but lower than some academies of the north; and considerably lower than a similar education in the south.¹⁰⁶ The cost of education to the parents of private or 'public' scholars is as difficult to estimate as the master's salary because it too contains many variable and incidental charges. However even the lowest charges per subject for a day scholar were plainly out of the reach of the average labouring family, and would have proved a heavy burden to a craftsman. It would seem likely, if only for convenience of teaching, that the poor scholars would still receive education in the modern subjects in those schools in which they had become part of the daily round. This obviously happened at Bampton.

The social structure of the schools must then have been altered by the influx of fee-paying pupils, especially at schools which offered modern courses, although not so drastically or rapidly as to change the whole nature of the institution in the eighteenth century. At the other end of the social scale parental choice also operated to change the balance of pupils. The greater families of England, including the north, began to favour the group of schools later to grow into the 'public schools', and with them classical boarding schools, the forerunners of preparatory schools. Family records display this change in operation as the abundance of northern gentry's names in public school registers proves its bulk. The tendency had spread from the nobility to the wealthier gentry by the second half of the century.¹⁰⁷

The failure to adapt the form of education offered, except for the benefit of privileged paying pupils, is one of the main features of decline in the general surveys of eighteenth century grammar schools. Another is simple decline in number of pupils. Evidence of size of schools is almost as rare as registers; consequently it is impossible to establish whether or not there

was a general drop in attendance at grammar schools in the north at this time. Such numbers as are extant are given in Table XIII; such decline as appears from these seems more closely associated with the effect of individual headmasters than a symptom of a gradual loss of support for academic education. Where comparative numbers are known there does not occur the decay which has been noted elsewhere in England.¹⁰⁸

CONCLUSION - The Role of the Grammar Schools in the North

The grammar schools of the four northern counties of England, and especially those of the north-west, do not conform to the normal view of that form of education in the eighteenth century. Because of geographic and social factors peculiar to that region the popularity of these schools as worthwhile modes of training did not decline until after that century. The schools themselves assisted in this retardation of decay by adding more modern subjects to their curricula at rates competitive with the classical academies in the struggle for private pupils, and to the profit of the poor scholars as well. The fees and salaries were generally too low to attract the academic standard of master that served the great national grammar schools, but the better grammar schools of the area were able to provide for the rest and for themselves a series of able teachers by promotion straight from school. By the criteria of D.N.B. men, local worthies or of university alumni the grammar schools of the north were the nurseries of the northern elite in the eighteenth century.

TABLE XIII (p. 130)

School populations in the eighteenth century

CCR/Carlisle

| | | |
|----------------------|--|---------------------|
| ALSTON | 72,1805 | 30-40 |
| AMBLESIDE | 40,1778 | c45 |
| BAMPTON | 60-80, 1717 | 55 |
| BLENCOWE | 'Numerous', 1732 | 60 |
| BOLTON | 40, 1778 | 15-20 |
| BURTON | 34 boys and 16 girls, 1778 | 50 |
| BURNESIDE | 40, 1778 | 10-20 |
| CROSTHWAITE AND LYTH | 30, 1778 | c60 |
| DARLINGTON | 21 boys and 18 girls, 1801 | 250-300 |
| HAYDON BRIDGE | 'Few', 1759 | 100 |
| HEIGHINGTON | 60-70, 1801 | c80 |
| HEXHAM | 30, 1743. 'Few', 1790 | 30 and many private |
| HOUGHTON-le-SPRING | 'Low', 1738. 46, 1778. 60, 1778 December | 35, 12 in summer. |
| HUGILL | 25 boys and girls, 1778 | 16 |
| KILLINGTON | 20, 1778 | 23 |
| MORPETH | c100, 1760. 5, 1764. 100, 1783. 1, 1811 | 40 in classics |
| KIRKBY LONSDALE | 54, 1778 (Classics only) | |
| PENRITH | 73, 1708. 20-30, 1713. 71, 1788. 123, 1803 | |
| RAVENSTONEDALE | 36, 1801 | 30 |
| St. BEE'S | c100, 1687. 45, 1720. Under 30, 1756 | |
| SELSIDE | 80, 1759. 130, 1770. 60, 1789 | |
| STAMFORDHAM | 20-30, 1778 | 40 |
| STAVELLEY | 60, 1735 | 40-70 |
| WHITEHAVEN | 20, 1778 | 40 |
| WOLSINGHAM | 40, 1694. 50, 1695 | |
| | 55, of which 15 boarders, 20 fee payers, and | |
| | 20 charity pupils, 01790 | |

The totals at Carlisle are known for many years of the century. See Appendix VII.

Where not stated the totals refer to male pupils. The last column gives totals from the returns of the Charity Commissioners and Carlisle's survey.

Notes

1. Curtis p 122.
2. Cambridge History of Literature p 381; Boyd p 280; Armytage pp 39-41, 61, 66.
3. J.W. Adamson pp 46-7.
4. For example Armytage p 40. See also Witherington in Phillipson p 172 and biography H387.
5. Simon pp 130-137.
6. Hans pp 38-41.
7. D. Robson pp 51-66.
8. Simon 2 pp 130-156.
9. Vincent 2 p 227.
10. Tompson pp 2-7, 124-126.
11. Tompson, passim. Oakeshott 2 p 261. Hans pp 37-41. The same trend has been observed in the researches of J.H. Rose.
12. M. L. Clarke 1 p 21; Tompson p 56.
13. Hans p 20.
14. Tompson pp 127-130 is a notable exception.
15. Tompson p 127. The term "public school" had many meanings in the eighteenth century. As well as those discussed by Tompson see Appendix VIII. It could even be used to mean simply a large as opposed to a small school. Mrs. Hutchinson advertised the end of her public school in Newcastle in C. 17.11.1792 and announced that she intended to open a private school for six young ladies instead.
16. Witherington pp 169, 177.
17. Spafford p 241.
18. P.J. Wallis, 2.
19. See references for William Duncan, Henry Crookbaine and William Balfe.
20. De Montmorency pp 170-175.
21. The girl's charity school was endowed by William Robinson in 1661. The caveat was entered in the bishop of Carlisle's register on 21.6.1759.
22. Robson p 50; W.E. Tate 2.
23. Private schoolmasters who termed their academies as grammar schools included Joseph Edmundson and John Stephenson.
24. This enquiry is fully described in Vincent 2. See also P.J. Wallis I, Oakeshott 2.

25. The known masters at Bedlington were Moses Harrison, Charles Hardy, M Marshall, W Morrow, Gilbert Dodds, John Harrison and those referred to in the text.
26. It was given that title in Pape's advertisement of the school in C. 18.12. 1779.
27. CCR XXIII p 37.
28. See George Busby and William Alderson.
29. Tompson p 1.
30. See below pp (26-7)
31. Burgh by Sands; Bromfield, Brough, Dalston, Hunsonby, Maughanby, Stamfordham and Thursby; Durham and Sedgfield.
32. Vincent 2 p 16.
33. Classical education does not seem to have been so strong in the commercial centres of the north. P.108below.
34. Tompson noted this educational vigour in the north p 56. See Appendix ii.
35. CCR xxi pp 50-52.
36. CCR v p 87.
37. CCR v 106, 62. CCR iii 37. CCR v67, 88. CCR iii 99. CCR v 156, 105.
38. Dobbs p 67.
39. Hughes 1 pl-11, Appendix VIII and Ch IX.
40. MS Letter Book, Durham Cathedral Library.
41. See William Wilkinson. Also J. Wade, "The Rights of the Poor." 1827.
42. There are a number of copies of Lowther's MS regulations for the school including those in Tullie House and CRO.
43. D/Lons Letters. Lowther's hopes are outlined in those of 9.10.1688, 9.1.1694/5 and 24.2.1696/7. See also letter of 5.7.1692 quoted in Magrath. Appendix II.
44. Witherington pp 170, 172, 174-5.
45. J.E. Mason p 296.
46. Donnelly p 30.
47. Appendix II. See also Map i. Nevertheless Newcastle Philosophical Society approved public schooling rather than private in a debate in 1776. J. 13.4.1776.
48. Dobbs pp 67-8.

49. Map 2.
50. The importance of Whitehaven is emphasised in Hughes I.
51. A.R. Laws ii p 111.
52. Simon 2 p 52f; Vincent 2 pp 208-9.
53. F. James and see below pp121-3.
54. Vincent 2 pp 227.
55. Appendix II.
56. John Ormerod, who somewhat surprisingly remained as master from 1676 to 1691; longer than most of his successors.
57. Bampton School MSS in KRO.
58. CCR ix p 685.
59. See Thomas Spence.
60. Vincent 2 pp 165-6.
61. The permission was repeated in 1799.
62. Vincent 2 p 1.
63. A few may be found in the catalogues of KRO; CRO and NRO.
64. P May 1776, 1.5.1781, 8.8.1787 and 21.4.1795. Dickinson MSS, temp deposit in CRO. There is in CRO also an undated letter of one of the headmasters of Lamplugh, Joseph Rudd, in which he calls the school a Free Grammar School. (c1770-1780).
65. See for example H. Crookbaine, W. Donkin and N. Taverner.
66. These are listed at the end of the chapter. The evidence and those for other schools mentioned in the text of this and the subsequent chapters appear in appendix I or appendix II.
67. Laws pp 157-169.
68. Laws pp 6-8.
69. Appleby, Heversham, Houghton-le-Spring, Kendal and St. Bee's.
70. Hans' assumption, p 39, is a reasonable one but there is no direct evidence.
71. The governors' minute book of Appleby gives:-
 - 22.12.1703 Given by Francis Thompson of Quean's, Oxford..sett of Maps and a Treatise of Ancient and Present Geography.
 - 7.2.1722/3 Given by William Johnson of Gray's Inn..A sett of Maps for the use of the school. 1 Europe 1 Asia 1 Africa 2 America 1 of the World.

The headmaster's account book adds:-

| | | |
|-----------|--|----------|
| n.d. | Pair of Globes by Price 17" diam, the gift of Tho. Noble | |
| 22.4.1732 | ..Old Maps mended (now entirely worn out) | 2/- |
| 10.8.1733 | Quadrant of Altitude for Globes | 3/- |
| 1740 | Globes' frames mended | 5d. |
| 15.4.1795 | Repairing the frame of the globe | 3/- |
| 1.9.1811 | Repairing the frame of the globe | 6/6 |
| 1.9.1818 | Atlas | £1.11.6. |

The school library contained the following books:-

| | |
|------------|--|
| Wells | Treatise of Antient and Present Geography (both first and third editions, the latter of 1717). |
| ———— | Histori-cal Geography of the New Testament. |
| Clover | Introductio in universam geographiam 1711. |
| Hubner | New and easy introduction to the study of geography 1761. |
| Harris | Use of the Globes and Orrery. 1732. |
| Stackhouse | General view of ancient history, chronology and geography 1770. |

I am indebted to Edgar Hinchcliffe for this information.

72. CCR v 112-4, xxiii 450, xxi 88, vii 477, ix 674.
73. Monthly Magazine 1803.
74. Table XII.
75. R.W. Ramsey passim.
76. P 18.6.1799.
77. John Banks the itinerant lecturer gave a course at St. Bee's in November 1774. It is difficult to imagine that he could have collected a sufficient audience without attracting the boys of the school. P 24.11. 1774. Midon lectured in Newcastle in 1753. Their course was open to the public but presumably pupils attended also.
78. Scott wrote to the Bishop on 19.8.1784 "I am sorry to find that your Lordship should have occasion to find fault with any young men from this part for so shamefully neglecting your directions in their theological studies. I am persuaded that none whose testimonial I signed would be defective in that particular, because I have been careful to have those very books read in schools by way of lessons at stated times every week." Netherwasdale PB.
79. Ch 22.12.1764, 20.6.1767.
- 79a An outstanding Yorkshire example is detailed in P.J. Wallis 6.
80. See for example Hughes 1 p 358. There were even peripatetic classical masters, for example Thomas Denny.
81. Quoted from the Cambridge History of Literature p 405. Similar views appear frequently, for example, D. Turner p 189 or H. Robinson p 53. It is noteworthy that even Tompson makes no mention whatsoever of science as a subject taught in the grammar schools.
82. For example see Chapter VI and note p. 102 above.

83. Laws ii.
84. Hughes 1 p 343 et alia.
85. Hughes 4 p 298.
86. Appendix VII.
87. Vincent 2, especially Ch VI.
88. Vincent 2 pp 119-122.
89. Tompson p 30-1, Oakeshott 2 p 131.
90. F. James . Dobbs pp 9-10, 68. See also autobiography of Solomon Atkinson quoted above.
91. Those graduates who were active in both periods are counted in both.
92. Nicholls.
93. Vincent 2 pp 166-7.
94. Ch 18.10.1788.
95. Hutton pp 20-1.
96. Haile and Ponsonby PB.
97. As at Carlisle; see John Walton and John Stephenson.
98. Hoole.C. A new discovery of the old Art of teaching school..London and Liverpool 1913.
99. Appendix VII. Note also Solomon Atkinson above.
100. See Ch V p.155.
101. The register of Great Blencowe grammar school was seen by Reaney at the beginning of the present century; it can not now be found.
102. Appendix VII. This very important register was not considered by Tompson.
103. See note 97 above.
104. Tompson pp 96-100.
105. Mingay pp 131-3; Spufforth pp 247, 276.
106. Appendix VIII.
107. Hughes 1 chapter viii and 4 chapter ix.
108. It would appear possible that some indication of the changing size of a particular grammar school may be given by Table IX. The totals of entrants from St. Bee's to the universities of England in each decade do seem to follow roughly the same pattern as the known size of that school.

The northern schools which come within the definition of a grammar school used in the last chapter.

Addingham, Allendale, Alnwick, Alston, Ambleside, Appleby, Asby, Bampton, Barton, Beetham, Berwick, Bishop Auckland, Blencowe, Bolton, Bootle, Bothel, Bromfield, Brough, Burgh-by-Sands, Burton, Carlisle, Cockermouth, Crosby Garret, Crosby Ravensworth, Crosthwaite, St. John's Vale, Crosthwaite and Lyth, Culgaith, Dacre, Dalston, Darlington, Dean, Dovenby, Drigg, Durham, Gateshead, Haydon Bridge, Heighington, Heversham, Hexham, Houghton-le-Spring, Hugill, Hunsonby, Irton, Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kirkby Stephen, Lamplugh, Lowther, Measand, Morland, Morpeth, Newcastle, Norton, Old Hutton, Orton, Tebay, Penrith, Plumbland, Ravenstonedale, Rothbury, St. Bee's, Sedgefield, Selside, Stamfordham, Staveley, Stockton, Swindale, Thrimby, Thursby, Uldale, Waitby, Westward, Whicham, Whitehaven, Wigton, Windermere, Winton, Witton-le-Wear, Wolsingham, Workington and Wreay.

Schools which probably functioned as a grammar school for some time in the eighteenth century but were not normally in that category.

Abbey Holme, Bamburgh, Bedlington, Belford, Burneside, Corglin, Distington, Ennerdale, Frosterley, Grasmere, Grayrigg, Haltwhistle, Harrington, Haile, Heddon, Hurworth, Hutton Roof, Kaber, Killington, Loweswater, Norham, Natland, Pontop, Sebergham, Tynemouth and Wooler.

CHAPTER V

The endowed non-classical schools

Over two hundred and thirty schools in the north of England received some form of endowment of value over £1 in the eighteenth century. The majority of these schools were not training children for entrance to university in that they did not offer classical instruction. The importance of this difference in purposiveness is sufficient to make it worthwhile to attempt to treat classical schools apart from the rest, in that the provision of such tuition had profound effects on the school. Even if only a few pupils studied classics and rarely went on to university directly from the school the existence of the course must have affected the composition of pupils, parents and teachers. It has already been suggested in the last chapter that those schools with a regular demand for classics, such as Bampton, would normally give all their pupils some training in Latin. Lesser grammar schools where only occasional pupils desired classical instruction certainly did not do so by the nineteenth century, as the surveys of the Charity Commissioners and Carlisle show. All northern grammar schools provided elementary education and, as we have seen, most offered some higher education in subjects other than the classics. The study of Lancashire grammar schools by J.M. Sanderson shows a similar picture and emphasises how difficult is classification of late eighteenth century schools. Despite the considerable and accepted overlap in teaching practice at classical and non-classical endowed schools the two groups may be conveniently divided as a tradition of classical teaching brought with it problems of its own¹.

It did not prove feasible to make a definitive list of the endowed grammar schools of northern England. Problems of definition, changes in the status of the schools themselves and sheer lack of evidence caused the classification of a number of schools to remain dubious². Nevertheless the concept of a grammar school is a fairly well established one, and the great majority of the schools so classified clearly were grammar schools. The same problems, but greatly magnified, are met in discussion of other endowed schools. The diversity of name given to these schools alone indicates how complex was the pattern. Schools were variously termed "dame schools", "common day schools", "free schools", "charity schools", "parochial schools", "village schools", "subscription schools", "English schools", "schools of industry", "elementary schools", "catechitical schools" and "endowed non-classical schools"³. The vagueness of this nomenclature was a characteristic of the eighteenth century, but it expressed a real variety in the organisation of non-classical education. Leaving aside for the moment the question whether or not it is possible to lump all these schools together as a "charity school movement" because of a common motive, it is clear that the forms of these establishments were considerably different.

A school endowed or substantially re-endowed by one individual or a single family tended to remain under the control of its benefactor and his descendants. The school at Great Broughton was endowed by Joseph Ashley in 1722; he laid down rules for the school, adding a provision for the free education of all his own descendents, and continued to control it through his relations, Jacob and Matthew Ashley. He laid down new rules in 1735 and generally seems to have allowed the parishioners little part in the government of the school. When the local residents petitioned him to make certain changes in the school, he threatened to remove his charity.

A school set up by local subscription on the other hand was normally under the direct control of the inhabitants. The subscribers or the chosen men of the parish regulated the school and appointed the master. Only in a rare crisis would the parishioners appeal to an authority outside their village. An undated eighteenth century petition from the inhabitants of Kaber illustrates how the subscription school was normally run, and how it could fall into danger. The petitioners stated that some gifts of value £9 p.a. had been used for the past 70 years as a yearly salary for the schoolmaster. With the intention of better regulating this charity six trustees had been appointed from amongst the villagers to choose the schoolmaster. It was intended that he should be required to teach English, Writing, Arithmetic and Latin. This intention had apparently been carried out for about three years, but then the master left. One of the villagers, Thomas Holliday, then got possession of the key of the school and forcibly kept it, with the announced ambition of being appointed schoolmaster. This at the somewhat advanced age of 89, yet he retained the key, apparently despite the feelings of his neighbours, for the next three years. They then in desperation appealed to the bishop to have him ejected from possession of key and building on the grounds that he was incapable of teaching⁴. Such appeals to the decaying clerical authority over education were rare in the eighteenth century.

Most endowed schools came somewhere between these two types in their form of government. Parish officials and the local clergyman normally supervised the school but the middle and upper class benefactors who had helped to create the school continued to be influential. Similarly organised were those schools which were supported by corporate charity and encouragement as supplied by the S.P.C.K., the Crewe Trust

or large scale industry⁵. Publicly aided education was organised in these three ways; by direct control of the benefactor, by the local subscribers or by local trustees for individual or corporate charity. However, most endowed schools in the north cannot be fitted simply into one of these three categories because at one time or another they received endowment in each of the three ways. The actual running of the school often depended on such imponderable variations as the character of the benefactor, the degree of independence of the inhabitants or the attitude of the current Crewe trustees⁶.

It is not intended to attempt a full description of all known endowed schools in the north in the eighteenth century. The existing evidence relating to this type of school is so limited and unreliable that even estimates of the numbers of such schools at any one time must remain dubious. Endowed school provision in the north-east has been thoroughly examined, and the results serve to highlight difficulties of any final estimate. A provisional estimate of the number of schools of all types in Northumberland, based upon Chandler's survey of the 1730s, was made in 1952 by N. G. Mason. This suggested that there were some 31 schools which could be classed as endowed elementary or charity schools at that date. Using additional evidence, in particular the records of the Crewe trust, the S.P.C.K. and the Hunter MSS, G. W. Hogg showed in 1966 that this total should be raised to at least 50. The same thesis also expanded the estimates of provision in Durham which had been made previously. However, this total cannot be accepted as even approaching finality for the year 1736. By that date schools had been endowed at Allenton, Blanchland, Coldoleugh, Doddington, Ulgham, Whittingham and Whalton apart from those noted by Hogg. Additions can also be made to his list of schools founded in Northumberland in the rest of the eighteenth

century, and to that for Durham.⁷ Numerical examination of this kind of school is made the more difficult and the less meaningful by the further problem of continuity. Sometimes, as at Roughill or Stannington, evidence does exist in the parish records of the regular choice of charity pupils, donation of books or payment of the teacher. More commonly however visitation returns, the Charity Commissioners' reports and newspaper advertisements show that the life of the small endowed school was a very intermittent one. If even ancient grammar schools could entirely disappear, as at Burgh-by-Sands, how more often must the weakly endowed non-classical schools have done so. Such extinctions are known⁸; many temporary disappearances must be hidden by the sparsity of visitation data.

On the other hand an accidental survival can reveal that many more schools were active than civil and ecclesiastical records would seem to indicate. The brief personal history of John Robinson of Hartburn has already been mentioned; his own education was gained between 1677 and 1685 at no less than five schools in Hartburn parish and he later taught four different schools himself, still in the same parish. It is not clear from the text whether any of these were endowed, although at least one, at East Thornton, included a free building, but the MS makes it quite clear that there was ample provision for elementary education in Hartburn area between 1675 and 1735. This would not be apparent if the MS had not survived. This is not the only sign that the existing data about school provision in the north before the nineteenth century is only a small fraction of the reality.⁹

It is not then possible in the light of present evidence to make accurate estimates of the numbers of elementary endowed schools

operating at any one time in the eighteenth century, at least in the north of England. It is feasible however to use the available data to compare the nature of non-classical provision in the north at that time with the accepted national pattern; and in particular to examine the controversial issues of the extent of the "charity school movement" and of charitable donations in the eighteenth century.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded in 1699. Its main efforts in the first quarter of a century of its existence were directed towards the encouragement of Protestant elementary education in the British Isles. The Annual Accounts which the Society issued listed an increasing number of schools of that nature until the energies of the Society turned elsewhere about 1725. By that date the list for England alone far exceeded a thousand schools. It has been claimed that the work of the Society was sufficiently important to warrant classification as a new movement in English education and one that was to lead to extensions in elementary education in the next century.

However, the theory that there was a considerable increase in the amount of charitable provision of education for the poor after the foundation of the S.P.C.K. in 1699 has been questioned on the basis of local studies in Leicestershire.¹⁰ Examination of the schools in the north listed as new charitable foundations by the accounts of the Society does reveal some support for these criticisms. By 1725 the published Accounts of the Society had enumerated 30 schools operating in the north of England, six in Cumberland, one in Westmorland, 13 in Durham and 10 in Northumberland.¹¹ One of these schools, at Wearmouth, appeared in the lists of schools for only five years; although a

school house was built there it does not appear to have operated for long as a school. The local rector, Dr. Smith, had proposed its erection and contributed £10 p.a. for a master but his concern from the outset seems to have been with a school of a higher nature than a charity establishment. In 1714 he wrote to the Society to explain the failure of the school and gave as the reason "the want of a master with University education and in orders". It had already been bruited abroad that he had sent his three sons to the school as some measure of compensation for the expenditure of the £10. In any case the school, if it did in fact run, was very short lived; by February 1708/9 the project had been dropped and the building was eventually turned into a house for the minister.¹²

Two charity schools at Penrith were listed from 1713, one for boys and one for girls. In fact both schools were well established long before the foundation of the S.P.C.K. The girls' charity school was endowed originally in 1661 by the will of William Robinson. It was built in 1670 and further endowed in 1671 and 1695. Robinson had stipulated that an important part of the school's curriculum should be the training of the pupils in seamstery. This was still being taught at the school in the nineteenth century. Although the school did get further endowment in the eighteenth century it does not appear to have gained in any way from the efforts of the S.P.C.K. The school for boys reported at Penrith was even older, being in fact the ancient grammar school of the town. Although a "Free school" by title there is no evidence that poor children were taught at this school free of charge. The endowments of the school were small and did not specify a number of poor scholars. The parents of pupils there in 1708 were predominantly professional or in trade; only 4.6% were classed as

"common men" and 16.3% as "artisans". The only way in which this school could be said to resemble a charity school was that a small number of its pupils were apprenticed yearly by the parish.¹³

The first Cumbrian school to be listed by the S.P.C.K. was at Croglin. This appeared in the Accounts in 1710, and had been described to the Society in October 1709. This pre-dates the school building mentioned by the Charity Commissioners as occurring c.1724 but the information supplied to the S.P.C.K. implies a school rather than just a schoolmaster. They were told that "... there is now a charity school in the parish of Croglin in Cumberland that was some years since erected and has hitherto subsisted on a collection of £5 and the minister, Mr. Hunter's, liberality ..". This school was of the nature of a charity school. When public subscriptions were raised for it in 1723 Bible reading and the catechism were specified as the curricula. However, there is evidence that the school existed before 1699. John Gosling was licensed as schoolmaster of Kirkoswald and Croglin in 1683, and John Muntcaster as schoolmaster of Great Croglin in 1676/7. It is suggestive that two Mulcasters taught in Croglin school from at least 1723 until 1749 and that John Mulcaster further endowed the school in 1764.¹⁴

The most active correspondent with the Society from the north-west in the first two decades of the eighteenth century was Dr. Hugh Todd. He had informed the Society of the schools in Penrith, giving full details of their status and endowment. His close connection with Penrith grammar school whilst he was vicar there explains his inclusion of that school in his description of the local charity schools. It is clear from his letters to the society that he was at pains to detail any schools which provided for the poor, irrespective of their date of foundation or their function. Confusion brought about by his report

of the school in Arthuret parish led to a duplication of returns in the accounts by 1721. He gave details of the attendance at a school which "has been set up at Longtown", in a letter to the Society in 1713. This school was included in the account from 1713 onwards. However, in 1721 Todd's information was corrected by Edward Willshire of Kirkandrews, who pointed out that the school did not exist as a separate entity. He wrote that "The school at Longtown in Cumberland is a mistake, but there is or ought to be a school in Arthuret parish, where Longtown is, to which place £100 was given by Reginald Graham for the benefit of the poor and another £100 to the poor of Kirkandrews, which is used for the school above mentioned".¹⁵ The result of this correction was to add to the account a school in Kirkandrews as well as that at Longtown. In fact the benefaction, which dated back to 1683, had apparently gone to the master of the free school at Arthuret. In the first decade of the century the vicar of Arthuret, Hugh Todd himself, had directed that John Murray, a Scottish graduate who was the licensed curate and schoolmaster of Arthuret, "having taught the latin free school for four months gratis last year should have an allowance of £20 out of Mr. Reginald Graham's benefaction for the teaching of the poor children of the parish". This school was certainly in existence before the S.P.C.K. influence could reach Cumberland; masters are known from 1676.¹⁶

The only charity school listed for Westmorland in the accounts was at Kendal. This too was a much older school than the S.P.C.K. data would seem to indicate. It had been founded in 1670 by the gift of Thomas Sandes. It did receive further endowments in the eighteenth century but all of them were later than 1721 and do not seem in any way connected with the Society.

Only one noted school in the north-west was the product of the Society's encouragement; that in Carlisle. The absence of a charity

school in this town had been bemoaned as early as 1700 by Dr. Todd. He reported that the bishop of Carlisle had indicated his concern for such schools, after hearing of the Queen's letter to the Archbishop of York in their favour, ten years later.¹⁷ However, such eminent support did not at once produce fruit; in 1712 Todd was forced to report to the Society that "The magistrates in Carlisle decline to give countenance to the setting up of a charity school there but it is hoped something may be done without them .." Infact the crucial moment in the struggle to erect a school in Carlisle seems to have come with the election of another correspondent to the society in 1715. John Walton, then headmaster of the grammar school in the town, became a correspondent on the 2nd of June in that year, He apparently put his energies to the promotion of the projected school, for another correspondent, Captain Thomas Morris, commented in November 1716 that "Mr. Walton ... has applied his endeavours to erect a charity school at Carlisle with soe good success that near £20 is already subscribed". The school, which was originally for 10 boys, opened on the 24th of June 1717. Walton continued his efforts in Carlisle, increasing the number of pupils and later providing for the education of girls also.¹⁸ He was evidently a most enthusiastic supporter of charity education; on his retirement from Carlisle to take up the vicar's duties at Corbridge he attempted to set up a charity school in his new home, though with less success.¹⁹ The school at Carlisle accords in every respect to the criteria of a charity school; its educational programme was limited to reading and the principles of the Christian religion. The pupils were to be clothed as well as taught.

The evidence so far presented from the north-west seems to minimise the influence of the S.P.C.K. The north-east, however, does

not entirely follow this pattern. The charity school at Berwick was a result of the efforts of the corresponding member of the Society as had been the case in Carlisle. The Rev. Patrick Robertson, vicar of Berwick, accepted the responsibilities of a correspondent in January 1713; his endeavours led to the foundation of a charity school there in 1715. This was not in fact the first provision for the education of the poor children of the town. Robertson noted in his letter to the Society in which he accepted the post that "at his own cost several tymes he got 100 poor children taught to read and say the church catechism". As he had been there since 1686 there is no reason to connect his enthusiasm necessarily with the outpourings of the Society. Nevertheless he had not achieved a permanent school until he got the support of the S.P.C.K.²⁰

Whilst the school at Berwick was clearly of the nature of a charity school and remained so into the nineteenth century that at Rothbury filled a much wider role. It first appears in the accounts in 1709 when it is noted that "£20 per annum for ever is settled by the worthy Rector for teaching poor children". In 1711 it is added that a school has been erected and 100 children taught. The rector was John Thomlinson, who confirmed and added to his benefaction by his will dated 12.2.1719/20. However, his gift was intended for Rothbury grammar school rather than a charity school. He specified classical subjects as well as the elementaries and made a particular provision for the support of university students. Another endowment of the same period, that of George Fletcher in 1710, was also for the benefit of the grammar schoolmaster of Rothbury.²¹

One of the most forceful and outspoken of the northern correspondents of the Society was the vicar of Embleton in Northumberland, Vincent Edwards.

By 1711 he had had erected in his parish a building for a charity school; he tried to protect one of its schoolmaster's, without success, from the army press; and he endowed the school with land and money in his will. This school appears to have been elementary but it did exist before Edward's benefactions; £40 had been given previously for the schoolmaster.²²

The schools at Benwell, Winlaton, Winlaton Mill and Swalwell all began to operate after 1700. Apart from their appearance in the S.P.C.K. accounts there is little to connect them with the national charity school movement. They were elementary schools erected by the efforts of the employers and employees of local industries. They were restricted to the children of the employees, although the schoolmaster was allowed later to make terms with the parents of other children in Winlaton. The schools did have an emphasis upon teaching of religious principles; the original school at Winlaton was only half of the foundation, the remainder of the money raised being used to support a chapel.²³

The school in Gateshead, reported to the Society in 1708, had been in existence early in the seventeenth century. The endowment it received in 1701 from Pickering established it as a grammar school rather than a charity school as he specified the teaching of Latin and Greek as well as elementary subjects and mathematics. It was still being taught as a grammar school at the end of the eighteenth century.²⁴

The schools listed at Darlington, Houghton-le-Spring and Whickham all display the characteristics of charity schools. That at Darlington was endowed in 1713 by Dame Mary Calverly, who ordered that the poor children of that town should be educated there in the principles of the Christian religion, reading, writing, and accounts. Provision was also

to be made for their clothing and later apprenticeship. The schools at Houghton and Whickham were established through the efforts of correspondents of the Society. Sir George Wheeler and Dr. Robert Thomlinson were amongst the first correspondents appointed in the north; both were very active in the promotion of charity education for the rest of their lives. Wheeler, who was the vicar at Houghton-le-Spring, specifically asked for the advice of the Society when he prepared to set up a charity school for girls there; it was opened in 1716. He remained concerned for the school after his retirement, continuing to supervise arrangements for the clothing of the pupils, and endowed the school in his will. Part of this endowment was to be paid to the usher of the local grammar school, on condition that he taught for one afternoon each week in the charity school. Thomlinson was assisted in the erection of a charity school at Whickham by the bequest of Jane Blakiston, but he had been trying to create such a school before this became available in 1714. He regulated and further endowed the charity.²⁵

The references to schools at Durham in the accounts are rather obscure. The school "in the neighbourhood", which was reported in 1707, was that supported and later endowed by Rev. Cock in St. Oswald's parish. Although this school was elementary, restricted to the poor and directed towards catechetical teaching, it does not seem to have had any direct connection with the Society. This charity was still in operation in the nineteenth century but it disappeared from the Society's accounts in 1718, becoming confused with the Blue Coat school set up in St. Nicholas's. The latter school was more closely connected with S.P.C.K. initiative. George Bowes, the correspondent at Durham, had been striving to set up a charity school there since at least 1711. His early attempts were not successful but he was able to announce the erection of a school in 1718. This was not the first charitable effort in that parish; the church offertory money had been used to support the education of 13 poor children before that date.

Bowe's efforts to found a charity school in Durham are the more remarkable as the accounts show that there were already no less than four schools in the town, supported by the Dean and Chapter. It is not at all clear which schools this regular item in the accounts refers to. Chandler's survey mentions only the Blue Coat school apart from private schoolmasters, omitting even Cock's charity; the 1793 visitation, which is particularly full in the description of Durham includes the Cock charity and the later endowed school in St. Giles, but has nothing which could be interpreted as the four Dean and Chapter schools, at least in the elementary field. In the absence of supporting data it would appear at least possible that the schools referred to included the grammar school of the town and the bishop's song school, neither of which could be properly classed as a charity school. The Chapter had supported the education of 14 girls at a private spinning school in the town in 1696, but the returns of the S.P.C.K. specified that boys were taught in the Chapter's schools. It is perhaps significant however that the very first account, that of 1705, merely mentions children rather than boys. The fourth school might possibly have been a writing school used by the boys of the grammar school; such a one certainly existed at the end of the seventeenth century, but its master, Peter Nelson, had died in 1703. An alternative lies in the ineffective endowment left by John Spearman in 1703 for the education of poor boys in the basic subjects and navigation. Whatever the basis for the four schools supported by the Dean and Chapter it is most unlikely that they date from the beginning of the eighteenth century or that they were the result of the S.P.C.K. encouragement.²⁶

The evidence so far presented for a charity school movement in the north is very slight. It has always been recognised, however, that the movement was predominantly an urban one, and it is in the only major town of the area, Newcastle, that the best evidence of the effectiveness of S.P.C.K. initiative is to be found. Even here the Society was not original in its advocacy of schools for the poor. The earliest correspondent

to the society, Rev. Ellison noted in 1700 that "The town hath out of its common revenue provided for the teaching of many poor, besides what several private persons contribute....". He specifically remarked upon the wealth of catechetical schools and lectures. He held out little hope therefore of getting standing subscriptions in the town. His earliest attempts to set up a charity school confirmed his gloomy prognostications; in 1701 the corporation preferred to make an agreement "with a Person to take ten Boys and Girls every month, and teach them to spin Woollen yarn till they are able to maintain themselves, and that there is a schoolmaster to teach them to read" It was only a temporary setback. By 1710 five charity schools had been founded in the town. All of these were based on the S.P.C.K. model. The school in St. Andrew's parish was endowed by Sir Walter Blckett, who had been concerned in the organisation of the spinning school. That in St. Nicholas's was the fruit of the generosity of Dame Eleanor Allen. The other schools, in St. John's and All Saints, were supported by a number of smaller benefactions. All were elementary, designed for the provision of the kind of education recommended by the Society, and accorded the typical charity school benefits of clothing and concern in the child's later career. The proximity in foundation of these schools indicates a real charity school movement in Newcastle in the early eighteenth century.²⁷

The bare figures of charity schools in the Society's accounts which can be accepted as elementary schools for the poor founded as a result of the efforts of the S.P.C.K. are not impressive. Only eleven of the twenty-nine schools listed in 1725 were so founded and five of these were in one town, Newcastle. The north-west, with only one S.P.C.K. creation, gained very little from the movement. The pattern in the north appears similar to the national one in that the charity school movement was closely linked to the towns and much less successful in the rural districts. The

efforts made by the society's correspondents to encourage the endowment of schools were much less fruitful there than in the large towns. Attempts to set up schools in Whitehaven, Corbridge, Morpeth and Belbridge were all failures. The correspondent from the latter place, Capt. Thomas Morris, commented that instead of helping to support a schoolmaster by enclosing the common land "... many persons (whose help is necessary in an affair of this nature) do declare that they had rather have good grass upon the common for their cattle than that their children should be taught writing or reading".²⁸

Any estimate however of the effectiveness of the S.P.C.K. in school promotion is immediately dependent upon the number and efficiency of the correspondents. They were the only source for the yearly accounts. It is plain that some, such as Todd, were concerned to list as many forms of free education as possible, irrespective of date or type of foundation. Others restricted themselves more strictly to recent endowments for the benefit of the poor. There were only nineteen correspondents for the whole of the north before 1725, and some considerable areas had no correspondent. There was no informant in southern Durham and only one in the whole of Westmorland. For these reasons the lists of schools published in the accounts are of very little use as a guide to the work of the society. Many schools are included which were not elementary schools for the poor and had no real connection with the Society at all. Equally there were endowments of a charity school nature which found no place in the accounts because they were not reported to the society. A Blue Coat school was set up in Bishop Auckland in 1720. John Grainger endowed an elementary school for 30 poor children at Staindrop in 1710. Hartwell's endowment for Stanhope in 1725 actually prohibited the teaching of the classics in his school. Elizabeth Tewart endowed a school at Chester-le-Street in 1718 for the free instruction of "twelve poor children

in the fundamentals of the christian religion, and to read and write" The school set up in Stockton in 1721 was clearly modelled upon the S.P.C.K. example. It was endowed by subscription, the pupils were to be clothed as well as instructed in reading, writing and accounts and it was already known as the Blue Coat school by 1729. It maintained this character into the nineteenth century. These five schools in Durham are the most obvious examples of schools which would have been included in the S.P.C.K. accounts as charity schools had the necessary information been passed on to London; there were however a number of other schools of an elementary nature in other parts of the north which were endowed in the first two decades of the eighteenth century and may have owed something to the charity school influence.²⁹ It is not sufficient therefore to limit examination of the Society's success as a promoter of education to the schools listed in the yearly Account. If the Society's contribution is restricted to those schools in which it can be shown to have been intimately concerned, then indeed it was meagre and unimportant. Many other schools may have also benefited indirectly as a result of the Society's activities.

The only direct part played by the Society in the erection of charity schools in the north was its appointment and support of local correspondents³⁰. In so far as these men encouraged the spread of elementary education the Society was immediately concerned in school foundation. This is not to suggest that they would not have aided northern education themselves without the Society's impulse. On the contrary the original correspondents seem to have been chosen because of their known interest in education. However, the Society provided information and co-ordinated their efforts. Thomlinson, Bowes, Wheeler and Robertson all at some time asked for the Society's advice about the foundation of charity schools. Bowes in 1713 asked the society to provide the assistance of his fellow correspondents in the creation of a school in Durham. Edwards sought and received the Society's influence

to rescue the impressed teacher, Robert More, in 1712. There is little evidence of any influence of the Society after 1725, although Thomlinson remained an active correspondent on into the 1740s.³¹

This decline in S.P.C.K involvement was not associated with a drop in the incidence of charitable donation for educational purposes in the north of England. In all four northern counties the pattern of endowment remained fairly regular during the eighteenth century. Known benefactions of value of £1 or more are summarized in Table XIV. Grammar school endowments have been included because of the difficulty of distinguishing between the lesser grammar schools and other endowed schools. The main sources were the compilations of the charity surveys of 1786-8 and 1818-35, with additional evidence from local records. Some charities must have been overlooked in all three sources; very small donations have not been included if the school had other endowments. Schools erected solely by subscription are not listed.³² Nevertheless it is likely that the general distribution of charity through the century is accurately indicated.

There is little evidence from this table of an increase in charitable donation in the early part of the century; although more donations have been traced in the decade 1721-30 than in any other decade there were almost as many in the 1780s and the total for the first decade is one of the lowest of the period. Nor is there any significant pattern of change in the kind of school endowed. The proportion of donations to grammar schools varies between about a third and a seventh, but it is almost exactly the same in the last decade of the century as in the second. There does seem however some evidence of a decline in support for grammar school education in the middle of the period.³³

Nevertheless the absence of any great expansion in school foundation during the period of S.P.C.K. activity compared with the rest of the century does not in itself prove that there was no charity school movement. It

TABLE XIV (p. 154)

A summary of charitable donations towards education in the north of
England in the eighteenth century.

| <u>Date</u> | <u>Donations to non- classical schools</u> | <u>Donations to grammar schools</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------|--|---|--------------|
| 1701-10 | 18 | 8 | 26 |
| 1711-20 | 16 | 12 | 28 |
| 1721-30 | 33 | 17 | 50 |
| 1731-40 | 21 | 6 | 27 |
| 1741-50 | 21 | 6 | 27 |
| 1751-60 | 22 | 3 | 25 |
| 1761-70 | 32 | 7 | 39 |
| 1771-80 | 27 | 4 | 31 |
| 1781-90 | 24 | 16 | 40 |
| 1791-1800 | 20 | 14 | 34 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 234 | 93 | 327 |

These totals are based upon appendix II. Excluded are general public subscriptions, regular charitable payments, such as those made by the Crewe Trustees, and donations of value less than £1 unless the donation set up a new school.

remains to be seen whether or not the S.P.C.K. example was closely followed by others. In that way the influence of the society might have survived after its policy became disorientated from education in England.

Much the most important source of educational charity in the north of England in the eighteenth century was the Crewe Trust, set up in 1720. Lord Crewe specified only one school in his will as the object of his charity; that in Bishop Auckland. However he left a large sum of money in yearly rents to be applied by the choice of his trustees and this was used throughout the eighteenth century to support other schools in the north. The school at Bishop Auckland was an elementary one, which also provided for clothing the boys. In fact the master in this period was normally the headmaster of the local grammar school, although the two appointments did not automatically go together. With very few exceptions the other schools supported or aided by the Crewe Trustees in this period were also elementary schools. Some of them were schools originally founded under the aegis of the S.P.C.K., such as Berwick and Whickham charity schools. The Trust assisted in the erection of nineteen schools in the eighteenth century and frequently aided schools and masters by additional grants. The records of the Trustees normally refer to these schools as "charity schools", but there is no indication of any direct link between the Trust and the Society. On the other hand the Trust did commonly found schools in co-operation with public subscription, usually by matching the amount collected locally. The Trust was operated in very much the spirit suggested by the early S.P.C.K. publicity, although with much more material gifts to offer. It is hardly to be believed that the trustees were not gaining from the example offered to them by the Society.

From the foundation of the Trust the funds were employed to encourage elementary education of the poor. The Trustees ordered on the 5th of March 1723/4 that they should continue the payment of twenty nobles per annum to

Matthew Forster, schoolmaster of Bamburgh, which had been paid to him by the late Bishop of Durham, Crewe himself, "for teaching the poor children ..."

Regular payments were made to the charity school of Berwick from 1728, when it was ordered that a sum of £5 should go to the master there each year henceforth. The charity school at Stockton received a cash benefaction of £100 in 1730. Money was given to found a school at Winston in 1735, and one that was specifically designated as a charity school. It is likely that the numerous payments to other schools in the north made by this organisation in the eighteenth century had similar objects, but the nature of the school is rarely mentioned in the Crewe Minutes or letters. In 1771 the Trustees agreed to give £148.17s.6d. to endow a school at Hurworth, but made the benefaction contingent upon the subscription of a like sum by the parishioners. This device may have been intended to ensure the interest of the wealthier inhabitants and at the same time to provide for the children of the poorer residents who might have been neglected in a school raised purely by local subscription. It provides a link between the pure charity school, endowed solely for the poor, and the village elementary school, which was established for the more general benefit of the neighbourhood.

After 1771 this method of supporting education was increasingly employed by the Trustees; at Great Stainton in 1771, Thornton in 1777, Slaley in 1781, Norton in 1786, Caistern in 1792 and at Chester-le-Street in 1798.³⁴ When the school at Stainton, established by the charity of Rev. Thomas Nicholson, was threatened by the loss of those funds to the descendants of the donor the Trustees still insisted upon the inhabitants putting forward as much as the Trust before they would succour the school.³⁵ The Trustees interpreted their charge as the general encouragement of education and concerned themselves with university and secondary levels as well as elementary.³⁶ They were certainly not inclined to concentrate their charity on the interests of the poor as the S.P.C.K. had done. However they gave more material support to those interests by their grants to local elementary schools, and their approval of the charity school model

tacitly indicated by their support of the established charity schools in Berwick and Whickham, is shown by the organisation of the Bamburgh school. This was the especial interest of the Trust as it was upon Crewe estate land. The curriculum and staffing of the school were regulated by the Trustees and consequently much more information about this particular school has survived than of any other elementary school in the north. It was originally in the village but was established in the Castle in 1758. Although classics and the mathematics were at one time offered to the male pupils the school operated for the benefit of the poor alone. It catered for both sexes and at the end of the eighteenth century was partially converted into a school of industry.

Although this school lacked the emphasis on catechetical teaching which the S.P.C.K. had advocated, its rules show that it had much in common with the spirit of the early eighteenth century charity movement. It was specifically for the poor, aimed to instil a proper attitude towards authority in its pupils and by the end of the century was very limited in the curriculum offered to its beneficiaries. Individual donors also sometimes came close to copying the S.P.C.K. model later in the eighteenth century.

At Ravensglass Richard Thompson left a house to the parson in 1754 on condition that he taught or caused to be taught "orthography, reading, the English tongue and prayer daily and to teach in the said house in the night time in the winter and in the daytime in spring and summer". The school at Aikton was further endowed with land in 1792 by Margaret Hodgson in order that the master should teach "all poor ... children ... the principles of the church of England, and to read, write, cast accounts, to learn their catechism, and other proper and useful learning" It was more common for the endowment to be made for the education of the poor without specification of the subjects to be taught. This would seem to indicate a generally accepted pattern of elementary schooling for the poor. At the same time it is clear that there was

considerable variation between the forms of education offered in elementary schools. Some, although founded as elementary, at times offered a higher education. At Bolden in Durham the parish supported the education of twenty poor children, who were taught English, arithmetic and psalmody, but the master was expected to take private pupils as well and had to hire his home and schoolhouse; when Robert Emmerson took over the school in 1759 he offered boarding accommodation and a full course of education, including classics and mathematics. The school at Norham was aided by subscription in the 1760s and by the Crewe Trustees, but the vestry sought a master capable of teaching classics when vacancies arose in 1735 and 1766. The schools at Bishop Middleham, Frosterley, Hesketh and Natland also aimed at providing a classical education during part of the eighteenth century. Other parish schools may have aspired to be grammar schools at this time without leaving evidence of this development.³⁹

A few cases have been cited where classics were taught at schools which would normally be classed as charity schools. It appears unlikely that there were many anomalies of that nature but at the same time even a small number of such instances brings seriously into question any equation of elementary education with the many schools embraced by the term "non-classical". If some of them went so far as to offer classics many others must have given training in mathematics, writing and trade-orientated subjects to a level beyond the basics. Certainly some of the masters of schools classed as charity schools were able mathematicians⁴⁰; John Davenport, master of All Saints', Newcastle was the author of a text-book on book-keeping; Dial, the master at Bamburgh, has left evidence of his studies. There is however so little evidence of the later careers of the pupils at these schools that the extent to which they went beyond the bare minimum advocated by the S.P.C.K. is a matter for conjecture.

Only one pupil from a charity school in the north won his way into the elite of D.N.B. and he, Thomas Miles Richardson, was hardly a normal pupil as he was the son of the master of the school. Although the names of many pupils have survived very few can be traced forward into adult life. Some, like the sons of Edward Chicken, were fortunate enough to move on to grammar schools and thence to a professional career. A number of the masters and mistresses of non-classical schools had themselves been educated in that kind of school.

Between the parish school which occasionally offered a classical and mathematical education and the charity school which gave an elementary training exclusively to the poor were the mass of endowed non-classical schools. These gave some free education to the poor but charged small fees to the rest. As has already been noted in the case of Croglin school it is very difficult to establish with any certainty when such schools came into operation. Frequently the first endowment was simply support for an existing school. It was however in the eighteenth century that most of them received their first known public assistance. The Digest of Schools, Non-classical, published as a summary of the findings of the Charity Commission in 1843, showed that such foundations had proliferated in the eighteenth century. Only forty-three were quoted for the sixteenth century, three hundred and eighty-one for the seventeenth century but a massive total of one thousand one hundred and five for the eighteenth century. These figures undoubtedly exaggerate the importance of eighteenth century foundations in that they include only schools still extant as such in 1818, and this restriction must militate in favour of eighteenth century endowments. Nevertheless the disparity between the centuries is such that it suggests a burst of charitable donation towards elementary education in that period. Any claims that might be made on behalf of

the S.P.C.K. as the direct instigator of this development must be denied on the basis of the northern evidence. The society was concerned in the creation of only eleven of the schools in its accounts, and even if the few charity schools of the early decades which escaped mention in the accounts are added to the society's contribution the final number of schools is small.

It does not seem reasonable however to dismiss the work of the society because its direct initiative was of little effect. Efforts were made in the north of England for the better education of the poor. The suggestions of the S.P.C.K. were followed by private benefactors and by the Crewe Trustees. Even if no direct link can be established between these endeavours and the society it would seem most unlikely that the well publicised model of the S.P.C.K. school had no effect upon donations towards elementary education which came so soon after the period of S.P.C.K. activity.

The north had the same complex pattern of educational provision as the rest of England.⁴¹ The charity schools of the towns provided basic training for the poor, the village endowed non-classical schools gave free education to some poor children but charged fees for other pupils, and alongside these were many specific educational ventures each in their own way deviant from the usual types. The dissenters and Roman Catholics provided for the training of their children in denominational schools and these sometimes included free places for the poorer members of the sect.⁴² Schools were set up for the benefit of parents associated with one another in employment. Apart from the colliery schools already mentioned, Trinity House, Newcastle created its own school for the children of the Bretheran, an action which had been anticipated in a way by the shipowners of Whitehaven.⁴³ In 1781

Major Lowther established a school in Whitehaven for the education of the boys belonging to men in his battalion. ⁴⁴ Schools of industry were opened in Kendal and Bambergh. The grammar schools themselves provided an important contribution towards education at lower levels in the eighteenth century.

There are some advantages to be gained from classing all these kinds of school together under some such title as "non-endowed" or "charity". They had important features in common; all had some form of more or less disinterested financial support, either by endowment or subscription; they enjoyed therefore more permanence than the private school which depended on the life of its proprietor; finally, for the great majority of their pupils the school was the last place of full-time education. At the same time what they had in common must not be allowed to conceal the profound differences between certain of these schools. There were distinctions between the schools of the type recommended by the S.P.C.K. and the parish endowed or subscription schools in the pupils they catered for, and above all in their attitudes towards fees. The 1805 report of their agents to Greenwich Hospital Trustees about the schools in Alston parish points to this important difference. It was reported that "... Children of the lowest classes of the poor are not taught even to read, from the inability of their parents to pay the quarterly sums". ⁴⁵

The evidence of the north of England suggests that there is little substance to the concept of a charity movement in the narrow sense of a burst of endowment for elementary education, resulting from the impulse of the S.P.C.K. Only the urban area of Newcastle provides any corroboration for such a direct result of the Society's work. The considerable amount of charitable donation towards education in the

eighteenth century seem to have been directed in this area far more
towards parochial schools akin to the Scottish model ⁴⁹ than towards
catechitical schools. The most important practical support to
education in the north came from the Crewe Trustees; this does not
appear to have been directly influenced by the Society; their
donations were spread over the country; and the schools they aided
were of not particular type.

NOTES

1. Both Thompson and Sanderson have illustrated the choices of development open to a classical school in the early nineteenth century, faced as it was by the problem of price rise and population growth.
2. See Ch. IV pp. 86-9.
3. Sanderson p. 28; Simon p 56; Jones pp 20-1; Robson pp 20-1. Although the term "endowed non-classical" has been preferred as a title for this chapter it is not intended to put it forward as an ideal classification. Rather its merits appeared to be only that it avoided the increasingly loaded form of "charity school", did not presuppose the curriculum as the term "elementary" would do, and excluded private schools which are discussed in Ch. VI.
4. DRC/2/207, CRO References to school documents appear generally in Appendix II.
5. The Crowley iron firm, Greenwich Hospital in its estates around Alston, the London Lead company in Weardale and Trinity House, Newcastle are examples of such organisations which aided education.
6. The latter varied a great deal during the century. Until about 1765 the great majority of their benefactions towards education went to the support and endowment of non-classical schools. After that time the Trustees increasingly demanded that the local inhabitants should subscribe at least as much as the Trustees allocated from their funds. They also donated more money towards the support of impoverished boys at university.
7. Mason, Hogg and Eisel, passim. See table XIV and appendix II.
8. For example at Helsington, Firbank and Wooler.
9. Note especially the Militia Roll in Percy MSS.
10. Simon Ch. III pp 55-103.
11. Numerical errors in the Accounts before 1725 have been ignored.
12. Sharpe MSS 70 p. 229 S.P.C.K. ALB letter of 7.9.1714.
13. CCR v 160, 156. Carlisle 1 p 191. Jackson J. Dr. Todd, the Society's correspondent in the matter of Penrith, had kept the grammar school register book from 1699-1719.
14. FR/16/45, CRO S.P.C.K. ALB letter of September 1709
15. S.P.C.K. ALB letters of 6.5.1721 and 29. . 1712/3.
16. See Warwick W., Wilshire E. and Hetherington J. That one of the earliest of the known masters should be of the same name as the Society's correspondent perhaps adds substance to his correction.

17. S.P.C.K. ALB letter of 31.8.1710. The backhanded nature of the comment in this letter reflects the personal relationship between Todd and his Bishop.
18. S.P.C.K. ALB letters of 15.9.1712, 23.11.1716, 17.5.1717, 4.7.1717 et alia. By the nineteenth century this school was restricted to girls. CCR iii 101-103.
19. S.P.C.K. ALB letter of 8.5.1721. The building of a school in Corbridge in 1726 may have been the result of the vicar's interest in education. NCH x p 215.
20. S.P.C.K. ALB letter of 22.1.1712/3. The register book of this charity school from 1757-1860 has survived. It provides a useful corrective to overstrict adherence to foundations and printed descriptions. The S.P.C.K. Account describes the school as one for sixty pupils; in 1794 it was advertised as a school for twenty-six pupils; the Berwick Directory of 1806 described it as a school for twenty-four boys and six girls, who were to attend for a maximum of five years. In fact the register shows that two hundred and forty-four pupils attended in the period 1757-1801. A quarter of these were girls. Attendance varied in length from less than one year to nine years but averaged 4.5 years. This would indicate a normal school population of about twenty-five. Similar figures of age and attendance have been observed in Lancashire schools by J.M. Sanderson pp 36-8 Berwick Charity School, Register Book, NRO.C 13.7.1765, 4.10.1794 Berwick Directory.
21. CCR xxiii p. 450.
22. Hunter MS 6a p 16. S.P.C.K. ALB. letter of 23.2.1711/2.
23. Flinn p 227. S.P.C.K. Account 1716. Sharpe MS 50 PA2 x.
24. CCR xxiii p 37. See G. Busby.
25. S.P.C.K. ALB letters of 13.33.1713, 12.1.1714/5, 28.1.1714/5 and 23.6.1716.
26. S.P.C.K. ALB letters of 24.11.1711, 27.10.1713 and 4.2.1717/8
S.P.C.K. Account of .. 1705 CCR xxiii pp 22-8 Whiting, Chadwick.
27. CCR xxiii pp 409-24. S.P.C.K. ALB letters of 27.1.1688/1700 and 8.3.1700/1
28. S.P.C.K. ALB. letter of 23.11.1716.
29. CCR xxi pp 40,99 and 101; xxiii pp 32 and 110-4. The schools at Allenheads, Alnham, Bamburgh, Barbon, Barnard Castle, Black Callerton, Blanchland, Chillingham, Coldcleugh, Deerham, Eskdale, Grayrigg, Harwood, Howick, Hutton-in-the-Forest, Great Broughton, Ponteland, Rennington and Rock and that at Whalton were all aided in the first twenty-five years of the eighteenth century. They may have owed something to the efforts of the Society. Appendix II.

30. The northern correspondents of the Society during its period of educational activity in England deserve listing. Their situations help to explain the nature of the lists published in the yearly Accounts. The dates are of appointment and last known correspondence. Very few of these men are listed in appendix I because few were schoolmasters and most were born before 1685.

| | | |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Rev. Nathaniel ELLISON | Newcastle | 1699-1721d |
| Sir George WHEELER | Durham | 1699-1721 |
| Dr. Hugh TODD | Penrith | 1701-1714 |
| Rev. Robert THOMLINSON | Newcastle | 1702-1744 |
| Andrew BATES | Newcastle | 1703-1708 |
| Rev. Vincent EDWARDS | Embleton | 1703-1712 |
| Mr. WHINFIELD | Newcastle | 1703 |
| Rev. CROSBY | Kendal | 1706-7 |
| Rev. YATES | Whitehaven | 1707 |
| George BOWES | Durham | 1711/2-1718 |
| Rev. Patrick ROBERTSON | Berwick | 1712/3-1717 |
| Rev. John WALTON | Carlisle | 1715-1721 |
| Rev. John DALTON | Whitehaven | 1716-1717 |
| Rev. Mordecai CAREY | Morpeth | 1718- |
| John SPEDDING | Whitehaven | 1718-9 |
| John ERISCOE | Crofton | 1720 |
| Rev. Edward WILLSHIRE | Kirkandrews | 1720-1721 |
| Rev. Leonard SHAFTOE | Gateshead | 1721 |
| Joseph CARR | Newcastle | 1725 |

Although these were the officially appointed correspondents there were other northern men in communication with the S.P.C.K. in the period 1699-1725. These included Archdeacon Booth of Easington, 1700-1, William Randolph of Durham, 1710, Dr. John Smith of Sunderland, 1714, James Lowther of Whitehaven, 1716, Capt. Thomas Morris of Belbridge, 1716, Bishop Nicolson of Carlisle, 1717, John Rymer of Durham, 1718, J. Laurence of Bishopwearmouth 1725 and Thomas Sharp of Rothbury in 1725.

31. S.P.C.K. ALB letters of 24.11.1711, 28.1.1714/5, 27.10.1713, 23.2.1711/2 et alia, 4.10.1700 and 22.1.1712/3. Thomlinson's later letters informed the Society of the schools at Bellingham and Wigton on 23.11.1741 and 29.4.1742 respectively. Finally in a letter of 21.8.1744 he tried with ultimate success to persuade the Society to purchase 500 copies of Fisher's Christian Education.

32. Local subscription schools in the country districts of the north appear to have been normally elementary schools. Their foundation date is frequently dubious and the charitable aspect of schools set up by local inhabitants for their own children is doubtful. As the present object is to examine the influence of the Society in encouraging gifts towards the education of the children of the poor they are omitted from table XIV.

33. As might be expected in view of the figures for both local and national enrolment at the English universities in the mid-century period.

34. Crewe Trustees Minute Book. Orders dated 5.3.1723, 26.11.1728, 5.8.1730, 25.11.1735, 22.2.1771, 28.5.1777, 10.10.1781, 30.5.1786, 13.1.1792 and 8.3.1798.

35. Orders 197.1779.
36. See Ch. III p. 65.
37. See Crewe Trustees Minute Books and Correspondence. Also J.J. Grant. The rules of the school were published in 1794.
38. Minutes 26.10.1758 and 29.9.1768. Hoare. Later in the century the instruction in the higher subjects may have been restricted to private pupils of the master; J.J. Grant.
39. See Ch. IV.
40. Others apart from those mentioned in the text appear in Appendix I. See for example C204 or D177.
41. Compare Robson Ch. II.
42. Ch. VIII pp. 250-1.
43. Ch. VI pp.170-1.
44. P. 5.6.1781.
45. There is an interesting and detailed account of education around Alston in C.J. Hunt 1 Ch. 12.
49. Witherington has some speculative comments upon the possibilities on these lines.

CHAPTER VI

Private education

It was in his study of private education that Hans made his most original contribution to the history of English education in the eighteenth century. Until his work very little had been published upon that facet. Pocock's Survey of the records of education in the north-east which was produced in 1952 could only offer two tentative paragraphs about the private schoolmaster although some forty pages were devoted to the eighteenth century. Much more attention has been paid to the private sphere since Hans. Regional studies have already examined the academies of Cheshire, Leicestershire, Yorkshire and Edinburgh.¹ These have substantiated the important part that Hans assigned to those schools in his description of the eighteenth century.

The regional surveys have further emphasised the piece-meal nature of the surviving evidence for this kind of school. The short life of most academies combined with the absence of a perpetual governing body which might keep and store records to make it very much a matter of chance whether or not a particular private school would leave traces of its existence. The lack of records also makes it difficult to estimate with any confidence the part played by this form of education, although there seems to be general agreement from all studies that the eighteenth century was the period in which the number of private schools expanded most rapidly. It is not clear which classes of society these schools catered for. The extent to which they were in competition with the endowed schools, both classical and non-classical, is still a matter of doubt. There is even less remaining to tell us what actually went on inside an eighteenth century private school than

there is from the grammar schools of the time. The picture drawn by Dickens of a nineteenth century academy, in his Dotheboys Hall, cannot be dismissed as atypical of its earlier predecessors; certainly the syllabus proclaimed by Mr. Squeers was very similar to that advertised by many eighteenth century academies.

The haphazard survival of material makes it necessary to cover a fairly wide area in space and time if any progress is to be made towards solving the problems outlined. However, some limitation on a regional basis is inevitable because of the large number of potential sources, especially from local newspapers. Hans' own researches, although including materials from all over England, were concentrated upon London and East Anglia. It was for this reason that such a high proportion of the academies were located in the area of London. Greenberg's study of nineteenth century academies showed that this proportion, two thirds, was an exaggeration of the importance of the capital.²

The problem of definition which has already been met with the endowed schools is once more basic. The distinction between private and public education is fairly clear. In the former the entire cost fell upon the parents³, the schoolmaster taking the whole proceeds of his labour for his personal gain. The master was the owner and sole authority and might pass the school on to his children as a piece of property or might even offer it for sale. In 1796 a private school was put upon the market by advertisement in the Cumberland Pacquet. The owner claimed to make two hundred pounds p.a. from the establishment, which was clearly a large school as he employed three assistants.⁴ It was more usual however for the school to disappear when the master retired or died.

The endowed school by contrast normally shared the cost of education with the parents and gave some degree of free schooling to those local inhabitants who could not pay. The master was under the control of the perpetual body provided by the foundation agreement. The existence of an endowment tended to ensure the survival of the school at the death of a master.

Whilst the contrast between these two forms of education seems fairly clear cut there were many schools and masters that did not fit exactly into either category. The academies set up by dissenters and Roman Catholics for the education of children of their own faiths, and for the better provision of ministers and priests, were far removed in character from the normal private school. Their special aims place them in a class of their own.⁵ However some establishments run by dissenting masters were aimed at the general public and offered much the same course as the majority of private schools. The Quaker school at Kendal, under the masterships of Rebanks, Bewly and the Daltons, provided a wide syllabus which was designed to attract pupils from all denominations. In 1729, only a few months after he had been prosecuted for teaching without a licence, Thomas Rebanks advertised in the Newcastle Courant that "At Kendal in Westmorland are taught .. at moderate prices, Writing, Arithmetick, Geometry, Trigonometry, Navigation, Surveying ... by T.R. Teacher of a Grammar School in the said town, with whom youth may board". Much the same, although more elaborate a course was offered by the Daltons in 1787. This school and others similar, such as those of Samuel Lowthian in Newcastle, John Glenn and James Metcalf of Durham, and Thomas Mason in Sunderland, may have provided denominational education to the children of their sect, but they certainly took private pupils for general secular subjects. Caleb Rotheram's academy at Kendal

produced many dissenting ministers and its foundation has been linked
with the end of Dixon's dissenting academy in Bolton,⁶ It clearly
fulfilled the specialised function of a dissenting academy; yet
Rotheram also educated about 120 lay pupils⁷ whose names have not
survived and, prior to opening his academy, advertised that he taught
gentlemen "Speculative and Practical, Pure and Mix't Mathematics by
easy and well approved methods" It seems possible that Rotheram
for some time at least combined the task of training ministers with
private tuition.

The links forged by some private schoolmasters with endowed
schools also blurred the distinction between the two types of school.
At Hawkshead and Penrith the endowed grammar schools were at one time
in the eighteenth century the classical departments of multilateral
academies.⁸ Contractual arrangements were made by some grammar
schools with local teachers of writing, arithmetic, mathematics,
modern languages and the social graces. The private schools of
Hutton in Newcastle, Nelson in Durham, Shadforth in Houghton-le-Spring
and Howard in Carlisle were used in this manner by the neighbouring
grammar schools. As these private schools were established in the
vicinity these bonds were probably more permanent than those made by
the majority of endowed grammar schools that employed peripatetic
masters of peripheral subjects.

It was ~~not~~ known for public bodies other than endowed schools to
come to terms with a private schoolmaster for their mutual benefit,
and thereby alter the private status of his school. In Whitehaven
in 1697 a local mathematics master, Pollin, made an unusual offer to
the town. He was reported to have proposed that "For a certain Rate
to be paid him upon the Tonnage of the ships, he will teach all the
sons of the owners and the servants that are related to the ships".

TABLE XV (pp 170-5, 180-2)

Private schools active in the north in the eighteenth century

Schools are included in each decade in which they are known to have been active. Only those schools for which definite evidence of the syllabus is extant are included. Masters known only by name and a designation such as "Writing Master" are excluded.

| Date | General Academies | Mathematical Schools | Clerical Schools | Classical Schools | Modern Language Schools | Total |
|---------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1691-00 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 9 |
| 01-10 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| 11-20 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 12 |
| 21-30 | 5 | 8 | 10 | 5 | 0 | 28 |
| 31-40 | 5 | 19 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 37 |
| 41-50 | 13 | 18 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 51 |
| 51-60 | 12 | 26 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 47 |
| 61-70 | 10 | 29 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 58 |
| 71-80 | 29 | 42 | 7 | 19 | 4 | 101 |
| 81-90 | 49 | 34 | 9 | 13 | 5 | 110 |
| 91-00 | 40 | 44 | 5 | 18 | 4 | 111 |

The contribution of the north-west to the table is so insignificant before 1770 that there is little to be gained by presentation of the figures in county totals.

TABLE XVa

Private schools in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century

With the kind permission of Dr. Law it has been possible to make an attempt to classify the schools of Edinburgh in the same way as those of the north, from the lists in his schools appendix.

| Date | General Academies | Mathematics Schools | Clerical Schools | Classical Schools | Modern Language Schools | Total |
|---------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1691-00 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 01-10 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 13 |
| 11-20 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 0 | 2 | 17 |
| 21-30 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 19 |
| 31-40 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 17 |
| 41-50 | 10 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 26 |
| 51-60 | 10 | 6 | 12 | 3 | 8 | 41 |
| 61-70 | 14 | 4 | 10 | 6 | 10 | 44 |
| 71-80 | 21 | 16 | 13 | 4 | 19 | 73 |
| 81-90 | 18 | 14 | 15 | 7 | 18 | 72 |
| 91-00 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 40 |

The offer was accepted. Pollin taught in a chamber over the grammar school which had just been established in Whitehaven by Sir John Lowther and was assistant at that school as well as a private teacher.⁹ In Newcastle the brethren of Trinity House set up a writing and mathematics school for their children and apprentices in 1712. The master was permitted to take 20 private pupils to augment his salary and each of the eighteenth century heads seems to have used this privilege. Excessive attention to his function as a private teacher brought about the dismissal of William Turnbull in 1757.¹⁰ Gawin Parke, a private writing master in Berwick, successfully petitioned the Guild in 1683 that he might teach the children of Burgesses for an agreed salary.¹¹ He continued to be employed in this capacity, except for a two year break, until his death in 1694.

Despite the existence of schools which cut across the division between public and private education it is worthwhile to consider private schools as a separate class because the aims and the problems of these enterprises were so different from the issue facing endowed schools. The lack of an assured salary meant that private masters had to attract pupils. This gave the parents and would-be parents an economic sanction upon the teacher which had a more immediate effect on his behaviour than the varied authorities over an endowed school-master could usually command. Mismanagement of the school and abuse of authority such as that displayed by Busby at Hexham G.S. or Holiday at Kaber could be met by parental disapproval far more effectively in the private sphere. The lack of statutes and regulations made it possible for the private teacher to mould his syllabus and curriculum as he wished, always within the bounds of public taste. On the other hand these masters lacked the advantages which came with the very permanence of an endowed school; the

availability of other preferment to attract teachers as assistants, the ties to universities in closed scholarships and similar if more personal links with the northern church. These differences between private and endowed schools were fundamental. They represent a far greater cleavage than any classification which may be made to divide either public or private schools.

12

TYPES OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

The great number and diversity of private schools makes some classification of them desirable, although the difficulties in so doing are considerable. The greatest problem in this context is sheer lack of information. In many cases only the name of the master and his place of business have survived, without any indication of the status of his school or of the kind of subjects he taught. Especially is this true of country districts. However even in Newcastle which is by far the best documented of the towns in the north there are still considerable numbers of teachers who are known only as such at the end of the eighteenth century. It is therefore difficult to discern with any clarity trends in the development of the private school at this period. At the same time it is likely that the larger private schools, those terming themselves academies or private classical schools or even writing schools, will have left traces such as advertisements. A majority of the teachers known only by name were probably masters or mistresses of humbler schools of the "dame" type. The same argument would suggest that schools and teachers who have left no trace at all of their existence would not materially affect judgements made from the surviving data about the greater private schools.

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To the P U B L I C.

At GREENROW, in *Abbey-Holm*, Cumberland,
YOUNG GENTLEMEN are commodiously
 boarded, and taught the *English Language* grammatically,
Writing, and *Accounts*, with all the Branches of the
Mathematics, or such of them as shall be more immediately
 connected with the Line of Life they are designed for, on
 reasonable Terms, by JOHN DRAPE, formerly Teacher of
 the Mathematics in Whitehaven.

A L S O,

LECTURES will be read on NATURAL PHILOSOPHY,
 and demonstrated by Experiments on the Orrery, Air-
 Pump, Electrical Machine, Optical Apparatus, &c. (42)

P 17-10-1787

EDUCATION.

AT GREENROW in *Abbey Holm*,
 Cumberland, Youth are commodiously Boarded,
 and expeditiously Taught GRAMMAR, WRITING,
 ARITHMETIC, MATHEMATICS, and EXPERI-
 MENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

By JOSEPH SAUL,
 Late Teacher of the Mathematics, and Lecturer on Natural
 Philosophy, in Liverpool.

The School at Green Row having been given up for a
 few Weeks, in Consequence of Mr. JOHN DRAPE's Decease,
 —J. SAUL informs the Public that it will be opened
 again, on MONDAY the 16th of September, Instant.

P 3-9-1793

GREEN ROW ACADEMY.
 [CUMBERLAND.]

THE MIDSUMMER VACATION, at Green-
 Row, will commence on the 20th of June; and the
 ACADEMY will be opened again on the 15th of July.—On
 the 17th, 18th, and 19th of this Month, the Students will be
 examined in the different Branches of their Education, and
 PRIZES adjudged to them, as the Rewards of their Profi-
 ciency.

J. SAUL, impressed with the distinguished Support of his
 Friends, offers them his most grateful Acknowledgments; and
 if any of them can conveniently attend the ensuing Exami-
 nation, he will esteem himself obliged by the Honour of
 their Company.

In Consequence of several Improvements in the
 BUILDING at Green-Row, and especially by the Addition
 of a LARGE ROOM for the EVENING LECTURES, and a
 LIBRARY for the Use of the Students, J. SAUL hopes to me-
 rit a Continuance of Public Favour.

The Subjects of Exhibition, and Examination, are,
 Writing,—Drawing,—English Grammar,—the Classics,—
 French,—Arithmetic,—the Mathematics,—and Natural Phi-
 losophy.—If one of the Days of Examination be favourable
 for the Purpose, J. SAUL will deliver an OPTICAL LEC-
 TURE, illustrated by several Experiments on Prisms, Lenses,
 Microscopes, &c.

Green Row, 5 June, 1799. (44)

P 11-6-1799

GREEN ROW ACADEMY.

THE CHRISTMAS VACATION will com-
 mence on SATURDAY the 20th Inst. and the
 ACADEMY will be opened again, on MONDAY the
 12th of January, 1801.

At GREEN ROW, young Gentlemen are taught the
 English, Latin, Greek, and French Languages;—
 Writing; Drawing; Arithmetic; the Mathematics;—
 and Natural Philosophy.

During the Vacation, J. SAUL intends to visit
 CARLISLE, COCKERMOUTH, and WHITEHA-
 VEN; and, if Time will admit, to deliver, at each
 Place, a DISCOURSE on the Popular Parts of AS-
 TRONOMY and GEOGRAPHY, comprised in TWO
 LECTURES, with Illustrations on the ORRERY,
 GLOBES, &c.

Green Row, 17 Dec. 1800. (51)

P 23-12-1800

THE GROWTH OF GREENROW ACADEMY

Efforts have been concentrated upon trying to classify private schools into types according to the subjects which were taught. If such classification is possible it would be clearly of great value for it would indicate changing parental choice under the stresses of industrialisation and the accompanying social mobility. It is intended to examine the northern material in this way. However there is a simpler classification which is of some significance; that between boarding schools and day schools. Although even this division is by no means a clear cut one it does in most cases separate the school for elementary subjects from that which offered higher education. Almost all of the private classical schools and the great majority of the academies which offered mixed courses of classics, modern languages and mathematics took some boarders. Very few schools which offered only basic subjects invited boarders. On the borderline are schools for mathematics, writing and accounts; a slight majority of these were day schools.

The most generally accepted division of private schools however is that between private classical schools and academies. The former have been characterised as typically run by a Church of England clergyman, often in combination with the education of his own sons. The normal end of the school was to train its pupils for university. The master might be a professional teacher with little or no clerical duties, or an active cleric who wished to increase his stipend by teaching. There were schools which fitted into this pattern in the north in the eighteenth century. The school opened by David Lloyd in Korpeth when he left the local grammar school where he had been usher was specifically classical and intended for the education

of young gentlemen for the university or the Church. Similarly limited were the schools of John Holmes in Sunderland, John Orr in Newcastle and William Warkman in Earsdon. Only the last of these four was not in holy orders.

It was to be expected, in view of their background, that clergymen, whether university trained, or not, would offer classics if they took up teaching; indeed of roughly one hundred clerical schoolmasters who are known to have taught a private school in the north in this period only two, Honeywood of Morpeth and Drysdale of Newcastle, specialised in mathematics to the exclusion of classics. Few, however, restricted their syllabi to the classics. Almost all masters advertised their intention to teach English ¹⁸ and the majority who offered classics also gave some mathematical instruction. In 1799 Rev. Joseph Fullerton of Whitehaven advertised a school for English, Latin and Greek, but within a year he had extended his academy to include writing and all the usual mathematical sciences. The additional subjects were taught by an usher. Possibly public demand was the reason for his extension of the school. The strictly classical private school was rare in the north of England but the opportunities for classical education outside of the endowed schools were numerous. ¹⁹ Roughly half of all private academies in the north offered classics.

It has been suggested that "the private schools of the eighteenth century were usually established in opposition to the old Grammar Schools" and that the private classical schools offered a cheaper, more accessible and more closely supervised form of pre-university ²⁰ training combined with enlightened methods of classical instruction. Evidence has already been presented to show that public grammar schools did feel private competition as a pressure. Rudd, the headmaster of

Durham school, when summarising the case against the claims of the private writing master, Nelson, at the end of the seventeenth century, bitterly comments that "the school ... is of late diminished by a full licence granted also to another to teach all school learning within the town of Durham, which was never done before".²¹ The intruder concerned was Patrick Rosse, licensed in 1691, who sent a number of his pupils up to Cambridge before his death in 1725. The limitation of 25 scholars imposed upon John Stirling in Carlisle shows that some bishops at least appreciated this threat to the endowed schools. The geographical distribution of those private schools which offered classics as the whole or as part of their course does not however support the growth through opposition theory. Excluding Newcastle, where the population was large enough to cater for private schools without necessarily weakening the grammar school, 105 private schools offering classics have been identified in the north in this period. Of these only 31 were in a town or village which possessed a grammar school²²; the most popular places for such schools were Whitehaven with 15 and Sunderland with 6. These were the largest ports in the north after Newcastle. Neither had a soundly endowed grammar school. Despite the commercial bias natural to both towns there was still a demand for classics. Thomas Evans was recommended for holy orders by Rev. Curwen Eudleston in 1746. He also took over a private grammar school which had been worth £40 pa to Eudleston's previous curate. Thus it would seem possible that the private classical schools were supplying a deficiency more than competing with established endowed schools. The spread of such schools over the north also indicates a complementary function rather than opposition. In Westmorland where there were many endowed grammar

schools there were few private classical schools; the north-east with few endowed classical schools attracted private enterprise in that field. In any case direct competition with endowed schools might not have been profitable. In view of the excellent provision of grammar schools in the north, especially in the north-west, there were few populated areas that lacked a nearby grammar school, and the cost of education at a private school was no less than that at an endowed school.²³ The only remaining advantage of private classical education was the close supervision made possible by the limited numbers in private establishments. This was a feature made much of by the masters concerned. It was common for an advertisement of this type of school to emphasise that an upper limit was set to the size of the school; the Rev. William Shepherd of Bolam advertised in 1792 that he meant "to superintend the education of his own boys, and would wish to undertake the care of 2 or 4 more", but no more than that number. He offered a general course of classics and mathematics at £20 p.a.

The most common type of private school to provide education at a stage higher than elementary has been loosely cloaked under the title of private academy. As is made clear in Dr. Hans's pioneer work on this subject it is very difficult to classify these schools.²⁴ It would be possible to follow his divisions, "general, multilateral, and technical". There were schools in the north which would fit all of these types. However, such a scheme in this case would suffer from serious disadvantages: it would leave a large number of schools which could not be classed in a meaningful fashion under any of these terms; secondly it would add a distinction between academies which has a twentieth century bias and does not appear to have been felt by the masters concerned. Finally this

classification, for the north, would tend to gloss over and obscure real differences in school outlooks of a simple nature. The courses offered in private schools, as advertised in brochures and newspapers, had become so stereotyped by the third decade of the eighteenth century that they can hardly be used for an subtle distinction of the master's intentions. Almost every teacher of any form of mathematics promised to teach the standard subject of Geometry, Trigonometry, Navigation, Geography, Use of the Globes, Algebra, Mensuration, Surveying, Gauging, Fluxions, Conic Sections, Astronomy, Projection, Dialling, Optics, Perspective, Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, etc. This particular list is taken from Dalton's advertisement of 1787, but it was repeated in much the same form by masters all over the north. Some stipulated less, others added even more subjects, such as Gunnery and Fortification. Dalton had prefaced this list of mathematical subjects, as did many of his fellow teachers, by promising to teach English, Latin, Greek, French, Writing, Arithmetics and Accounts. It would be probably misleading to consider every school advertised in this manner as a multilateral or even a technical academy. It is by no means clear that all the subjects were actually taught; the technical aspect was much more likely to be pure theory if taught at all, taking the role of further mathematical exercises; and the pupils themselves may not have been equal to such a course of study. A rare hint of the last weakness was afforded by Rev. Boston in 1770. He had advertised the usual course of Classics, English, French and the Mathematics in 1769; eight months later he readvertised his school, reassuring prospective pupils that his present scholars had as yet covered only English, and were about to begin Latin.

There were academies in the north which did apparently provide a multilateral syllabus and emphasised the breadth of education available.

The academy run at Alnwick in turn by Lindsay, Smith and Watson advertised the full range of subjects, including training in the social graces; more significantly the masters employed a number of assistants at the high salary of £30 p.a. Its success for over 40 years, and the competition for its pupils which followed the death of Smith in 1791, indicate the superiority of this academy to the majority of its fellows. The academy at Greenrow in Holme Cultram, whose 1793 syllabus is illustrated, was equally successful. Begun by John Draper in 1780, it was continued after his death by Joseph Saul. He too employed assistants, and was personally noted for his interest in science, expressed in regular lecturing tours during the vacations from his academy. The schemes outlined by these two academies are more elaborate than most offered in the eighteenth century, but they are by no means unique, either in prolixity or in the streaming of pupils towards certain careers. Similar intentions were advertised by, for example, Yeates at Stockton, Loy at Darlington and Passman at Billingham.

There were also a few academies which offered a general education but specialised in training boys for a particular vocation, much as the private classical schools trained for the Church. Perhaps the most original of these was the academy opened in Newcastle by Robert Harrison after he had given up his position as schoolmaster at Trinity House. This academy offered special facilities for those preparing for the legal profession, including training in conveyancing, recording and other court procedures as well as linguistic schooling in Norman French and legal Latin. Presumably Harrison had become aware of a demand for this kind of education because in his earlier venture into private education in Newcastle in 1751 he had offered a normal general syllabus. Mercantile academies were more common

and probably provided little more than the less pretentious writing schools. That opened by Robert Hood in 1777 may have had more claim to distinction. The proprietor was a graduate, which was unusual for that kind of academy, and his charges were high at thirty guineas p.a. The academy was one of the few of this kind to be situated in the country; it was at Brampton. There were also military academies, such as that of Yeates.

Yet even these academies which had some claims to individuality had a great deal in common with the more general run. The similarities are more striking than the differences. The basic subjects of English, writing and arithmetic were followed by study of the various branches of the mathematics, modern and classical languages. Geography and to a lesser extent history completed the subjects offered by most academies. Nevertheless some differentiation between types of academy can be made.

Much more data survives of education in Newcastle than in any other part of the north. The commercial importance of the town made it a natural centre for newspaper development and chance too favoured the records of its schoolmasters. ²⁵ It is unlikely that any academy apart from a most transitory one has failed to leave some record if it was in operation in that town in the last thirty years of the century. Some fifty-seven private schools from that period can be classified by the subjects they are known to have offered. The results of such classification are detailed in Table XVI. Aside from the classical schools which have already been considered and the general academies three distinct types of school appear. These are the mathematical school, which offered English and writing but made no other concession to the arts side; the modern languages academy, frequently taught by an immigrant from Europe; and the

TABLE XVI (pp 179-80)

Private schools opened in Newcastle 1770-1800

Schools are omitted if their syllabus is unknown

| Name | English | Writing | Arithmetic | Accounts And Book-keeping | Maths | HM | PM | Classics | History or Geog. | Modern Langs. |
|----------|---------|---------|------------|---------------------------------|-------|----|----|----------|---------------------|------------------|
| Baillie | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Brown J. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
| Davidson | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Falconer | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 | |
| Ford | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Logan | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Maule | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Murray | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Prowitt | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 | |
| Simpson | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Starkey | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Story J. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | |
| Story N. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | |
| Turner | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Wallace | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Wood | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | |
| Coulson | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| Gale | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 | | |
| Hastie | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Manners | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | | |
| Meek | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | |
| Oliphant | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | |

Table XVI (Contd.)

| Name | English | Writing | Arithmetic | Accounts and Book-keeping | Maths | HM | PM | Classics | History or Geog. | Modern Langs. |
|------|---------|---------|------------|---------------------------|-------|----|----|----------|------------------|---------------|
|------|---------|---------|------------|---------------------------|-------|----|----|----------|------------------|---------------|

Raymond 1

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Bell | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Byles | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Cowing | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| Creighton | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Dilke | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| Kay | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Turner J. | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | |
| Wilkinson | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Williamson | | | 1 | | | | | | | |

clerical school which provided instruction in the basic subjects, accounts and book-keeping. Although there are schools which do not fit into this pattern, as the table itself shows, this scheme does offer a meaningful division which is applicable to the majority of academies traced in northern England.

Classification into these categories reveals certain trends in private education and therefore presumably trends in parental demands. It would appear from table XV that the total of academies of a general type, of mathematical schools and of classical schools, increases considerably in the last three decades of the century, although the demand for classics alone expanded less than that for the other syllabi. The amount of writing schools however was fairly constant for the whole period whilst specific language schools only began to develop after the middle of the century. Similar trends have been observed in Edinburgh by Dr. Law. The main differences between the pattern in Edinburgh and that in Newcastle were the earlier expansion of modern language academies in Scotland and the relative lack of demand for mathematical and classical schools. The existence of a university in Edinburgh, and one that provided many public lecture courses, may partially account for these discrepancies. In any case classification even on a fairly simple criterion is inevitably subjective and dependent upon knowledge of the background of the teachers as well as the often confusing wording of their advertisements. It can only be used to suggest crude trends such as increased interest in mathematics and modern languages.

THE ACADEMIES OF THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

The main source for the history of private schools in the eighteenth century is the contemporary newspaper. The advertisements inserted by the proprietors of academies supply more information about

this form of education than all other sources combined. Cranfield has noted over 120 educational advertisements in the Northampton Mercury between 1723 and 1760, and 63 in the Norwich Mercury between 1749 and 1756. Whilst not all of these were entered by private schoolmasters the value of this material for the story of private education is enhanced by the very sparsity of other records.²⁹ For this reason the figures quoted in table XV are much less meaningful for those years in which there was no local press. Nearly complete runs of newspapers survive from the north-east after the mid-1720s but there is no comparable run in the north-west until the foundation of the Pacquet in 1774. As no regular newspaper existed on the west side until the Pacquet it was fairly common for teachers to use the Newcastle newspapers, even though their schools were in Cumberland or Westmorland. However it is clear from the increase in the total of known academies in the north-west after 1774 that many private masters did not choose to advertise in newspapers whose circulation was pre-dominantly outside of the locality of their school. It is possible that the small number of private schools traced in Westmorland is partially a reflection of the failure of Kendal to sustain a regular newspaper.³⁰

Whilst the totals for the first decades of the century must be held suspect, and the figures for the north-west are almost certainly an under-estimate until the 1770s, table XV does show the increasing number of private schools in the century. Contrary to trends noted in East Anglia³¹ there is no indication of a decline in the number of private classical schools, which appear to have been successful all over the area. In general, examination of the academies of a particular area such as the north makes it clear that estimates of the total number of these schools in England must be revised. Clearly Dr. Eans' figure of two hundred academies for the country in the last decades of

the century is an under-estimate. Similarly the number of practising mathematicians cannot be estimated from Professor Taylor's biographies as so few of the philomaths of the north are included. Over four hundred and fifty teachers of mathematics and its applications are listed in appendix I; only twenty-seven of these are mentioned by Taylor. If mathematical practitioners were interpreted more widely to include those interested in mathematical problems and practical mathematicians, such as surveyors, then the proportion described by Taylor would be much lower.

To enumerate schools and academies from their advertisements, to classify them from their "puffs", and to use the results to claim growth of interest in some aspect of their curriculum is to rely upon words in the absence of substance. The large number of private schools in existence by 1800 must have included some whose pretensions were far, far above their actual calibre. In the "Stockton Bee" of March 1794 Richard Cockrel, himself a practising teacher of mathematics, criticised masters of academies, who were often, he asserted, labourers trying to run schools because it was a comfortable occupation and using young men as ushers on a poor salary. The parish registers do show that there were artisans who taught privately in order to increase their income and Joseph Foster, who conducted a general academy at Darlington in 1743 was a haberdasher by trade. However the very popularity of this form of education, which was not a cheap alternative to the endowed schools, testifies that the majority of academies were adequately conducted.

It is only rarely that the total of pupils actually being taught at private schools has survived, although there were numerous advertisements which stated the limited number that the master intended to take. One of the most successful of all the northern academies, Greenrow, supplies more information in this field than most. Although

no figures survive of its roll in the eighteenth century it averaged well over a hundred pupils a year in the nineteenth, reaching a total of 188 pupils in 1812. The popular academy of Joseph Randall, at Heath in Yorkshire, attracted even more; there were at one time over two hundred scholars. Most academies were much smaller; indeed the intimate pupil-teacher relationship brought about by a small school was one of the advantages claimed by many private teachers. The norm for a general academy was probably around forty pupils, including day scholars. Ward had thirty-five at Whitehaven in 1776. Barker's school in Newcastle dropped from forty to eighteen in 1749 when there were rumours that the proprietor had absconded.

The main attraction of these schools almost certainly lay in their concern with subjects of direct application to the future careers of their pupils. There is a clear correlation between the growing popularity of mathematical and general academies and the increasing importance of industry and commerce. The direct impulse in favour of mathematical education has already been illustrated at work in Whitehaven before the turn of the century. The influence of commercialism in Scotland was apparent just as early. Robert Whitingdale, a teacher of navigation, was active in Glasgow as early as 1695. A school was opened in Norwich in 1749 specifically to provide training in the translation from Dutch and French for the benefit of merchants. The parallel school for Italian and French opened in Newcastle after the Cobden Treaty of 1786 has already been noted. Private academies of these kinds grew in response to a demand for the skills they taught just as the scientific lecturing movement answered a need for insight into the technological and scientific changes which were revolutionising industry. Not only were the basic subjects taught by the private academies, English,

writing and arithmetic, of obvious value to any career beyond manual toil, but many academies went much further to supply an education for a commercial life. The academy of Andrew Lamb at Sunderland was typical of the mathematical schools of the Durham ports in offering a nautical biased syllabus; more than half of the academies at Whitehaven offered similar courses. Schools for writing and accounts were more numerous in the commercial centre, Newcastle, than in the lesser towns. A course avowedly designed for mining technicians was advertised by William Casson. Apart from Whitehaven Cumberland had far fewer mathematical schools than the east coast; in the west the emphasis remained on general academies and private classical schools. The academies of Rev. J. Brown in Carlisle and that of Rev. J. Angus in Keswick were both specifically geared to the preparation of young men for the church. It has already been indicated that this purposiveness was popular enough amongst parents to encourage grammar school masters to imitate it.

Whilst the majority of academies were limited in life to that of their founder, there were some that were so successful as to form a worthwhile property, which might be handed down to descendents or sold as a commercial venture. The example given by these enduring and profitable schools to other teachers and prospective teachers was a considerable influence in the expansion of private education in this century. Alnwick, with 15 known schools of this status after 1750, patronised private education as much as any town north of Newcastle. The most successful academy there was that of John Smith, which was in existence from at least 1767 till Smith's death in 1791. Smith expanded his school in 1777 and from that date increasingly made use of ushers. By 1790 he employed assistants in English, reading, mathematics and drawing, paying them £30 p.a. yet still allowing them

to teach for their own profit in the winter evenings. Smith's academy was not the first in Alnwick; Thomas Lindsay and George Vardy had opened one in 1750; it was continued by Thomas Lindsay jun. from 1767, but Smith was much more influential. He claimed in 1787 to have trained upwards of 70 clerks then working in the mercantile line in London; one of his assistants, Mr. Clarke, lectured in Alnwick on Rhetoric in 1785; another, White, became headmaster of a mathematical school in Dumfries in 1782. When Smith died there was immediate competition to gain the position of prestige he had held. Thomas Watson, who had probably been Smith's mathematical usher, advertised himself as Smith's successor but was opposed at once by a Mr. Lindsay. As this teacher claimed to have taught for 30 years of which the last 15 had been spent in London, it is possible that he was the Thomas Lindsay jun. of the previous school.

John Warden was as outstanding in his own field in Newcastle as Smith was in mathematical teaching in Alnwick. Both he and his father specialised in the teaching of English, "after a singular and expeditious method". John the son seems to have spent some time as a peripatetic master of English before coming to Newcastle. These wanderings may not have been entirely voluntary as the son was described as a "Scottish Jacobite schoolmaster" in Newcastle in the visitation of 1746. The father was the author of school textbooks which were re-issued by the son in Newcastle.³⁷ Their method of teaching was much copied in the north-east; direct reference was made to it in the advertisements of the schools of Joseph Story and Misses Eateman, Boyd and Coulson in Newcastle. It may have been the "new method practised in Newcastle"³⁸ which Thomas Lindsay jun. promised to copy at Alnwick in 1767.

Warden numbered amongst his pupils John Scott, the future Lord Eldon. The Scottish Jacobite was also one of the very few schoolmasters in the north to have the temerity to advertise his willingness to train other

schoolmasters. He offered in 1764 to teach over practitioners to use his text-book on pronunciation during the Christmas vacation. John Wilkinson, the teacher of astronomy, had made a similar offer in 1728.³⁹ Another master of pedagogues was Charles Hutton. His was the most famous of the many mathematical schools operating in Newcastle in the eighteenth century. He taught there from 1760 to 1773. His wide range of educational activities covered teaching, tutoring and lecturing. In 1766 he was confident enough of his abilities to offer lessons in mathematical teaching to local schoolmasters. He was probably encouraged to do so by the success of his first text book on mathematics, "The Schoolmaster's Guide", which had been first printed in 1764 and already entered a second edition in 1766. Edward Barras of Chester-le-Street was another to offer mathematical training to schoolmasters. As this particular offer was made only one year later, in 1767, it is possible that it was a direct imitation, which would indicate that Hutton's venture was successful. When Hutton was appointed Professor of Mathematics at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich he advertised his house and school to let. The offer was quickly taken up by John Fryer, the head master of Trinity House school, who had previously been an assistant to Hutton.

The success of these schools, paralleled in the west by the schools of Draper, Saul, and Ward, must have been a powerful stimulant to the spread of private academies in the north. Whilst the relative permanence of these academies is balanced by the ephemeral nature of other schools claiming the same kind of status⁴⁰, the majority of such institutions seem to have flourished as long as their owner lived. Some of the reasons for this survival have already been suggested: the small size of the private school compared with endowed schools, the close control of the parent over the conduct of the teacher, the

relevance of the subjects taught to the future career of the pupils. Many private schools also catered for those who had already begun their career by offering night classes. This was particularly common
41
in the case of writing and mathematical schools.

The wide curriculum offered by most private schools, apart from those which taught the basics, was an added attraction. This was made possible by a degree of co-operation between private teachers which the endowed schools imitated only palely in their employment of visiting masters. It was patently impossible for most teachers to provide the whole range of subjects demanded in the private academy
42
without assistance. Some masters overcame this problem by forming partnerships with teachers of the other branches of the curriculum. Thus William Tinwell', a mathematics teacher in Newcastle worked with John Baillie, a classics teacher, from 1799-82. When the partnership broke up both masters replaced the lost talent, Tinwell joining an ex-grammar school headmaster, Thomas Eastie, and Baillie replacing Tinwell with another Edinburgh alumni, Adam Laidlaw. Other masters employed assistants of a more or less permanent nature, as Smith did in Alnwick, but it was more common, especially in those academies which made provision for the education of girls, for the master to make an arrangement with teachers of specialist subjects, such as modern languages, dancing fencing or shorthand, whereby they spent some time teaching at his academy. Most teachers of the subjects listed gave this kind of assistance in private schools, although some of them were already masters of their own academy. This service was naturally of a somewhat peripatetic type, and must have increased the tendency for teaching methods to spread from school to school. The uniformity shown in the advertisements of the private schools may have reflected to some extent a similar uniformity in teaching practice.

THE PRIVATE SCHOOLMASTER

There are very few instances where the family background or education of a private schoolmaster can be traced. When the prospective master of an endowed school applied for a licence he had to present a curriculum vitae, including testimonials and a birth certificate. The kind of detail these could include has already been illustrated.⁴³ Private teachers had no occasion to leave such documents behind them. A number of graduates of the English universities became private schoolmasters, mostly of classical academies, but the total was minute compared with the number which became masters of endowed schools. Graduates from Scotland were also active in the field of private education in the north of England, but little can be culled from the registers of their universities.

There does seem enough evidence to substantiate the strong connection which was suggested by Dr. Hans between ordained priests of the Church of England and classical schools. Sixty-eight Anglican clerics are known to have taught privately in the north. Every one of these offered classical instruction, although the majority also taught a general course including mathematics and elementary subjects. The combination of a cure with a private school was a common one in those parishes which lacked an endowed school. Typical was Christopher Gregson who gained teaching experience whilst curate of Bolton in Cumberland and then opened his own private school in Ovingham when he became vicar there in 1747. As in the case of the clergy who took on endowed schools the motive for opening a private academy must often have been economic necessity. George Barnes, curate of Longhoughton, claimed in his return to the Bishop of 1801 that his small salary had induced him to fix his residence in Alnwick and there open a school. Henry Nicholson, who opened a private classical school in Whitehaven

in 1775, excused his neglect of his cure at Ponsonby by claiming that the stipend was so poor that his extra employment was essential.

However, the classical school was by no means restricted to the Church of England priests; such schools were also run by dissenting ministers and by laymen. The Rev. John Orr of the University of Glasgow opened an exclusively classical school in Newcastle in 1787; it lasted but one year as he became minister at Stamfordham in 1788. Similar concentration upon the classics was shown by Thomas Meek and George Logan in their Newcastle schools; both were dissenting ministers. Laymen who ran such schools included Leonard Tordiff at Whitehaven, Arthur Armstrong in Newcastle and Thomas Smith at Pontop.

Dissenters, both ministers and laymen, who were excluded by their religion from most endowed schools, were very active in the creation of private schools. There does not appear to have been any special provision in most of these for the education of dissenting ministers; ⁴⁴ therefore, with the proviso that they would naturally tend to attract more than their share of dissenter's children, they must be classed as private academies. Although such academies were spread as widely as Whitehaven (Williamson), Carlisle (Bennet), and Durham (Hart), the main centre was Newcastle where dissenting ministers dominated private education by the end of the century. The schools of the Revs. Turner, Parkins, Prowitt, Meek, Baillie, Logan, Orr and Laidlaw were all active in the last decade. Four of these had been at Scottish university and two others at dissenting academies.

The rarity of university alumni entering the teaching profession in the north has already been remarked when considering the endowed schools; they were equally scarce in private education. Of the 392 masters of academies in the north 14 were alumni of an English university,

1 of Trinity College, Dublin, and 14 of Scottish universities. There were also two graduates of continental universities.⁴⁵ It is possible that a few of the other masters had university training⁴⁶, but clearly the universities were not providing the private schoolmasters of the north. Details have survived of the education of only 29 of the remaining 361 masters. Such a small number prohibits generalisation, yet they do suggest a trend. The education of nine teachers of mathematical schools has been traced. Joseph Wood was educated in the academy of John Draper in Whitehaven, and claimed to copy his methods; Joseph Sowerby, although partially self taught, received his mathematics education from George Smith; John Chipchase was taught mathematics by the great Emerson;⁴⁷ Charles Eutton learnt his mathematics from a local curate Ivison and from the night classes of Hugh James in Newcastle; private mathematics teachers in Manchester and Edinburgh taught their skills to Thomas Jackson and William Robinson. All of these masters were educated at private schools, probably similar to those they were themselves to teach. Self-education combined with private training seems the major source of mathematics teachers; Thomas Wright may also have learnt his arts in this way as it is not at all clear whether Thomas Munday, his "public" schoolmaster, was a private teacher or an assistant at an endowed school. The two exceptions were Caleb Rotheram, educated by Dixon in his dissenting academy at Whitehaven, and Evan Lloyd, who was brought up at St. Asaph's school in North Wales.

The masters of general academies were usually educated at endowed schools, or, in the case of dissenters, at their own academies, Seventeen of the remaining twenty were so educated. Notably prominent was the grammar school of St. Bee's, which seven teachers proudly claimed as their alma mater. The other three masters were taught by private schoolmasters; Eneas MacKenzie by Mr. Eshaw in Newcastle, Benjamin

Starkey at William Bird's academy in Letter Lane, Holborn, and John Braithwaite variously in Cumberland. The autobiography of the latter provides an illustration of the width of choice available to parents in private education. It also hints at the variety of educational experience which may be concealed by the entry of a single school in a college register or a testimonial.⁴⁸

The endowed schools played an important part in educating future private schoolmasters; there were also masters and ushers of endowed schools who themselves later opened private academies. Twenty-nine such teachers are known in the north in this period. The majority of them had been masters of small endowed schools or ushers of larger schools. It is not surprising that more profit was available for them in a private sphere; nor is it significant that a master of a well endowed grammar school should leave to start a private school if his removal was motivated by promotion to a valuable cure, as in the case of Joseph Blaine, head of Wigton G.S. when he became curate of Greystoke. However there were also masters of substantial grammar schools who left to open academies; George Thompson had been head at Allendale when he moved to Durham to open his first academy at West Herrington; Joseph Edmundson preferred private opportunities to his post as head at Crosthwaite G.S. as did Richard Loy, who was master at Asby and Alston, and usher at Bampton. These removals would seem to show that the profits of private education were more attractive than those of some public schools. Certainly very few masters indeed moved from private schools into endowed education. Apart from masters of very small village schools, whose transfers might take them from endowed school to unendowed school without actually altering their status in education there were only two notable examples of a feed-back into the public sphere. Daniel Fisher, the author of some noteworthy school textbooks, taught a private school for classics and arithmetic at Whickham until his appointment as head

master of Cockermouth G.S. in 1758; and Anthony Manton became usher at Newcastle G.S. in 1752 after running a classical academy in that town from 1747. He had previously been usher at Houghton-le-Spring G.S. In one remarkable case the change from endowed to private teaching seems to have been accomplished without a physical move. James McClaran advertised in 1777 that "Whereas (his) engagements with his subscribers at the Kirkhouse School near Brampton (for the three years past) expired on the 15th of this month, he takes this method of thanking them ... and the school is now open to any person ..."⁴⁹

This movement of teachers from public to private education rather than vice-versa is evidence of the greater profit to be made in private schools. The charges which private teachers advertised in the north,⁵⁰ (Table ~~XVII~~) were lower than those of comparable schools in the south, but still represent an outlay beyond the means of working class parents. Nor can these prices be seen as offering a cheaper alternative than⁵¹ grammar school education. The few advertisements for assistants which included mention of the wage show why so many masters preferred private employment: Nelson at Chester-le-Street and Barnes at Barnard Castle were willing to pay their ushers £40 p.a. Earlier in the century Smith at Alnwick was regularly offering £30 from 1767 onwards. These salaries are comparable with the payments given to the ushers in the best local endowed schools, and are far superior to those offered in the majority of such schools. These offers show that the owners of successful academies must have been earning considerable sums in those academies large enough to employ an usher; the profits of the limited schools can be estimated more easily, if it is assumed that the school quota was normally filled. The complete takings of an active private schoolmaster, bolstered as they might be by private tuition out of school hours, evening classes, lecturing, the profits of authorship and

TABLE XVII (p. 192)

Known charges for private education in the north in the eighteenth century

| <u>OWNER</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>PLACE</u> | <u>TYPE</u> | <u>DAY PUPILS</u> | <u>BOARDERS</u> | <u>EXTRAS</u> |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|--|
| Evans | 746 | Whitehaven | General | £1 | | Latin, Greek and various Mathematics all 5/- per quarter |
| Brulett | 749 | N/Cle; Durham | ML | £3 | | Entrance 10/6 |
| Jackson | 755 | Newcastle | W.Acc | £1.1.0 | | |
| Douglas | 758 | Boldon | General | | £10.10.0 | |
| Hart | 768 | Durham | General | | £16.16.0 | Entrance £2.2.0. French and Maths £2.2.0 extra |
| Holmes | 768 | Sunderland | Classics | £1.10.0 | | Entrance 5/- |
| Markman | 768 | Earsdon | Classics | | £20 | |
| Coulson | 770 | Newcastle | Classics | £1.10.0 | | |
| Lacy | 771 | Newcastle | ML | £4.4.0 | | |
| Anderson | 771 | Berwick | Classics | £1 | | |
| Perry | 771 | Wooler | Math. | £12.12.0 | | Entrance 5/- Elementary subjects 10/6 per mth. |
| Facer | 771 | Staindrop | General | | £12.12.0 | |
| Henderson | 774 | Billingham | General | | £12.12.0 | |
| Milner | 775 | Darlington | Math. | | £12.12.0 | |
| Lynn | 775 | Sunderland | Math. | | £24 | Entrance £1 |
| Ward | 775 | Whitehaven | General | £1.10.0 | £14 | |
| Bowman | 776 | Durham | Classics | | £12.12.0 | |
| Thompson | 777 | W. Herrington | General | | £11.11.0 | |
| Tordiff | 777 | Whitehaven | Classics | £1.10.0 | | |

Table XVII (contd.)

| | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|--------------|----------|------------------------|---------|--|
| Hudson | 777 | Whitehaven | General | £1.10.0 per subject | £14 | Entrance 2/6 Higher subjects 10/6 per qr. ea. |
| Hervey | 778 | Underbarrow | General | | | Reading, English and Latin and Greek 5/- p.q. Writing or reading and writing 7/6 p.q. Accounts or writing and accounts 10/- p.q. Book-keeping £1.1.0 p.q. Gauging £1.1.0 p.q. Navigation £1.1.0 p.q. Shorthand 10/6 p.q. Board 4/3 per week |
| Nicholson | 779 | Whitehaven | Classics | £1.10.0 | £14 | Day scholars pay 10/6 for all subjects beyond English |
| Sutherland | 779 | Darwendale | General | £1.10.0 | | |
| Arundell | 779 | Sedgefield | Classics | £2.2.0 | | |
| Messenger | 780 | Bewcastle | General | | £14 | |
| Meek | 780 | Newcastle | Classics | £1 | | Latin 7/6 p.q. Greek 10/6 p.q. |
| Murray | 781 | Newcastle | General | £2.2.0 | | Entrance 10/6 |
| Shadforth | 782 | Houghton/Sp. | ML | | £26.5.0 | |
| Lloyd | 782 | Morpeth | General | £21 | £40+ | Day boys could have lower terms. English only for £10.10.0, English and Latin for £15.15.0. Separate rooms were provided for each boy. Rooms also for one servant each and two horses. |
| Ireland | 783 | N. Shields | General | | £14 | |
| Dilke | 783 | Newcastle | W. Acc. | £2.8.0 | | Entrance 5/- |
| Starkey | 784 | Newcastle | General | £1.10.0 for reading | | Writing and English 9/- p.q. All higher subjects 10/6 p.q. |
| Yeates | 784 | Stockton | General | | £14 | |
| Banks | 785 | Bishopston | General | £2.2.0 | | |

Table XVII (contd)

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-------------|----------|------------------------|----------|----------|---|
| Sewel | 785 | Ousebridge | General | £2.2.0 | £15.15.0 | £15.15.0 | Arithmetic, Accounts, Latin and French £2.2.0. Greek and Mathematics £3. |
| Dalton | 785 | Kendal | General | | £15.15.0 | £15.15.0 | |
| Robertson | 786 | N. Shields | General | | £15.15.0 | £15.15.0 | |
| Gibson | 786 | Warkworth | General | £1.4.0 | £12.12.0 | £12.12.0 | Entrance 2/6 |
| Stevenson | 787 | Boldon | Math. | | £11 | £11 | |
| Raymond | 787 | Newcastle | ML | £1.11.0 | | | Entrance 10/6 |
| Stephenson | 787 | Whitehaven | General | £1.10.0 | | | Both sexes taken in 1787; boys only in 1789 |
| Thompson | 788 | Mitford | General | | £12 | £12 | |
| Faulder | 789 | Parkhouse | General | £2.2.0 | £21 | £21 | |
| Brown | 789 | Newcastle | Math. | £1.6.0 | | | Writing and Grammar 7/6. Arithmetic and book-keeping 10/6 |
| Pape | 790 | Stannington | Classics | | £26.5.0 | £26.5.0 | Entrance £1.1.0 |
| Hutton | 790 | Felton | General | | £12.12.0 | £12.12.0 | |
| Logan | 790 | Newcastle | General | £1.1.0 | £31.10.0 | £31.10.0 | |
| Honeywood | 791 | Morpeth | Math. | | £14.14.0 | £14.14.0 | Entrance £1.1.0 |
| Brown | 791 | Carlisle | General | | £21 | £21 | |
| Shepherd | 792 | Bolam | General | | £20 | £20 | |
| Prowitt | 792 | Newcastle | Classics | | £24 | £24 | Entrance £1.1.0 Fees increased to £28 in 1799 |
| Bruce | 793 | Byker | General | | £25 | £25 | |
| Davidson | 794 | Newcastle | General | £4 | £35 | £35 | |
| Howard | 794 | Newcastle | Math. | £3 for W and arith. | | | Geometry, algebra, fluxions, natural philosophy £1.1.0 p.q. Navigation £2.2.0 Geography, Astronomy £2.2.0 p.q Book-keeping £1.1.0 p.q. Entrance 10/6 |

Table XVII (contd.)

| Gale | 795 | Whitehaven | General | £1.4.0 | £15.15.0 | Classics etc. 10/6 p.q. for day boys Entrance 2/6 |
|-----------|-----|----------------|----------|---------|----------|---|
| Angus | 798 | Keswick | Classics | | £21 | Entrance £1.1.0 |
| James | 798 | Arthuret | Classics | | £30 | |
| Dawson | 798 | Sedgefield | Classics | £2.2.0 | | Entrance 10/6 |
| Nelson | 798 | Chester/Str. | Classics | £2.2.0 | £18.18.0 | Entrance 10/6 |
| Fullerton | 799 | Whitehaven | General | £1.10.0 | | |
| Simpson | 799 | Barnard Cstle. | General | | £13.13.0 | Fees increased to £14.14.0 for pupils of over ten; and to £16.16.0 at age of 13. |

All sums are in prices per annum, although they are frequently advertised as per month.

and any other trade practised by the master must have been potentially far higher than almost all endowed school masters. Thomas Taylor, the most noted writing master in Newcastle in the 1750s, left the town to take up residence in Edinburgh because the profits of his school were only £100 p.a., a sum far higher than the salary of almost all endowed school headmasters at that time.

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It was not customary to advertise the price of tuition until the second half of the century. The figures which are available indicate that the price of education in a private school as a day attender did not vary a great deal through the period, but the fees charged for boarders responded to the general price rise of the last two decades. As in the endowed schools it was normal to make separate charges for certain subjects; additional sums no doubt had to be paid for the services of visiting masters of peripheral subjects in those academies which employed them. The average cost of education as a boarder by the end of the century was probably about forty pounds p.a.

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Financial profit easily gained was the motive suggested by Cockrel for the proliferation of academies, and it does seem to have been the primary consideration. Mastership of a private school did not carry the same social status as headship of an endowed grammar school, nor, were the master a cleric, the same likelihood of ecclesiastical promotion as Farrer or Bowstead might hope for, The majority of private teachers, especially laymen, compensated themselves by extending their educational activities far beyond their school. It was a common practice by the end of the century for private masters to offer lessons outside of normal school hours for the benefit of those who were otherwise engaged in the day. Samuel Dilke advertised his willingness to teach in his lunch hour so that the grammar school boys of Newcastle might learn drawing at his academy. As has already been noted many masters, particularly of mathematics and accounts, offered evening classes. The first known provision of night schooling was

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by Robert Jackson, the writing master, in Newcastle in 1727. His example had been followed by at least 27 other teachers of private schools by 1800. Although the subject matter of these classes was rarely specified in the advertisements it seems likely that the greatest demand would have been for skills and technical subjects, such as accounting, and the majority of pupils to have been young adults. An alternative to night classes teaching which was chosen by some teachers was private tuition. This, by placing the lowly private school master in touch with the upper classes, could sometimes lead to preferment normally out of his reach.

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Supplying education to meet an intermittent demand could be taken further than evening classes. Thomas Wright found that there was little call for his services as a teacher of navigation in Sunderland during the summer, because of the absence of the active sailors. He therefore made it his custom to teach there only in the winter, moving south to London in the summer. This seasonal variation must have been felt by other mathematics masters in the coastal towns, who equally specialised in navigational subjects. These schools, if they continued to exist throughout the year, may have catered for quite different pupils from summer to winter.

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Wright was also one of the private schoolmasters to increase his income by venturing into the field of public lecturing. In the first half of the century the masters of private academies were prominent amongst the ranks of lecturers. Thompson, Davison, Harrison, Thorold and others took advantage of their reputations as teachers and their possession of a convenient building to deliver regular lectures in the north. In the latter part of the century there were less teachers active in this field; although Saul in the north-west was a notable exception.

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Private schoolmasters, unrestricted by governors or statutes, were free to devote some of their time to occupations other than education.

Mathematics masters frequently advertised, along with their schools, their willingness to act as surveyors for private estates or accountants to local business men. Their activities as cartographers are witnessed by maps of varying scale and type. ⁵⁸ Two at least, William Masheder and William Atkinson doubled the profession of teacher with that of bookselling. Isaac Thompson combined almost all of the activities mentioned, although it is not clear how long he remained a full time teacher. The commonest extramural activity of all however was writing, especially of school textbooks. The private teacher is the dominant figure in this field in the north. Fifty-one of the masters of private schools in the north took up the pen with success, and others did so without coming into print. Most of their works were of an educational nature, varying from the highest level to a child's first book. ⁵⁹

THE PUPILS

The expense of private education is perhaps the clearest guide to identification of the classes which made use of academies. The cost of boarding at an academy, comparable as it was to the year's wage of a labourer, ⁶⁰ put this form of education out of the reach of anyone below the middle class. Indeed it would have been a serious burden upon all but the higher strata of that class. This is not to say that the academies were the exclusive perquisite of the rich; the cost of daily attendance, particularly if learning was limited to one subject, was less prohibitive. The price varied with the kind of education offered; not only did most general academies provide lower terms for those who sought the basic subjects, but those academies which restricted themselves to the clerk's skills rarely bothered to advertise their charges. This might seem to indicate that most prospective pupils could afford the fees. The more expensive general and classical academies were clearly seeking to attract the highest ranks of northern society; Lloyd's academy in Morpeth catered for the horse-owning gentry, Ward in Whitehaven claimed to have educated the children of nobility, Bowman in West Auckland hired

a coach for the convenience of his London and southern pupils, and Faulder too had pupils from as far south as Essex. The visitation return from St. Helens, Auckland in 1778 informed the Bishop of Durham that a private school had recently been set up in the parish for the benefit of boys from London. There is evidence that the upper gentry and nobility were using private schools in the south,⁶¹ but virtually none of their attendance in local private academies. The university entrance registers seem to show that these classes continued to use almost exclusively the local grammar schools or the increasingly popular public schools of the south. With the exception of the rare classics master, such as Rosse in Durham or Chicken in Bishop Wearmouth, private teachers apparently played little part in preparing the upper classes for university. However in view of the growing number and obvious success of private schools it would seem unlikely that they were not patronised by the local gentry. The fortunate survival of a school register shows that lack of evidence is the probable cause of this apparent discrepancy.

There is a list extant of the pupils of one northern academy, that run by the Rev. William Turner in Newcastle between 1785 and 1825. Although Turner was a dissenter his academy was not restricted to his own sect. The varied careers of his pupils after leaving school and his own wide interests⁶² make it very probable that his academy was of the general type. Amongst the 159 boys that Turner taught in the years 1785 and 1802 20 eventually went to university. Of these half went to one of the English universities but their attendance at Turner's school is not recorded in the entrance register. Seven of them gave an endowed school as their alma mater and the rest have no education below university recorded. There is no reason to consider Turner's school exceptional in any way; therefore the private school may well have played an important part in pre-university training, but one that is concealed.

TABLE XVIII (pp 196-7)

| 1. <u>Parental background of boys at Rev. William Turner's school, 1785-1802</u> | 2. <u>Careers taken up by Turner's pupils of 1785-1802</u> | 3. <u>Provenance of the pupils of the same period</u> |
|--|--|---|
| Nobleman | Armed Services | Newcastle |
| 1 | 18 | 83 |
| Esquire | Law/Medicine | Northumberland |
| 44 | 9 | 17 |
| Merchant | Trade | Durham |
| 17 | 64 | 11 |
| Law | University | Yorkshire |
| 3 | 20 | 9 |
| Medicine | Teaching | Scotland |
| 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Banking | Turned out ill | France |
| 3 | 7 | 5 |
| Customs | Died Young | Norway |
| 9 | 11 | 4 |
| Brewing | | Elsewhere in England |
| 2 | | 5 |
| Officials | | Russia |
| 8 | | 1 |
| Teaching | | |
| 2 | | |
| Clergy | | |
| 4 | | |
| Printing | | |
| 3 | | |
| Artizan | | |
| 2 | | |
| Farming | | |
| 1 | | |

The same list provides information about the class of parents who chose a private education for their sons. Some fifty-six of the pupils could not be classified because of lack of data; the rest were predominantly of the middle and upper classes. Only two boys came from backgrounds that could be termed artisan; the great majority came from commercial families and the landed gentry. There was even one nobleman. Turner attracted pupils from far afield, although naturally most came from the vicinity of Newcastle. There were boys from France, Norway and even Russia at his school. These clearly were the children of merchants attracted to Newcastle by the commercial ties of the town; probably some or all of the parents acted as local factors for foreign business.

The later careers of Turner's scholars reflect the classes he was catering for; more than half of his alumni went into trade. Only two were so unfortunate as to become schoolmasters. Yet the academy cannot be classed as commercial; twenty boys did go onto university and twenty-seven others entered the professions or the armed services. Significantly none went directly into the church as they might have done from a classical academy. Turner's roll may have been typical of the better town academy; it was probably not representative of the intake or output of all private schools.

No direct examples have survived of the actual studies undertaken in private schools as opposed to the advertised subjects; nor is much known of the texts employed by the masters. George Brown advertised the mathematical texts he wished his students to use in 1799. These were of an advanced nature, ⁶³ and plainly for adult pupils.

Presumably those teachers who wrote textbooks used their own works; indeed advertisements of schoolbooks frequently referred to their successful application. The large number of editions to which some of these works ran prove their popularity, yet they are hardly known in grammar school lists or libraries and surviving copies are

rare. This would tend to be the fate of well used school texts. Robert Kay's 1801 English textbook was certainly purchased for private schools as fourteen such schoolmasters advertised their approval of it. Similarly most academic works published in the north, which included subscription lists, numbered amongst their purchasers schoolmasters, and these were predominantly teachers of private schools. It is not likely that a Dotheboys Hall kind of academy was maintained by masters who continued their own education by study of up-to-date texts.

THE EXTENT OF PRIVATE EDUCATION

The academies which have been discussed so far were the higher echelon of private education. Beneath them were the numerous elementary schools which were not endowed. Many of these must have left no trace of their existence, others only the name of their master or mistress. In the country areas it is frequently very difficult to discover if such barely remembered teachers were private masters or enjoyed some endowment. The sheer extent of private education at this level is itself difficult to estimate. Incidental survivals of information make it clear that only a small fraction of the actual teachers left any kind of record of their work. In 1793 eleven schoolmasters of South Shields advertised their dissatisfaction with the local sub-curate, in that he was encouraging parents to resort to a twelfth master; only two of these teachers have left any other records of their profession. A census of Whitehaven, taken in 1762, revealed eight active schoolmasters, of whom only one, John Draper, is known from other sources. Thus there was a considerable number of schoolmasters in the larger towns who did not advertise their schools or leave other forms of evidence of their activities. The country districts concealed just as many or more; a militia muster roll book for Northumberland survives for the year 1762. This lists, with occupations, all men of age for service, with the exception of those

TABLE XIX (p.198)

Private teachers known to have been active in Newcastle, by decades

| Date | Writing or Maths master | General Academies | Classical Academies | Modern Lang. Schools | Elem. Schools | Girls Schools | ??? | Vocational Teacher | Dancing Or Fencing | Total | PR/D | % |
|---------------|----------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------|------|-----|
| 1681- 1690 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 14 | 88% |
| 1691- 1700 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 25 | D | 5 | 33 | 26 | 84% |
| 1701- 1710 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 4 | 23 | 13 | 57% |
| 1711- 1720 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 2 | 1 | 30 | 18 | 60% |
| 1721- 1730 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 1 | 6 | 35 | 14 | 40% |
| 1731- 1740 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 4 | 5 | 44 | 15 | 34% |
| 1741- 1750 | 10 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 1 | 25 | 2 | 6 | 57 | 19 | 33% |
| 1751- 1760 | 11 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 16 | 5 | 10 | 54 | 9 | 17% |
| 1761- 1770 | 12 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 23 | 9 | 14 | 79 | 10 | 13% |
| 1771- 1780 | 19 | 4 | 1 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 21 | 11 | 14 | 93 | 8 | 8% |
| 1781- 1790 | 16 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 14 | 24 | 5 | 19 | 100 | 16 | 16% |
| 1791- 1800 | 20 | 11 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 20 | 25 | 7 | 25 | 124 | 16 | 13% |

KEY: ??? = Teacher known, but no details of his teaching
 PR/D = Information about teacher solely based on parish registers or Directories.

disqualified by their employment, such as clergy. The age limitation, the lack of women, and the absence of clergy reduces the number of teachers covered; nevertheless only eight of the sixty-one teachers are otherwise known.⁶⁷ It is noteworthy also that all three of these examples of the extent of hidden education come in the latter years of the eighteenth century when the existence of newspapers provides far more information about private schoolteachers than remains for the first third of the century.

A slightly more exact examination of the extent of surviving information is possible in the case of the town of Newcastle. The parish registers of the four Newcastle parishes are unusually detailed for the whole of the century. Occupations are included with almost all entries. Supplemented by the Ballast Hills cemetery register these provide data about many schoolmasters otherwise forgotten. In the last two decades a number of directories⁶⁹ were published for the town; these too include occupations. Whilst some teachers must have worked in Newcastle in the eighteenth century without appearing in any of the town's registers, yet this coincidence of material offers the fullest coverage of masters available in the north. The information supplied by these sources is summarized in table XIX. The most obvious conclusion from this data is the very slight amount of information possessed before the appearance of newspapers in the 1720s. From 1681 until 1720 the number of masters known only from the registers is far greater than those traced by other means. This casts considerable doubt on any estimates of the numerical growth of the various forms of private education, through the century. There is no reason to postulate that the masters recorded only in parish registers were elementary teachers. Therefore the expansion of the academies, which apparently occurred after the forties,⁷⁰ may have begun much earlier in the century. It would be rather surprising if in fact this were not so. The

earliest traced advertisements are not phrased as if their terms and courses were in any way new. Rennold Johnson's advertisement of "Navigation, in it's three kinds of Sailing, Viz Plain, Mercator and Great Circle Sailing: Also, Surveying and Gauging with the Mensuration of Broad-Glass Timber, Cieling, Plaistering, &&" in 1711 and Jurins's numerous and extensive courses in the same period are not couched as break-throughs. At the same time the figures for the later years in the century do support the theme of growth in private education rather than recession. From 1720 when the evidence of newspapers becomes available the proportion of masters known only from their appearance in the parish registers drops. By the second half of the century as more newspapers appear and the advantages of advertisement were appreciated by the teaching profession the proportion falls to under 10%. However in the last two decades the directories provide an even more thorough coverage of schools and the increase in the number of teachers known only from these sources, directories and parish registers, suggests that something like 10% neither advertised, figured in the registers nor left any other kind of record of their activity. Much less evidence of schoolmasters has survived outside Newcastle, and for the remote areas the militia roll probably provides a better estimate of the data missing. Whilst these figures make it clear that anything approaching an exact enumeration of private schoolmasters for the eighteenth century is impossible, the improvement after 1730 hints that few long-lived schools of a status above elementary have disappeared without trace.

TUTORS

Education at home by a resident tutor, or even by a visiting teacher was considered superior to education in a school by most theorists in the eighteenth century.⁷¹ Either form of tutoring, resident or by visits, as it was normally practised in the towns was expensive. Those masters of private schools who offered private coaching

to individual pupils normally made a higher charge than for class teaching. Tuition in particular subjects, probably to a higher level than taught in school was a normal way for a private schoolmaster to increase his emoluments. Nor was it restricted to teachers; the best known private tutor in mathematics in the north was a surgeon, John Dawson of Sedbergh. The great mathematician Emerson is known to have acted as a tutor. In 1753 he offered to assist one of the ⁷² Chaytors in his studies in order to prepare him for Cambridge. Hugh Salvin gave tuition in his youth in oriental languages and Elihu Robinson was partially responsible for the education of John Dalton. Naturally schoolmasters made up the bulk of this kind of tutor. Hauxley in Newcastle and Barnes in Barnard Castle both emphasised the provision of such teaching in advertisements of their full time academies. Charles Hutton's work with the children of Robert Shaftoe gained him the patronage of that family. That this extra teaching could be a considerable burden although a profitable one is illustrated by the weekly programme of John Bruce in Newcastle at the end of the century. His normal teaching hours stretched from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. He did fifteen extra hours during the school week, teaching both before school and in the evenings. Even this was not enough to satisfy him, for he also did at least five hours ⁷³ on Saturday. The families which availed themselves of Bruce's services were no doubt typical of those which employed this kind of tutor. They comprised local gentry, professional classes and the wealthier middle class.

Full-time tutors were regularly employed by certain groups in ⁷⁴ society. The nobility and upper gentry made use of tutors, at home and also as educational supports to their children when at school or university. Thomas Hutchinson left Durham School in 1680 to become private tutor to the Forster family of Bamborough; Christopher

Dodgson became tutor to Lord Warkworth, the son of Hugh, Duke of Northumberland, both in his home and later at Eton. The Duke, whilst still Sir Hugh Smithson, had himself enjoyed the tutelage of a northern graduate, Benjamin Crow of Ashington. Geoffrey Clarkson went to Cambridge to continue there his tutorship over the sons of Sir William Loraine. The Delaval family employed a french tutor, Rev. John Fevot, until his death in 1777. These isolated examples ⁷⁵ probably represent a much greater use of tutors than the evidence can prove. The existence of a home tutor is unlikely to be recorded, even in these highest ranks of society, except by chance reference in a biographical work.

There is also slight evidence that tutors were not unknown in the lower strata of society. John Bailey acted as tutor to the children of his uncle, George Dixon, whilst receiving instruction himself from Dixon in mathematics; Thomas Sanderson left Greystoke school, where he was headmaster, to tutor the Wilson family of Ulgham; James Murray was tutor to the family of William Weddell of Mousen, and incidentally illustrated one of the perennial dangers of hiring a home tutor when he married one of the daughters. A more remarkable instance of a home tutor survives in the returns of the 1787 survey of Westmorland. In the fairly small village of Newbiggin ⁷⁶ a local farmer listed amongst the residents of his home a tuterer. As the village listed only three of its male children as scholars this may have been an accurate description of the master's function. There is then sufficient evidence to show that the theorists recommended form of private education was followed by some parents, especially in the upper income groups.

At the same time there is not enough evidence in the north to support the contention that "In the eighteenth century the role of home and private tutors was more important than any group of schools". ⁷⁷ There is no support at all for Musgrove's conjecture that the standard of tutor

obtained by the middle class and the dissenting gentry was higher than
that bought by the upper classes. ⁷⁸ If home education had been so
common in the eighteenth century as has been suggested it would seem
likely that more record of it, if only in biographies and autobiographies,
would have survived. The paucity of evidence casts doubt upon an
assumption which seems largely based upon the dubious ground of case
histories. The education of the females of the family is pertinent
to this problem in that a home tutor employed for the sons would
presumably be expected to assist the daughters. ⁷⁹

NOTES

1. Robson; Simon; Wynne; J.A. Harrison; and Law.
2. Although Greenberg in fact concluded that there had been a change in the balance of numbers between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, (p.4).
3. No examples of the free scholarships for pupils at private schools, which Hans mentioned (p.69), have been found in the north.
4. P 23.2.1796.
5. See Ch. VIII.
6. Thus D.N.B. However Dixon died in 1729 and Rotheram's dissenting academy was not apparently in operation until 1733. Other causes have been suggested for Rotheram's venture into education.
7. The Monthly Repository LVIII v p477.
8. See Ch. IV pp.115-6.
9. D/Lowther, uncatalogued letters of 24.2.1696/7 and 30.5.1697.
10. The Order Book of Trinity House, Newcastle. Entries dated 9.5.1712 and 17.9.1720. The Minute Book, entry dated 6.1.1757.
11. Berwick Guild Book 2.1.1682/3.
12. The academies which specialised in the training of ministers of the dissenting sects, and those for the training of Roman Catholic priests are not included in the further analyses of this chapter. Academies set up for the education of girls are also omitted.
13. Hans p.63.
14. Table XIX.
15. Simon p. 111.
16. Girl's schools are an exception.
17. Table XV.
18. An exception was John Stirling at Carlisle and even he later became the author of an English text-book.
19. This is a proportion of only those schools whose curriculum is known.
20. Hans pp63 and 177-8.
21. Appendix II.
22. Durham 7, Darlington 3, Kendal 3, Keswick 3, Berwick 2, Alnwick 2, Morpeth 2, Sedgfield 2 and on each at Wigton, Penrith, Hexham, and Houghton-le-Spring.
23. See below p. 192.

24. Hans p. 63
25. See below p. 199.
26. Table XVa is a summary of Dr. Law's schools appendix. The classification however has been made from Dr. Law's information and with his kind permission.
27. Ch. X.
28. The other major sources are parish registers, biographies and the published works of the private schoolmasters themselves.
29. Cranfield 2 pp 185-9.
30. See below ~~pp. 198-9~~. Westmorland was of course well supplied with endowed schools.
31. Hans p. 121; Vincent 2 pp 216-7.
32. As the area under examination possessed only 11% of the population in 1801 the total of 40 general academies would suggest at least doubling the figure postulated by Hans.
33. MacIntyre. Manchester Guardian 10.7.1830. P.J. Wallis 6. Appendix VIII P 6.6.1776.
34. Phillipson (Witherington) pp 169-171.
35. Quoted by Cranfield 2 pp 215-7 from the Norwich Mercury 23.9.1749.
36. See Ch. X pp 284-5 et alia.
37. Ch. XI.
38. The other likely possibility is that the method was that advocated by Ann Fisher. Warden's method was criticised. See J. Welch.
39. C 6.10.1764 and 18.5.1728.
40. Jonathon Peacock's mathematical school in Penrith was one of those which probably lacked permanence. It was conducted in the "Old George" in that town.
41. See for example Gale, Starkey, Meek, Logan and Dilke.
42. Thomas Armstrong, who opened a mathematical school in Newcastle in 1747 overcame part of the difficulty in a novel fashion. At his school children were taught "to learn English by way of amusement on a machine contrived by himself".
43. See the illustrations to Ch II .
44. With the exceptions of the academies of Rotheram (post 1733), Dixon and Dryden.
45. Teachers who received honorary degrees are excluded from this count, as are those who entered university after leaving the profession.

46. It was normal however to advertise one's university training.
47. Emerson's education is not sufficiently clear to assign him to any particular type of educational background.
48. Ch. II pp51-2. This example could be multiplied; see for example William Turner's register or appendix VIII.
49. Ch 23.8.1777.
50. Appendix VIII.
51. Hans p. 117.
52. See also ante note 4.
53. School bills are fairly common in family MSSS. Hughes 1 p 370; 2 p 293.
54. Bowstead, headmaster of Bampton G.S., received much preferment, culminating in the prebendry of Lichfield. Farrer, master of Witton-le-Wear G.S., held in turn five cures and two benefices, becoming finally a minor canon of Carlisle in 1807. Some endowed school positions carried perquisites with them. The master of Newcastle G.S. was normally appointed Master of St. Mary's Hospital. A successful master at Berwick could expect to receive the freedom of the town.
55. See below pp201-2.
56. Similar variation was felt at country schools in harvest time. For example at Heighington, CCR xxi p 88.
57. Ch. X.
58. See John Foster, John Fryer and George Mark.
59. Appendix VI. See also Ch. XI.
60. F.M. Eden. The State of the Poor, 3 v 1797.
61. See Ch. IX.
62. Turner was one of the founder members of both the Literary and Philosophical Society and the Mechanics Institut^é at Newcastle. He was also the first permanent lecturer to the former, being appointed in 1802.
63. John Bonnycastle's Mensuration, Geometry, Algebra and Astronomy; Salmon's Geography; Dr. Robertson's Navigation and Emerson's Mechanics. Ch. 11.5.1799.
64. Hutton's Mensuration had 59 local schoolmasters amongst its subscribers. Many other teachers subscribed but did not gain the appellation of schoolmaster.
65. Ch 9.3.1793.
66. There is a nineteenth century MS copy of the (missing) original in Whitehaven PL.

67. Percy MSS Y.Series IV.Ic (3). The Militia Act of 1762 made all males between 18 and 43 years liable except peers, clergymen, dissenting preachers, parish officers holding a rank analagous to constable, articted clerks, apprentices, sea-faring men and dockyard workers. There were a few special exemptions in addition.
68. All Saints PR -- Births -- father's occupation given 1685-98, 1701-1800 .
- | | | | |
|---------------|---|-------------------|--|
| | | | Marriages — Males' occupation usually recorded |
| | | | Deaths — occupations usually recorded. |
| St. Nicholas' | B | occupations given | 1685-1800 |
| | M | " | " 1685-1707. Rare later. |
| | D | " | " 1685-1800. |
| St. Andrews' | B | " | " 1685-1800. |
| | M | " | " 1701-1740. |
| | D | " | " 1685-1736, 1762-1800 |
| St. Johns | B | " | " 1698-1728, 1786-1800 |
| | M | " | " 1698-1707, 1786-1800 |
| | D | " | " 1685-1736, 1786-1800 |
69. Norton.
70. Hans p. 69.
71. Braver, Ch. VII.
72. D/Ch/C 149. Letter of 21.1.1753.
73. J.B. Williamson pp 64-5.
74. See Ch VIII. Some sects outside the Anglican church made frequent use of tutors.
75. Other examples are Addison, Bee, Bindlesse, Bowe, Fell, Lisle and Milne.
76. The population in 1787 was 127.
77. Hans p. 23.
78. Musgrove 1. "The eighteenth century squirearchy and landed aristocracy no doubt got the tutors they deserved, but the urban bourgeoisie and the more earnest of the dissenting gentry demanded and obtained men of a higher calibre", p. 180. Musgrove could find very little evidence, apart from that quoted by Hans, for the popularity of the home tutor.
79. There were of course arguments against so employing a home tutor; see B. Barwis.

CHAPTER VII

The education of women

The pattern of education in any country is closely related to the history and social organisation of that country. In a society such as that of eighteenth century England where women played very little part in public life the education of that sex was certain to be treated as a matter of secondary importance. Women were barred from the universities and from the higher professions. It was possible for a woman to teach in those schools which catered for the younger children or in schools designed for girls; they could become midwives; but the inns of court, the Royal Society, the various medical colleges, the established church and almost all posts in higher education were closed to them. Less concrete but equally effective barriers of fashion and convention combined with the legal disadvantages endured by the sex until the late nineteenth century to exclude them to a great extent from business and trade. Therefore much of the education offered to boys, especially at the higher levels, was of no practical value to a girl. Instead higher education for most girls, whatever their place in society, centred around the problems of marriage; the pursuit of a husband and the acquisition of the housewifely skills necessary to keep him.

At the same time the paucity of educational facilities for girls has been exaggerated. General histories of English education usually restrict their description of girls' schooling in the eighteenth century to the charity schools.¹ Special studies of women's education on the other hand have concentrated on the theorists rather than the practitioners.² The developments that have been traced in the higher education of women appear to be concentrated at the end of the century. Miss Gardiner's conclusion that "At the close of the century it becomes impossible

to mistake the ~~grater~~ sense of responsibility about the whole matter of girls' education which is at long last making itself manifest" received support from the data adduced by Hans.³ Nevertheless the conclusion was still based upon very limited material. Far fewer women than men left biographical information behind them. Very few appear in the pages of D.N.B. as a result of the exercise of their intellect and consequently little is recorded of the educational background of the outstanding women of the period. Few endowed schools offered higher education to girls, even if some did accept them for the basics. The private schools and home tutors which were available to girls left fewer records of their pupils. Consequently the evidence which has survived from a small number of outstanding schools, together with the recommendations of one or two teachers, have been given exaggerated weight.

The basis for the late date given to advances in the curricula of girls' schools is largely the practise of four academies, those of St. Quintin, Parker, Bryan and Florian.⁴ Hans was able to enumerate some 45 such academies active in the eighteenth century, although he discovered little more than the name of the owner in most cases.⁵ In the same period well over 150 girls' schools have been traced in the four northern counties. This in itself is certainly well below the actual total of such schools but it would suggest that something like 1,500 girls' schools that were in operation in the eighteenth century could be discovered in the whole of England if similar sources were investigated. This makes it apparent that any estimate of national trends, based as all have so far been on such small numbers, needs corroboration from local studies.

Despite the sparsity of information some trends in female education are well established. As a whole the opportunities for a girl to learn, fell into three categories; endowed schools, private schools and home education. On the surface much the same as the

the facilities for boys, although these types of school involved a much stricter division between the education of the rich and the poor. Whereas the endowed boys' schools included grammar schools which took pupils from all sections of society those endowed for girls, or both sexes, catered almost entirely for the poor. There were grammar schools in the north which accepted female pupils,⁶ but it is unlikely that they remained at the school for the classical part of the syllabus. Only one girl is known to have done so in the north, and she was noted as an exception. Thomas Rumney, in a letter to Mary Clarke, then governess at the Rev. How's in Workington, mentioned that "I can very well remember your attending the school at Watermillock, kept then I think by Mr. Robinson and who, I fancy, gave you instruction in the Latin language which was remarked as somewhat singular both with respect to your age and sex"⁷ It was not unknown then for girls to continue into classics, nor for them to teach in classical schools; Dorothy Powley is one of the earliest known teachers at Windemere grammar school.⁸ Nevertheless it is probable that the girls at these grammar schools were normally taught only elementary subjects. Some of these schools employed mistresses for the girls, and therefore may have separated the sexes; Rothbury G.S. had a schoolmistress in 1740; the change in the statutes at Haydon Bridge in 1785 included provision for a mistress and separate education for girls. Whatever the education being offered to the girls in these schools they do not seem to have attracted the daughters of the upper classes as some grammar schools attracted the sons; no female child from a family of note is known to have attended an endowed school, classical or non-classical in the north in this period.

The majority of non-classical endowed schools took girls as pupils; these and the private elementary "dame" schools provided education for the daughters of the lower classes. Where the numbers of the respective sexes are known the boys generally outnumbered the girls,⁹ indicating a greater interest in male education, even in the lower orders of society. Whilst this is not surprising in view of the organisation of eighteenth century society it is only a surmise. The existing returns to the 1787 survey of Westmorland give the children as "scholars, Schoolboys, schoolgirls and infants" in some parishes. Those for Kirkby Thore and Milburn show equal numbers of both sexes as attending school and only Bongate has a disproportionate number of boys. This would seem to indicate that the education of girls to an elementary standard was felt to be as important as that of boys, at least in some country districts.

The organisation and curriculum of the endowed non-classical schools has already been discussed; apart from slight differences in the subjects taught, the education of girls in those schools differed little from that of boys. The courses offered by private schoolmistresses on the other hand were quite different from those given in boys academies, and reflected the specific demands that the parents of girls made in the training of their daughters. Then, as ever, the problems of future marriage was uppermost in the parents' minds. However the housewifely skills were viewed in the eighteenth century as less necessary to a prospective bride than the social accomplishments which might attract the groom. This alteration in emphasis from the seventeenth century had been a result of the increase in wealth amongst the middle classes which were the patrons of these schools.¹⁰ Whatever its cause the attraction to parents of education in the social graces had spread far down the social scale by the middle of the century. A correspondent of the London Chronicle in 1759 criticised at great length

schools which failed to train the lower classes for their place in life. The letter shows that the girls' boarding school was already an established and widespread institution in the middle of the century. It also points to its weaknesses. The writer criticised "the improper education given to a great number of the daughters of low tradesmen and mechanics", and went on, "Every village in the neighbourhood of this great city has one or two little boarding schools, with an inscription over the door, "Young Ladies boarded and educated". The expence is small and thither the black-smith, the ale-house keeper, the shoe-maker, etc., sends his daughter, who, from the moment she enters these walls becomes a young lady French and Dancing is also taught at these schools, neither of which can be of any use to young ladies of this sort. The parents may imagine the first may procure them a place; but in this they may be greatly mistaken; as, I believe, there is hardly a single instance of a girl's having learnt that language to any degree of perfection at one of those schools The needlework taught at these schools is of a kind much more likely to strengthen the natural propensity in all young minds to show and dress than to answer any housewifely purpose". The writer would have preferred a more practical education, based upon the skills fitting to a wife.

This criticism is interesting as an indication of the extent of girls' academies; it certainly had no effect on their further development. The attraction of a lady's education at a relatively cheap price was commented upon, with much the same disapproval, later in the century by Hannah More. ¹¹ This merit of cheapness, combined with the advantages of clearing the home of troublesome children, preparing a superficially attractive bundle for the marriage mart, and

providing the child with a wider experience of life in the peer group than she could obtain at home, accounted for the considerable increase in the number of boarding schools for girls during the period.

The growth rate is indicated by table XX, which enumerates the private schools for girls known to be active in the north in the eighteenth century. The increase in the number of such schools is certainly exaggerated in this table by the far larger number of extant newspapers from the second half of the century but the change from 1700 to 1800 is so great that the trend seems established.¹²

Concealed by the classification of the data in table XX is the remarkable concentration of girls' schools in the towns. Only twelve of them were situated in rural areas, whilst the great majority were centred in Newcastle, Whitehaven, Durham and Stockton. This contrasts with the private academies set up for boys, which were more widely distributed. As so much of a girl's education was aimed at the creation of a social being there were obvious advantages in partaking of town life; London and even the small towns of the north offered a glimpse of life quite new to a country girl, irrespective of her class. This aspect of a girl's education is amusingly but truthfully revealed in a letter to the *Lounger* of April 30, 1785. The correspondent related how much he had spent on his son's schooling and then turned to the girls:

"While my son was thus learning to be a gentleman, my wife thought it no less necessary that my daughters should learn to be ladies.

Accordingly, when the eldest was about thirteen, and the other about twelve years of age, they both left my house in the country, and were placed in a boarding school of the first reputation in Edinburgh.

TABLE XX

Private girls' schools in the north. Schools are included in each decade in which they are known to have been active. (See text p.213-9)

| <u>Date</u> | <u>Northumberland</u> | <u>Durham</u> | <u>Cumberland</u> | <u>Westmorland</u> | <u>X</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-------------|-----------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------|--------------|
| 681-690 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 691-700 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 701-710 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 711-720 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 721-730 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| 731-740 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| 741-750 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 10 |
| 751-760 | 7 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 16 |
| 761-770 | 16 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 23 | 26 |
| 771-780 | 21 | 11 | 7 | 0 | 30 | 39 |
| 781-790 | 31 | 7 | 14 | 2 | 33 | 54 |
| 791-800 | 29 | 16 | 12 | 0 | 34 | 57 |

X = Total of the schools already counted in Newcastle, Whitehaven and Durham.

At home they had passed their time .. in learning to read, to write, to keep accounts, and to assist their mother ... They had been taught to dance; and they sung ... These attainments .. were of a very inferior kind to what it was now thought necessary they should acquire.

They were .. provided with masters for all the polite and fashionable branches of education. They were taught dancing ... drawing, French, Italian and music ..."

He continued that the success of his daughters in town was so great as to make it necessary for the whole family to spend a large part of the year in Edinburgh, involving great further expense and eventually ruin. The apocryphal tale has all the elements of fact and emphasises the fashionable attractions of boarding schools, which were so closely linked to town life.

There were other practical reasons for the selection of a town site for a school; the great majority of the schools made use of peripatetic masters for languages and the accomplishments and these were more abundant in the urban areas. Mrs. Barker, who ran a boarding school in Keswick in 1788-90 moved in the latter year to Workington expressly because "it is nearer to Whitehaven where there are available
13
masters of the polite accomplishments".

As the social side of a girl's education was felt to be so important it is not surprising that the richer parents chose to send their girls to schools in the metropolis and other fashionable places in the south. The presence of the daughters of "low tradesmen" in the cheaper northern schools may have been another motive for the popularity of the London schools with upper class parents. The Costesworths, Curwens, Cuthbertsons, Ellisons, Loshes and Senhouses all made use of schools in the capital in the eighteenth century. These schools were generally more expensive than those further north;

Susan Cust was being educated at Miss Jackson's school in London in 1795, in the absence of her father in India, whilst her brothers were at the famous school of Dr. Burney. The cost was found, however, to be too great, and it was proposed to move her to a school in the region of £25 p.a. None in this range were to be found in London, but there were plenty in the north and St. Bee's was proposed for the boys, as of roughly the same price.¹⁴ The attractions of London did not necessarily include a superior kind of school; that described rather pathetically by Joanna Senhouse in a letter to her mother in 1767 combined the usual demerits with that of great size.

"My Dear Mamma,

London Jan. 20th 1767

Give me leave to return to You and Dear Pappa my best thanks for the two kind letters I had the pleasure of receiving some time ago as You my Dear Mamma desired me to give an account how we live at school I shall do it with very great pleasure in the best manner I can: There are 108 Scholars, they are mostly about 10 or 12 Years old, there are only 8 or 7 older than I am. we write three times a week, Tuesday's, Thursday's & Satterday's. Mrs. Terry both opens all our letters before we receive them and also seals all we write. we dance twice a week Wednesday's and Friday's and a French master comes every Monday, Thursday and Satterday's to whom we get tasks in French, we do the same every day both in French and English to the Teachers. we get up at 7 in winter and 6 in summer dine at 2 and sup between 6 and 7 and go to bed a little after 7. our Breakfasts are Bread and Butter and Water twice a week tea, our Suppers are the same. the room that I lay in there are 8 beds and 17 Ladys in some rooms there are near 20 Beds. there are 5 teachers one in every room. the name of my bedfellow is Pack a very young Lady there is one

Young Lady that comes from Beverly a Miss Strickland we never go to Church but have Prayers and a sermon read at Home in French which is very disagreeable to one that does not understand it. we very seldom walk out but the rooms are very large and airy ... we work very little, Purses and little Baskets ... As my Dear Pappa and You were so kind as to give leave and Mr. Gale so kind as to carry me I saw a play last week I think they are very entertaining. the King and Queen and the Princess of Brunswick the Duke of Cumberland and The Princess Louisa Ann were all there I have wrote it so very badly but I hope You will be so good as to excuse for it is so very cold I can Scarce hold my pen"

This school, at Camden House in Kensington, illustrates that conditions were not better in some expensive London schools than the provincial schools; the poor food, cramped sleeping quarters, lack of fuel and general unhygienic state of this school were common.¹⁵ The letter itself speaks little for the education provided either in French or English. Apart from the opportunity to see royal personages and perhaps to acquire a more cultured accent than the northern burr,¹⁶ there seems to have been little profit for Miss Senhouse in the long journey south to an expensive school. Many of the northern gentry preferred schools outside the capital; in the next generation Elizabeth Senhouse, the daughter of William, was sent to Crofton school, near Wakefield.¹⁷ The first four daughters of John Christian were educated at the Manor school in York, which was one of the oldest girls' boarding schools in England;¹⁸ the last two however were sent to Mrs. Chalmer's school in Liverpool, where their education cost their father roughly £15 each p.a.¹⁹ John Hunter's daughter accompanied her brothers from Medomsley to Richmond

TABLE XXI (pp 216, 220-1)

Fees charged in girls' schools in the north of England

| <u>OWNER</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>PLACE</u> | <u>DAY GIRLS</u> | <u>BOARDERS</u> | <u>EXTRAS</u> |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------|--|
| Pulleine | 712 | Newcastle | £1.4.0 | | |
| Avison | 737 | Newcastle | £1.0.0 | | Entrance 2/6 |
| Cotes | 737 | Durham | | £12.0.0 | Writing, Needlework, Music, Dancing, Reading, English - each £1.0.0. |
| Turner | 746 | Stockton | | £13.0.0 | |
| Gardiner | 761 | Durham | £1.0.0 | £14.0.0 | Entrance 10/- |
| Hargrave | 761 | Stockton | | £13.0.0 | Needlework free, Dancing, Writing, Reading, Arithmetic, French £2.2.0 each Music £4.4.0 Entrance £1.1.0 and entrance to FM 10/6 |
| | | | | | Entrance to other subjects 5/-. |
| Cadoux | 762 | Durham/Ncle | | £17.0.0 | Entrance £1.1.0 Dancing £2.2.0 French £3 Entrance 10/6. |
| Crosse | 766 | Newcastle | £1.0.0 | £15.0.0 | Entrance (day) 2/6; Entrance (bd) £1.1.0 |
| Rymer | 767 | Darlington | | £14.0.0. | Entrance £1.1.0 |
| Mellanby | 771 | Stockton | £2.2.0 | £14.14.0 | |
| Johnson | 771 | Newcastle | | £12.00 | Entrance 5/- Needlework, reading £2.2.0 |
| Wright | 772 | Newcastle | £2.2.0 | | Entrance 10/6 |
| Coulson | 772 | Newcastle | £2.2.0 | | |
| Suggett | 774 | Durham | | £14.0.0 | Entrance £1.1.0 Geography and the use of Globes £2.2.0 Music £6.6.0. French £3 Dancing £2.2.0 Entrance to these 10/6 Drawing £4.40 Entrance £1.1.0. |

Table XXI (contd.)

| | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-------------|---------|----------|--|---|
| Davies | 775 | Darlington | | £13.13.0 | | Entrance 2/6 |
| Peel | 776 | Whitehaven | £1.0.0 | | | Entrance 3/- |
| Hadwen | 778 | Whitehaven | £1.16.0 | | | Entrance 2/6 |
| Holliday | 779 | Whitehaven | £1.0.0. | | | Entrance 5/- |
| Ritson | 781 | Cockermouth | £1.4.0. | £14.0.0 | | Entrance £1.1.0 |
| Lake | 781 | Newcastle | £4.4.0 | | | Reading 12/- Writing and accounts £1.10.0 and Entrance 2/6 French and drawing £2.2.0, Entrance 5/-, Music £4.4.0, entrance 10/6. |
| Singleton | 781 | Whitehaven | | £12.12.0 | | Writing and reading £2 and entrance 2/6 |
| Davidson | 788 | Berwick | | £20.0.0 | | |
| Barker | 788 | Keswick | | £14.14.0 | | |
| Bateman | 789 | Newcastle | £2.2.0 | | | Entrance 7/6 Writing £2 |
| Story | 790 | Newcastle | £1.10.0 | | | Entrance 5/- |
| Holden | 790 | Morpeth | £1.1.0 | £16.0.0 | | Entrance (day) 10/6 (bd) £1.1.0 Geography and the use of globes, music, dancing drawing, needlework £1.1.0 each, entrance 10/6 ea. |
| Wilson | 791 | Durham | | £16.0.0 | | Entrance £1.1.0 Writing and arithmetic £1 French, dancing, drawing £2.2.0 and entrance £1.1.0, Music £6.6.0, entrance £1.1.0 |
| Heavisides | 793 | Darlington | £4.4.0 | £21 | | Reading, French, needlework £4.4.0. Writing, Arithmetic, geography and the use of the globes £1.1.0 |
| Iverson | 793 | Sunderland | | £20 | | Reading, writing, arithmetic, music extra. |
| Rudd | 793 | Berwick | £1.0.0 | | | Entrance 2/6 |
| Foxton | 794 | Stockton | | £13.13.0 | | Entrance 10/6 Reading, needlework £2.2.0 |

Table XXI (contd.)

| | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-------------|---------|----------|---|
| Kitteridge | 794 | Morpeth | £2.2.0 | £15.15.0 | Entrance (day) 10/6 (bd) £1.1.0 Reading and medlework £1.10.0 Writing and arithmetic £1, French, Geography and the use of the globes £2.2.0, Dancing, music, drawing £4.4.0 each subject, 10/6 |
| Johnson | 795 | Newcastle | £2.2.0 | | Entrance 10/6 |
| Mark | 795 | Carlisle | £1.0.0 | £16 | Entrance 5/- Writing and arithmetic 16/- Needlework, reading £1. Dancing £4.4.0 |
| Thompson | 795 | Cockermouth | £1.4.0 | £15 | Entrance 2/6 |
| Gibson | 795 | Sunderland | £2.2.0 | £18 | Entrance (day) 10/6 (bd) £1.1.0 Reading, writing, French, dancing £2.2.0 Entrance 10/6. Music £6.6.0 Entrance £1.1.0 |
| Weir | 796 | Stockton | | £16.16.0 | Entrance £1.1.0 Writing, accounts £1.10.0 Entrance 5/- |
| Bushnell | 796 | Newcastle | £2.2.0 | | Dancing, drawing £2.2.0, entrance 5/- Music, geography and the use of the globes, French £4.4.0 Entrance 10/6 |
| Smith | 797 | Workington | £1.0.0 | | |
| Elwood | 798 | Whitehaven | £2.0.0 | | Entrance 2/6 |
| Graham | 800 | Whitehaven | £1.12.0 | | Entrance 5/- |

All prices are given as terms per year, although it was normal to advertise day school prices as per quarter. Boarding schools are not listed if the basic charge for boarders was omitted in the advertisement.

in 1771, attending Mrs. Arrowsmith's school there whilst the boys went to Richmond G.S. Other northern girls are known to have attended schools in Doncaster, Salisbury, Chester and even Scotland. The prevalence of educating girls well away from home is also attested by advertisements in local newspapers; a school in Cornwall was advertised in the Pacquet in 1795, and the same newspaper carried a recommendation of a Dublin girls' boarding school in 1793 as "very convenient for girls from Whitehaven."

The practice of sending girls out of the area for schooling does not reflect a deficiency of boarding schools in the north. As table XX shows there were ample facilities for girls' education at local private schools in the second half of the century. Most of these offered the subjects taught to Joanna Senhouse in London and some went further. The general boarding school course included the basic subjects of reading, writing and simple arithmetic, the skills of needlework and dancing, and the cultural acquisition of French. Many schools added to these the study of geography and practice of drawing. Teaching of the classics was rarer but not unknown. History was specified as part of the curriculum in Mrs. Packharnis' school at Stockton and Italian taught in Newcastle in the schools of Aurelia Mus and Mrs. Smith. These subjects form the established curriculum of an eighteenth century girls' academy, common to schools all over England. Less established but frequently taught in the north were accounts and higher mathematics. These subjects were naturally available at those schools which took both sexes, as they were normal elements in a boy's education; the schools of George Carr, Isaac Thompson, Samuel Bateman, Richard Oliphant, James McDonnell, John Davison and James Simpson in Newcastle, Thomas Stephenson in Whitehaven and John Finlinson in Carlisle were only some of the academies that accepted both sexes and therefore offered the possibility of a wider education for girls. This alone would be

no proof that the girls did receive education in these mathematical subjects, but there were also a number of specifically girls' academies that advertised mathematics as part of their syllabi; accounts were taught by her father at Miss Baillie's school in Newcastle in the '90s and also at Mrs. A. Hutchinson's and Mrs. Skinner's schools in the same town at an earlier date. The whole range of mathematical subjects was taught at Mrs. Rone's Newcastle school in the '60s and '70s and this example was not an isolated instance. ²³ The advertisement of Mrs. Smith's school in Newcastle at the end of the century illustrates the wider course then available although it cannot be said to be typical as it is the only known instance in the north of a school providing closed lecture courses on a scientific subject.

EDUCATION of Young LADIES

Mrs. Smith respectfully begs leave to acquaint her Friends and the Public, that she has REMOVED her BOARDING-SCHOOL to the spacious Mansion-House in WESTGATE STREET formerly occupied by the late Mrs. Gibson, which she has fitted up in a neat and convenient Manner, and that she has Accommodation for several additional pupils.

The most able Teachers, in their respective Departments, are engaged, and the Young Ladies will be instructed in the following Branches of Education: Reading, English Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, the French and Italian Languages, History, Geography with the use of the Globes, Music, Dancing, Drawing and Needle Work: And, whilst the Young Pupils are making Proficiency in these and other useful and elegant Accomplishments, it will be the express Object of this School to attend to their Health, to their Morals, and to their general Improvement.

: Lectures on Astronomy will occasionally be delivered.

Newcastle, April 27, 1798.24

Although this particular advertisement is from the 1790s the kind of course that it describes had been available in the north, and not just in Newcastle, much earlier in the century. The schools of Miss Kinderley in Stockton and Mr. and Mrs. Johnson in Whitehaven both offered broad curricula before 1750; in the '60s Cadoux and Rymer in Durham, Hargave in Stockton, and Hutchinson in Newcastle were only some of the girls' schools employing a number of teachers to provide similar facilities. By the last two decades of the century there were schools of this nature in most of the towns in the north. As table XX indicates, the period of change and expansion in girls' education in this area came well before the last decade of the century.

Neglect of the part played in the education of women by the private schoolmaster has increased the apparent novelty of the teaching of mathematics and science at the end of the century. Many academies advertised their readiness to accept female pupils; others must have done so without publicising the fact. Joanna Gale's school bills show that she was educated at the well known academy for girls run in Whitehaven by Mr. Durand (later Desvilliers) and that she also attended the school of George Thomson in Carlisle to learn arithmetic in 1778.²⁵ Male teachers catered for female pupils in three ways; by assistance in girls' academies as visiting masters, by private tuition, and by accepting girls as pupils at their schools in day and evening classes. The attendance of ladies at their lecture courses on scientific and mathematical subjects was quite normal and accepted; indeed separate courses for that sex were occasionally offered.²⁶ Bessie Surtees met her future husband at a course held by Charles Futton.²⁷ Underestimates of the schoolmasters' part in the education of women have made the picture of female education even more depressing than it was.

Whilst the owner and advertiser of a boys' academy was almost invariably the most important teacher at that school, the proprietor of a girls' academy was not necessarily so active. It was not uncommon for the proprietress to leave all the teaching to assistants and visiting masters. Miss MacPherson who conducted a girls' school in Edinburgh at the beginning of the nineteenth century had little choice but to follow this course as she was quite illiterate.²⁸ It is unlikely that many mistresses were of so low a standard but there were others who did little teaching. Mrs. Cadoux was one of a number of schoolmistresses who employed visiting masters for even the basic subjects, including English. However, there were mistresses who themselves taught; Miss Wilson was noted as an "excellent teacher and a very intellectual woman".²⁹ Some proprietors mentioned their own education in advertisements of their schools, as Mrs. Heavisides did in 1793; this would suggest that they did some teaching.

Where the school background of a mistress was mentioned it was without exception that of a private education. Most frequently quoted as places of past education were the academies of Warden in Newcastle, Durand in Whitehaven, Marlow in Durham and the Manor School in York.³⁰ Miss Wilson's school in Newcastle began to attain a kind of eminence in the area at the end of the century. It was noted for the number of pupils coming to it from Scotland and southern England.³¹ It was probably his connection with this school, where he taught mathematics, that earned John Bruce so many female subscribers from far afield for his geographical text-book in 1803.

Most of the actual teaching in most girls' academies was done by visiting masters and by young female assistants. Dancing masters,

such as the Banks, father and son, Dempsy, Mingay, Morin and Yeats, depended on the patronage of these schools for most of their livelihood. Teachers of writing, modern languages, geography and mathematics were more likely to have an established school of their own, but many clearly valued the extra employment that a schoolmistress might put in their way. Appointment to teach intermittently at a noted girls' school was a sufficient testimonial to make it worth mentioning in advertisements of private teaching;³² George Byles included notification of his appointment to assist at Mrs. Bonnell's school when he advertised his forthcoming text-book in 1786.³³

There must have been considerable variation in the quality of teaching offered by these academies but there is little surviving evidence about the standards attained. The number of staff employed is certainly a clue to the size and therefore success of each school. Another indication is given by charges made. The cost of girls' boarding schools was roughly the same as boys' academies,³⁴ although no girls' school in the north demanded the prices of the most expensive boys' academy. At both there were signs of a rise in prices in the last decade of the century, in response to the general change in the cost of living. The prices charged at these boarding schools limit them to middle and upper class children; the day scholars too paid fees which would have severely taxed any lower class parents.

As well as the private boarding schools and day schools there were schools for the specialised female skills. There were teachers of cookery in Newcastle during most of the century and other towns were no doubt similarly provided. In Durham the Bishop's own cook, Thacker, opened a school in 1742, and later wrote upon the subject. Good housekeeping and midwifery classes were also fairly common.³⁵ These schools did not normally advertise their charges. These, and those schools taught by women which were not advertised at all,³⁶ were probably catering for a lower section of society than the boarding

schools. Such education as reached the daughters of the artisans and lower classes was provided by these schools and the endowed non-classical schools.³⁷

The third form of education available to girls in the eighteenth century apart from endowed and private schools, was that of the private tutor, or governess. Although the names of only a few governesses survive there must have been many families who employed them or their male counterpart, visiting tutors. The daughters of George Baker were taught in the 1760s by Frances Arthington who was interested enough in her work to spend her spare time in writing texts on the study of history and geography, and translations from French and Italian. John Bruce was extremely active as a private tutor in Newcastle at the end of the century, and certainly taught girls as well as boys.³⁸ The families which engaged him are symptomatic of those that could afford this kind of education for their children; all that can be identified belonged to the upper middle class or gentry. However, as in the case of the boys, there is remarkably little evidence of the private tutor for girls in the north of England. Where family papers survive in any quantity as they do from the Senhouse, Cotesworth, Ellison and Stanley families, they show that the daughters of the house were mostly educated in private schools away from home. Whilst this tendency may be local to the north, or even a coincidence as the material is limited to a few families, there is no sign that the private tutor was a figure of major importance in education.

Some estimate of the efficiency of boys' schools can be made from the careers of the pupils after they left school; this is largely impossible in the case of girls because so few ever took up a career outside that of marriage. The northern women who appear in D.N.B. illustrate this difficulty. There are in any case only eight of

of them; of these three were educated mainly at home, by parents, governesses and visiting tutors, two went to a private school in Edinburgh; and the rest left no record of their schooling. This small group can be swelled but little by inclusion of local worthies, as few details of their education have survived either. Yet women did play a large enough part in the intellectual life of the north

to show that many girls were being educated; five northern women had mathematical solutions accepted in local or national newspapers, including an Eleanor Suggett of Kirkcaldy, who may have been the

Mrs. Suggett who later ran a successful school in Durham. The last woman to have a solution printed in the Ladies' Diary in the eighteenth century was Maria Middleton of Eden in Co. Durham in 1797. It is just possible that she can be identified with the Mrs. Middleton who

advertised accommodation for ladies and gentlemen at Stockton in 1773, and at the same time offered for sale an azimuth compass, a telescope,

a quadrant and a barometer. The most remarkable single connection of a woman to mathematics appeared in an announcement in the Courant of 26.12.1789: "Married at Whitehaven, Mr. George Baron, schoolmaster of Monkwearmouth Shore, to Miss Bensen, Teacher of Mathematics at the former place". A number of women were successful in the field of

authorship, writing important school texts as well as books on more specifically female subjects.

One woman was so bold as to enter the lists of public lecturing; Beatrice MacDonald gave a course of lectures on inoculation in her house in Sandgate in 1768. These are small but significant indications that the education of women in the eighteenth century was not as ineffective or restricted as most surviving information would suggest.

CONCLUSION

Whilst it is true that there were grave deficiencies in the education of women in this period the evidence from the north shows that there were

more opportunities for girls than have been supposed. There were endowed classical schools which took girls; there were many effective girls' boarding schools, offering a wide curriculum before the end of the century; private schoolmasters taught girls in their own schools as well as in girls' academies, as visiting masters; women participated in the audiences at scientific and educational lectures, and contributed to mathematical periodicals; many other girls must have received some education at home, whatever class they belonged to. Most of the girls whose education can be traced were taught by a combination of these methods. Although much criticism was levelled at girls' schools in the eighteenth century, ⁴⁴ condemnation was not unanimous; Adam Smith found ⁴⁵ the system of educating girls to be far more admirable than that for boys. At the same time there was no provision at all for the higher education of women, and very little for the able child of poor parents.

NOTES

1. For example , Armytage.
2. Kamm spends 34 pages on the theorists and 35 on the practise, much of which is a description of the charity school movement.
3. Gardiner p.347; Hans P.208.
4. Kamm pp 136-152; Hans pp 196-205.
5. Hans Ch. X and Appendix 7.
6. Addingham, Burton, Bishop Auckland, Belford, Crosby, Ravensworth, Darlington, Hugill, Haydon Bridge, Measand, Rothbury, Selside, Thursby, Workington, Wooler, Waitby and Smardale, Windermere and Troutbeck.
7. Rumney. Letter of 10.8.1797. Two months later the same writer Thomas Rumney, claimed that Mary's education had made her too proud to continue a school she had undertaken in Penrith, so classical education had its disadvantages for girls. Girls were also accepted as pupils in grammar schools in Cheshire. Robson p 117.
8. Given as possibly the first teacher in the history of the school.
9. For example , Berwick charity school register. See also S.P.C.K. Accounts.
10. Morris p54; Wynne pp 186-9.
11. Gardiner p 335; Kamm p 108.
12. A similar increase has been noted in Yorkshire by J.A. Harrison 2 ii p 51 and Wynne p 190.
13. P 7.4.1790.
14. D/Senhouse, uncatalogued letter of 12.8.1795.
15. D/Senhouse, uncatalogued letter 20.1.1767. The generally bad conditions in girls' boarding schools are described in Kamm pp 136-8.
16. Hughes 1 pp 365-6.
17. The benefits of this school are quoted in Hughes 2 pp 332-3.
18. London Gazette 5.4.1703. Hughes 2 p. 331.
19. This was the normal price range in the north. See table XXI.
20. J.A. Harrison p 16. See P.Carr, B. Clark and Pennington.
21. P 7.4.1795 and 15.10.1793.
22. Advertised anonymously in C 11.7.1724. See also Bateman, Carlisle and Johnson.
23. See Rymer, Sugget and Weir.
24. C 28.4.1798

25. D/Senhouse, loose bills of 1778-80.
26. See for example appendix IX.
27. Hans p.206.
28. J.B. Williamson p74.
29. J.B. Williamson P73.
30. See for example Greenwell, Hadwen, Hayes, Holliday and Jubb.
31. J.B. Williamson pp 73-6.
32. See for example C. Banks and J. Wood.
33. C 28.10. 1786.
34. The costs are detailed in table XXI. Comparison can be made with the charges for a boys' education at a private academy, table XVII.
35. See Gorsuch, Young, MacDonald and William Smith.
36. A number of mistresses have been traced from sources other than advertisements and biographies. It seems likely that a teacher whose death is recorded, with comment on the great length of her teaching experience, but is otherwise unknown, was probably acting in the capacity of a "school Dame", teaching at a very simple level.
37. There was no sudden influx of French teachers in the north after 1789 as has been noted elsewhere. Gardiner p 345.
38. J.B. Williamson pp 64-5.
39. S. Blamire, M. Bowes, H. Glasse, J and M. Harvey, A and J. Porter and E. Smith. Elizabeth Elstob was born too soon for consideration.
40. The general standard of literacy amongst women was probably higher than has been recognised. The spread of the provincial newspaper, although it was orientated towards male tastes, must have provided an incentive for wives to read. There were sections in some newspapers specifically devoted to the interests of the female sex. Cranfield 2 pp 186-9.
41. The others were E. Alderson, E. Claxton, B. Dobby and M. Middleton.
42. C 24.12.1773.
43. Ch. XI and appendix VI.
44. For example, Anon "Female Education", 1785 p 42. See also Bremner p. 9,73
45. A. Smith, v iii Art.III.

CHAPTER VIII

The education of the religious minorities

1. The Dissenters

The common people of England in the eighteenth century were not equal in the eyes of the law. Certain religious groups suffered under legal disabilities inherited from the conflicts of the previous two centuries. These handicaps included severe restriction upon the forms of education that members of these minority groups might in conscience choose for their children, and to a certain extent prohibited adults of these groups from teaching. It is well known that the Roman Catholics and Dissenters in England evolved educational practices under this legal pressure; practices which differed considerably from the established system of the Anglican majority. The Roman Catholics, because the penal laws against them were of greater antiquity than those against the Dissenters, because these laws were only slightly relaxed before 1750, and partially from their own choice, cut themselves off completely. Their system of education was exclusive to their faith and much of it operated outside England. For this reason they contributed little to the general development of education in their homeland.

Great claims, however, have been made for the Dissenters' contribution to the growth of English education. The works of I. Parker, M. McLachlan and J.W. Ashley Smith have established the importance of the Dissenting Academies as pioneers of a more modern syllabus. However,¹ the appearance of similar forms of education in private schools has been equally established by Dr. Hans. It has been claimed that it was the example of the Dissenters which promoted the modern forms of private² education³ but the connections between the two are certainly vague.

The contrast between dissenting and private academy also neglects the considerable difficulty of distinguishing one from the other; through the century many Dissenting ministers kept schools for youths in the north. It is not always clear whether they were catering for their own sect exclusively, and preparing boys for the ministry, or accepting all comers and providing a secular education. Even the best established example of a Dissenting academy in the north, that of Caleb Rotheram in Kendal, may in fact have grown out of a purely secular school. ⁴

Although the best known, the academies were not the only original contribution of the Dissenters to education in eighteenth century England. Some sects preferred to create their own elementary schools, as the law permitted after Cox's case in 1700, ⁵ although the changed legal position did not prevent Dissenting teachers being presented for teaching without licence for some years after 1700. These schools continued to flourish under assault but later in the century some of them also took on increasingly the status of private schools. The motives for this development must be connected with those which induced many Dissenting ministers of the later decades to open private academies, where, at an earlier time, they might have concentrated their educational activities upon the members of their own sect. The evidence from the north such as it is seems to indicate a parallel decline in the purely sectarian forms of education offered at the beginning of the century by the academies and elementary schools of the Dissenters.

Finally the individual contributions of certain Dissenters to the spread of education amongst adults were important enough in the north to justify illustration.

THE DISSENTERS IN THE NORTH

The strength and distribution of Dissent in the north has already been examined.⁶ The numerically strongest sect throughout the north was that of the Presbyterians but there were pockets of Independents, Baptists and Quakers. The latter were especially strong in south Durham and around Kendal. Except on the borders of Scotland however the numbers of Dissenters as a whole were insignificant in comparison to the members of the Established Church.

This was presumably the basic reason for the relatively insignificant part which was played by the north of England in the growth of the Dissenting academies. Nevertheless there were Dissenters in the north and there was a separatist movement in education in that area from the Restoration. The succession of academies in the north, as traced out by Ashley Smith,⁷ extends from Richard Frankland in the seventeenth century to Samuel Lowthian, who died in 1780. Although there are strong northern connections with both Warrington and Manchester academies, no further academy was established in the north for specifically dissenting students after 1780. This cord of influence, which stretches through Conningham of Whitehaven and Dixon of Penrith and Rotheram at Kendal, can be supplemented with a few other academies in the north, but it remains a tenuous one.

Richard Frankland died before the beginning of the eighteenth century, and his academy itself was only briefly situated in the northern counties, between 1674 and 1683 at Natland, and for some months in 1683-4 at Crosthwaite in Westmorland. His teaching is therefore outside the scope of the present survey but a direct link can be traced between him and the eighteenth century academies in the north. In any case his example was invaluable to his successors. The methods employed by Frankland have been fully recorded.⁸ Their

success is attested by the stream of boys who left his academy to enter Scottish universities.⁹ His teaching was noted for its freedom of approach and its breadth; mathematics was one of his main interests as it was to be of Rotherham.

One of Frankland's pupils, John Chorlton, began an academy in Manchester in 1698. To this establishment came James Coningham¹⁰ as assistant in 1700. Coningham, who was a graduate of Edinburgh, had been conducting a Dissenting academy in Penrith from 1696. Little is known of this early academy; as it was termed a seminary its purpose was presumably that of preparing young men for the ministry, but nothing survives of the curriculum followed there. Chorlton and Coningham provide the link between Frankland's academy and the first important northern academy of the eighteenth century, that at Whitehaven.

Thomas Dixon was trained for the ministry at Manchester academy under Chorlton and Coningham from 1700-1705; his earlier education is unknown. A few years after the conclusion of his education he opened an academy in Whitehaven, where he was the minister of a Presbyterian congregation. Neither the date of his arrival in that town or the date of his venture into teaching are certain; if D.N.B. is correct in ascribing his decision to teach to the influence of Dr. Calamy it is possible that this advice was given on Calamy's visit to the area in 1709.¹² The date of his removal to Bolton is also in dispute, but he had certainly gone by 1723. His academy in Whitehaven therefore flourished for roughly a decade. Like Frankland, Dixon was a man of wide interests. Although his first degree, taken at Edinburgh, may have been honorary,¹³ his M.D. from Aberdeen, taken in 1718, was the result of practical study.

In his later career at Bolton he carried on a medical practice as well as another academy. These general academic interests were reflected in the course provided in his academy. Notes of Dixon's lectures¹⁴ and those of his mathematical assistant, Barclay, survive. They cover Arithmetic, algebra, astronomy, trigonometry, logarithms, and the study of the globes; they also indicate that their writer at some time had studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew and shorthand. These subjects, together with the theological studies which were the main object of the school, represent a modern curriculum. There is no reason however to consider such teaching as a new trend in northern education. Private schools already offered similar courses. Whitehaven itself had specialist mathematical schools before the turn of the century.

After Dixon's departure to Lancashire there does not appear to have been a Dissenting academy in the north-west for about ten years. Caleb Rotheram, one of Dixon's pupils became minister in Kendal in 1716,¹⁵ but he does not appear as a teacher for many years after this date. Dixon's academy at Bolton probably supplied sufficient educational opportunity for prospective ministers until his death in 1729. In 1733 Rotheram opened a Dissenting academy in Kendal; the gap left by Dixon's death was clearly one reason for this decision. However it is very probable that the motive which caused Rotheram to take up¹⁶ teaching was the economic depression suffered in Kendal from 1728. His academy was the most successful of those in the north in the eighteenth century. A long list of his pupils includes many Scottish graduates and eminent divines; as it does not include any of his lay pupils it is probable that others also proceeded to university from Kendal academy.

Following the fashion of his own master, Dixon, Rotheram was broad in his educational activities. He was a well known and well

travelled scientific lecturer, possessing extensive experimental apparatus which had previously been the property of another northern Dissenter, Horsley. He was noted and criticised for the freedom of enquiry that he allowed his theological students. Their studies under Rotheram have been described by Nicholson and Axon. The high quality of the instruction there is indicated by the confidence placed in Rotheram by the managers of the Presbyterian Fund. They contributed towards the education of students there from 1734 until Rotheram's death, made him extra yearly payments from 1739 onwards, and awarded him a special grant of £20 in 1737 towards "finishing his apparatus for Experimental Philosophy". The Baptist Fund and Lady Newley's Fund also made grants to students at Kendal. There seems little doubt that this academy was most successful and well taught. On Rotheram's death in 1752 his academy was briefly continued by his assistant, Richard Simpson, but had closed by 1753.

Although none of Rotheram's pupils took up his work as a teacher in the north-west, one of them, Samuel Lowthian, began to teach in Newcastle in the very year that Rotheram died. He is known to have trained ministers, and therefore, can be seen as carrying on the Dissenting academy tradition in the north. He died in 1780. The north-east had seen Dissenting academies before that of Lowthian, John Horsley's academy in Morpeth received support from the Presbyterian Fund from 1721-1725; James Dryden ran a Presbyterian academy in Stamfordham, where he was the minister from 1742 to 1788.

The academies described have claims to be considered as Dissenting academies in the sense that they either trained ministers or received direct aid from one of the Dissenting Funds. However it may be questioned whether there is any real advantage in separating these academies from the private academies which were so common in the north in the eighteenth century. If indeed the main concern of these

schools was the preparation of young men for the ministry, then clearly such distinction is valuable. The training of future ministers would naturally tend to differ in emphasis from a mainly secular training, and would be likely to begin at a later age. On the other hand, if this were only a secondary function performed by a professional schoolmaster, who was also a dissenter, for the benefit of a few boys of his own sect who happened to enter his school, then it seems unnecessary to consider these establishments in a separate category from the many private academies which taught just as modern a syllabus as the nationally famous Dissenting academies.

Caleb Rotheram began his academy in 1733, according to lists of his pupils and accounts of his career; however he had practised as a private teacher of mathematics from at least 1730. In November of that year he advertised in the Newcastle Courant that "At Kendal in Westmorland, Gentlemen may be instructed in Speculative and Practical, Pure and Mixed Mathematics, by easy and well approved Methods and at reasonable prices"²³. This was clearly addressed to all sects, and is the advertisement of a private teacher. As noted before economic distress may have been the motive for his entry into the teaching profession. Although Rotheram certainly did train young men for the ministry after 1733, taking them on average at about the age of 17, he is also known to have taken many more lay students.²⁴ His academy was also run on secular lines in some respects; he continued to concentrate much of his work on mathematics and science, using the equipment he had purchased for his private school in 1731 after the death of Horsley; he also made a separate charge for his mathematics teaching.²⁵ His public lecturing, which may have stretched over some years,²⁶ savours of a private schoolmaster rather than a Dissenting divine.

If there is some doubt as to the relative importance of Rotheram's twin functions as Dissenting academician and private schoolmaster, there is much less over the work of Horsley and Lowthian. John Horsley was a lecturer and antiquary²⁷ of great repute as well as a teacher. He was considered as a candidate for the Chair in Hebrew at Edinburgh in 1729. He published a number of well received volumes before his early death. Yet no Dissenting minister is known to have been educated at his academy; this absence makes it very unlikely that Horsley trained for the ministry at all. Lowthian advertised the opening of his academy in Newcastle, just as Rotheram had done; he made no mention of a special interest in Dissenters and professed to teach only the advanced forms of mathematics.²⁸ Although he published religious works between 1760 and 1764²⁹ he was known locally as a mathematician. In 1774 he entered into a mathematical controversy with Latimer in a local newspaper, and he was a correspondent of the mathematician, Hutton, in 1779.³⁰

Lack of evidence makes it impossible to discover the degree of involvement of Coningham, Dixon or Dryden in private education. It does seem however, from the cases of Rotheram, Horsley and Lowthian, that the use of the category of Dissenting academy as distinct from the class of private academies may be unrewarding in the north. Whilst this denies to the individual institution, the Dissenting academy, the pre-eminence, originality and leadership which has been claimed for it elsewhere in England, it does not detract from the very important part played in eighteenth century education by academies run by dissenters. Many Dissenting ministers opened private schools in the north in that period. Although the names of few pupils of these schools have survived,³¹ there is little doubt, in view of the frequency of their advertisements, that these

accepted pupils of all denominations and in no way offered a sectarian education. Successful teachers, such as the Unitarian Turner in Newcastle or the Quaker Saul in Abbey Holme, could not afford to risk the loss of upper class children by promoting their own religious opinions. These schools are therefore to be seen as private academies with no specific religious bent.

There were then few establishments in the north in the eighteenth century which can be usefully termed Dissenting academies; Dixon and Rotherham did train young men for the ministry, but the latter certainly taught in a private capacity too. The teaching of Coningham and Dryden can only be guessed at. In no way can it be claimed that these few academies were the leaders of a more modern approach to education in the north. On the other hand the Dissenters were very prominent in the opening of private schools for mathematical and scientific subjects; perhaps in part because they were still in a dubious legal position if they taught the classics, even up to the second half of the century. ³²

The Dissenting ministers of the beginning of the century tended to spend much of their secondary educational efforts upon the training of their own sect, with an eye to the future ministry; by the end of the century this impulse had been generalised into private education, available to the general public. Much the same tendency can be observed in the development of the elementary schools which some sects created for their children at the end of the seventeenth century.

From 1660 until 1730 the Dissenters had to struggle against persecution. Many Dissenting schoolmasters were presented for teaching without licence, although few were in fact made to suffer the full rigour of the law. It was during this hostile period that the Dissenters organised their own educational system. Perhaps the most active group, considering their relatively small numbers, were the Quakers. The

Yearly meetings of the Friends became concerned with education in 1638, and in 1690 suggested for the first time that individual groups of Friends should provide Quaker schoolmasters for their children, This was repeated in subsequent years.³³ There was already a well established school in Westmorland taught by a Friend; Thomas Lawson maintained his school in Great Strickland from the days of the Commonwealth to his death in 1691, despite being presented for teaching without a licence in 1673. However the encouragement of the Yearly meetings did lead to an increase in Quaker educational activity in the north. The 1696 report mentioned a school in Durham and the prospect of another in Westmorland. The Kendal Quarterly meeting had attempted to form a school in 1695, but their invitations to Winn and Jopson to come as teachers were refused. Jopson however relented in 1698 and the school opened.³⁴ This success was followed by the opening of Quaker schools in Penrith, Windermere, Grayrigg and Strickland.³⁵ Nor was this display of concern limited to the north-west; Quakers were presented for teaching without licences from the parishes of Darlington in 1701, 1709 and 1717 and 1724, Hurworth in 1701 and 1702, and from Staindrop in 1705.³⁶ The majority of Quaker schools were however in the north-west as the extent of such presentations shows. Twelve Quaker teachers were reported for teaching in that area, with the last coming as late as 1731.³⁷

The most successful and long-lived of these schools was that at Kendal. Jopson, when he opened the school in 1698, had agreed to certain terms for the scholars. These extended only to writing and arithmetic, for which the parents were to pay 2/6 per quarter, rather than the mere 1/6 which was charged for reading. As such the school was successful; it was found to need an usher by 1706 and John Hill was appointed. When he resigned to go to the Quaker school at Yealand in 1712, the Quarterly meeting lost no time in replacing

him. Under Jopson the school may have remained an elementary

establishment for Quaker children; under his successor, Thomas Rebanks, it was run in a quite different manner. He became headmaster of the school in 1715 and remained therefor at least forty years. In 1728 he was presented for teaching without a licence, but this did not prevent him from advertising his school in the subsequent year. In the Courant of March 15th 1729 appeared "At Kendal in Westmorland are taught, at moderate prices Writing Arithmetick, Geometry, Trigonometry, Navigation, Surveying ... by Thomas Rebanks, Teacher of a Grammar School in the said town, with whom you may board". That Rebanks did teach the classics as he claimed by assuming the title of grammar school master is attested by one of his pupils, James Gough, who was at the school in this very period. It was also mentioned in his presentation of the previous year. Rebanks had clearly adapted the Quaker establishment to his own profit, whilst continuing to perform all the duties expected of him. He was to be presented once more in 1743, but seems to have continued to teach despite this molestation.

His example was followed by his successors; George Bewley and the Dalton brothers both advertised the Quaker school as a private academy, offering the usual course of studies. It continued as such for most of the eighteenth century. In the north-east one Quaker schoolmaster attained similar heights of instruction, although his school may have acted as a private academy from its inception. John Glenn, who suffered presentation as an unlicensed Quaker schoolmaster in 1732 may be identical with the John Glenny who came to the Kendal school as an assistant in 1712. He was noted as a teacher of the classics and modern languages in Durham until his death in 1762. His pupils were definitely not restricted to Quakers. The Quakers continued to provide education for their own children throughout the

century. but with the decline of persecution the fervour for a separate schooling diminished.

Whilst the Quakers' essays into education can be more easily traced than those of other Protestant Dissenting groups,⁴³ there is no doubt that all the sects were concerned about education. The proximity to the Scottish border consolidated the strength of Presbyterianism in the north; it is likely that most of the schoolmasters presented merely as dissenters were of this persuasion. Thirteen such presentations were made in the north; all but one of these before 1735. The exception was James Huet who was reported for teaching without a licence by the curate of Holy Island in 1778. The background of Robertson, the curate, makes it very possible that this late use of statute was partially brought about by personal competition. It is unlikely to have had the desired effect; Samuel Nicholson was presented for unlicensed teaching in Kirkoswald in 1710, again as a result of his competition with the local Anglican. He was still teaching in Kirkoswald in 1744, and was recorded as so doing yearly in the visitation calls. Similar cases of tacit approval⁴⁴ occurred in Burgh by Sands and Crosscannonby.

These schoolmasters probably taught little more than the basic subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic; the schools endowed by dissenters, individually and as groups, were almost all of this type. There was in fact little demand for higher institutions of a sectarian nature as the religious division between Anglicans and Dissenters was not so wide as to prevent the latter from making use of the endowed grammar schools. The prevalence of Dissenting ministers who opened private academies provided another route to higher education and, in the absence of such resource, the community of spirit natural to a minority group encouraged educated adults to assist youths of their own sect. Both Benson and Dalton received part of their education in this way. Relatively few Dissenters were educated in schools or academies of their own faith

outside the north; Ackworth, close at hand to the Quakers of south Durham, did accept a considerable number after its foundation in 1779. A few Methodists entered Kinswood school and the dissenting academies in the south attracted some pupils. Manchester academy received fourteen pupils from the north between 1786 and 1795. Only four of these entered to study divinity, whilst the rest took medicine or the commercial course. The academy had been enthusiastically recommended by Caleb Rotheram, junior, who was then a minister at Kendal. Interestingly most of the pupils that Rotheram's advocacy gained for Manchester were not children of Dissenters.⁴⁵ However the great majority of Dissenters appear to have gained their education alongside the Anglicans in endowed schools or private academies, particularly after the end of active persecution which came in the north about 1735. After their school career the more able or more substantial Dissenters departed for Scottish universities,⁴⁶ whilst the Anglicans turned south.

The emphasis placed upon the growth of the Dissenting academies from the late eighteenth century has illuminated the separate contribution of these groups to English education. In the north there is less evidence of that particular development. However the confusion of Anglican and Dissenters into a general pattern of education, public and private does not lessen the considerable part played by Dissent. Rather it enhances it. The Dissenting academies made great advances in curriculum and in study methods, but their isolation detracted from the effect of their example.⁴⁷ Those Dissenters in the north that were concerned with education applied their efforts to a more general public. They provided the leading private schoolmasters and lecturers. Although there is no obvious chain of influence between them, as there is from academy to academy, Horsley, the Rotherams, Isaac Thompson, William Turner and many lesser figures placed the Dissenting groups at the forefront of northern education throughout the century.⁴⁸

2. The Roman Catholics

The penal laws against the Roman Catholics predated the Clarendon Code by over a century. The majority of these laws were passed in the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, but legislation against this minority religious group continued in the seventeenth century. Even as late as 1700 it was re-iterated, in 11 and 12 Wm. and Mary, that a heavy fine might be imposed upon Catholic parents who sent their children abroad, and the penalty for a recusant teaching a school unlicensed was raised to imprisonment for life.⁴⁹ The general effect of these laws was to make it illegal for a Roman Catholic to teach any form of school in England,⁵⁰ or to send children abroad for their education. The penalties for the latter offence were extreme; the parent or guardian who sent the child might be fined heavily and the child forfeited all rights to property in England. The laws also encouraged protestant kin of such children to act against them and the Act of 1700 offered a fine of £100 to anyone who could inform on a child sent abroad for educational purposes.

There were no further laws passed against the Roman Catholics in the eighteenth century. This did not necessarily mean that a more tolerant attitude towards the Catholics was adopted. The existing legislation was sufficiently severe to make it unnecessary to increase the penalties, even in the political crises of 1715 and 1745. The Roman Catholics, especially in the north, suffered in both these periods. In both Jacobite rebellions Catholics of the north rose in support of the Pretender; the considerable party raised by Derwentwater and Forster in 1715 was matched on a much smaller scale by Clavering in 1745, although on the latter occasion more violence seems to have been directed against the Catholics in the north than caused by them.⁵¹

The damage done to Catholic education in the north by these unsuccessful revolts cannot be assessed. No schoolmasters or tutors are known to have been involved, directly ~~or~~ indirectly, but the crucial part played by the Catholic gentry in the survival of all Catholic institutions during the penal period ⁵² entailed the decline of Catholic education in England whenever that class was weakened.

It is possible to estimate the strength of Catholicism in the north in the eighteenth century. The survey of his diocese carried out by Bishop Chandler c.1736 included an investigation of the number of families in Northumberland and Durham that were outside the Anglican church. Although this does not provide an accurate measurement of the actual number of Catholics ⁵³ it does offer a guide to the proportionate strength of the sect. Northumberland, including Newcastle, had a population of about 18,500 families in 1736. The total actually returned for the county was 17,550, but five parishes did not provide numbers and these included the important parish of Morpeth. Of these 292 families were known Roman Catholics, a proportion of roughly one in fifty-seven. It is not possible to give a similar estimate for Durham, as eighteen parishes failed to detail the numbers, but those that did mentioned in all 376 Catholic families. Although these figures, collected by hostile authority, are unlikely to be a very accurate census of the Catholic population at that time, they do indicate that there were considerably more Catholics in Durham than in Northumberland. This balance had completely changed by the end of the century, although the actual number of Catholics seems to have remained fairly constant until the last decade. The returns to the survey of Catholics ordered by the House of Lords in 1767 gave the totals for Durham and Northumberland as 2,733 and 2,159 respectively. ⁵⁴ In 1781 a survey ordered by the Roman Catholic Bishop, Matthew Gibson, returned 3,130 Catholics in Northumberland

and only 1,676 in Durham. This latter survey, carried out by the Catholic authority, would clearly be more likely to be accurate than those ordered by Anglicans.⁵⁵ Using the 1801 national census as a guide to the population of 1781 the proportion of Catholics, roughly 4,800 in a population of perhaps 270,000, is very similar to that produced by Chandler's earlier survey. In the last two decades of the century there was a very considerable increase in the number of Catholics, much greater than the general population increase of the period would warrant. It has been suggested that the last twenty years of the eighteenth century saw the number of Catholics in the north almost trebled as a result of the relaxation of the penal laws.⁵⁶ Only one of these surveys provides enumeration of the Catholic population in the north-west, that of 1781. In that year there were 400 Catholics in Westmorland and 300 in Cumberland. These figures explain the paucity of educational establishments for Catholics in the north-west.

The records which have made possible estimates of the Catholic population illustrate the paradoxical nature of the extant information about Catholic education in this period. The heavy penalties which the Catholics faced when they educated their children under teachers of their own faith, whether at home or abroad, made them most reluctant to record that education in a public manner. Therefore even those registers which survive from the Catholic schools abroad have only the sparsest of personal data. The use of pseudonyms was standard practice in the continental schools, and was continued by those Catholics who returned to work as priests in England. Even the family papers of Catholic gentry contain, for the most part, only guarded references to the activities of these priests in England. Their educational activities, which may have been considerable, are therefore shrouded in mystery.

On the other hand the Anglican authorities were still concerned about the extent of the Catholic faith, and made it their business to collect information on that subject. Both the civil government, the House of Lords, and the ecclesiastical authority, in this case the bishop of Durham, conducted surveys of the Catholics in the eighteenth century. Whilst in the nature of things an investigation conducted by a hostile body, and one that carried the threat of future penalties, was unlikely to obtain complete details of Catholic activities, nevertheless these surveys did reveal Catholic schools and schoolmasters. Clearly the thirty or so Catholic teachers which can be named as active in the north in the eighteenth century are only representatives of many others that escaped the surveyors or were active between the surveys.

In the case of the Roman Catholics, unlike any other group, it is much easier to trace their educational pattern by means of the pupils than by study of the schools or schoolmasters. Certain families had remained stubbornly Catholic despite the prolonged efforts of Anglican governments since the sixteenth century. The surviving papers of the Salvins, Haggerstons and Swinburnes, and the biographical material relating to other Catholic gentry display a common form of education. It is true, as Dr. Hans has pointed out,⁵⁸ that the bars which prevented the Catholics from entering the liberal professions and politics severely reduced their participation in the intellectual life of England. Few appear in D.N.B., and those that do are mostly from the priesthood and were active on the continent rather than in England. However the more tolerant years at the end of the century did allow the Catholic gentry to play an increasingly large part in public affairs. Although Thomas Corby was still barred from the British army in 1794, and forced to raise his own volunteer force,⁵⁹ Catholics were acceptable to all but authority. Families such as the Howards of Corby and Silvertops of

Ministerial acts were prominent before the legal position of Catholics was relaxed.

The relatively small number of Catholics in the population naturally emphasises the part played in their survival by a few families. The continued existence of the severe penal laws in the eighteenth century, even though the increasing tolerance of that era made their application rare, meant that the protection and support of the Catholic gentry was still important for humbler members of that faith. This assistance included the upkeep of Catholic priests, churches and schoolmasters.⁶⁰ It is noteworthy that the most successful of the eighteenth century teachers in the north, judged in terms of length of activity, was himself related to a gentle family.⁶¹ The recurrence of a few names in any description of Catholic education in penal times is not then merely the result of the accidental survival of certain family records and the absence of more public records, but rather symptomatic of the great influence of the gentry, especially in regard of the supply of pupils to the expensive Catholic schools on the continent.

The educational facilities available to Catholics may be conveniently divided between education in England and education abroad. This division corresponds to some extent with the modern terms "elementary" and "secondary" education. There were schools abroad which catered for young pupils and there were certainly Catholics who were educated to a secondary level without leaving England. However the majority of Catholic schools in England which have been traced seem to have been elementary, whilst most of the establishments on the continent which catered for the education of English Catholics were designed for older children. In view of the difficulties of eighteenth century travel it was natural that **it should be so.**

The schools and colleges abroad have already been described in great detail ⁶² so that, for the present purposes, it is only necessary to examine the northern contribution to them. On the other hand so little is known about Catholic teaching in England under the penal laws ⁶³ that any reference to a Catholic school is a valuable addition to the picture. Although the evidence is sparse it is clear that Catholic schools did exist in the north throughout the eighteenth century and earlier. An academy was conducted in Northumberland in the seventeenth century by Christopher Simpson, who was active in the area for twenty years. The comment which accompanied the news of his death in 1674 suggests that this school may have been more on a par with the later seminary at Tudhoe than with other eighteenth century Catholic schools in the north. He was reported to have been "... a truly religious man and a distinguished missionary in this vineyard (Northumberland, presumably). He was Superior of Our Fathers in Northumberland for almost twenty years. It is a wonderful fact that he was enabled, in the midst of an heretical nation, to open with impunity an academy for select youths of the higher class and to support and preserve it even to this very time ..."

Simpson is known to have educated Protestants as well as children of his own faith. ⁶⁴

The brief reign of the Catholic James II naturally encouraged Catholics to teach openly. In the north schools were opened in Durham by Father Pearson and in Gateshead by Father Leigh. ⁶⁵ Neither survived the revolution of 1688. However, despite the violence with which these schools were closed down, there is ample evidence that Catholics continued to teach in the north in the hostile atmosphere of the next two decades. A school was conducted in the house of John Hildridge in Bishop Middleham at the turn of the century. Its master, known suspiciously as Smith, had 26 pupils in 1702, and was teaching quite openly; yet he was still apparently active in 1705. ⁶⁶ A school was

being taught in Durham in 1702 by Mr. or Mrs. Rowells, which may have survived until the late 1720s.⁶⁷ The returns of Cockfield to the House of Lords inquiry of 1704-5 mention a popish seminary at Durham which took female pupils.⁶⁸ This may have been a reference to Rowell's school. The same source mentions a Catholic teacher of music in Bishop Auckland, one Richard Comm.

There were certainly Catholic teachers who escaped the vigilance of this survey; James Metcalf, a writing master, was buried as a Catholic in St. Oswald's Durham in 1713/4, but appears only in the parish register. It is likely he had been active for some time. More positive evidence of the existence of Catholic teachers is afforded by the records of the S.P.C.K. Archdeacon Booth of Easington, Co. Durham betrayed considerable concern over the activities of the Catholics in Durham in this period. In September 1700 he had already complained to the Society about the amount of unlicensed schoolmasters and requested instruction as to how to proceed against them in law. This is hardly surprising in view of the uncertain state of the law in regard to dissenting schoolmasters at the turn of the century; it is however more remarkable that the Archdeacon should feel the same need of legal instruction in regard of Catholics. On the 8th of October of the same year he repeated his inquiry with the added comment that he had been set at defiance by some papists and quakers who teach school. The Society informed the Archdeacon that he might easily suppress such opposition by use of the statute of I.Jac.I.⁶⁹, but he was still very concerned with Catholic activities in 1701,⁷⁰ despite this advice.

After these early instances of Catholic teachers there are very few known until the middle of the century. This may reflect to some extent a reaction against them after the '15, but it seems more likely, in view of the number of masters detailed in the next House of Lords survey of 1767,⁷¹ that the evidence has failed to survive. Some teachers did leave

records of their activity even in this period; Father Thomas Waterton's school in Durham already had a considerable reputation amongst Catholics by 1740. It was recommended to Sir Carneby Haggerston for his sons by Sir Marmaduke Constable in that year. This school may have had a long life as Waterton was in Durham county from 1730 to 1766. It was probably this school which the boy Bell attended in Durham City at the expence of the Salvins in 1740.

The best recorded Catholic schoolmaster of the north in the middle of the eighteenth century was active in Northumberland, and his survival as a teacher despite the Anglican authorities' full knowledge of his occupation illustrates the actual security of Catholic schoolmasters. In a letter of 9.3.1764 Rev. Sharpe of Morpeth reported to the Bishop of Durham that "There is a popish schoolmaster in this town who has a great number of scholars and brings them on extremely well; he also teaches them the catechism and attends to Church when they come to it. He is the more dangerous by being so clever in his profession. His name is Witherington Bourne; he was not discovered to be a papist till four days ago when the churchwardens were enquiring into his settlement. As the penalties by law are very severe in this case I shall be glad of your Lordship's direction". Widdrington Bourne had been born in Morpeth in 1725 and was related to the Widdrington family through the female line. He was known to be a Roman Catholic in 1745 when he appeared before the magistrates as such. Despite his religion and the common knowledge of it he continued to teach in Morpeth until his death in 1793. He was returned as a schoolmaster in the ordinary visitations of 1766 and 1778, and as a Catholic schoolmaster in the House of Lords survey of 1767, and was described at his death as an eminent mathematician as well as a teacher.

The continued career of Bourne shows that it was possible for a Catholic to teach in the north from the middle of the century; the 1767 survey by the House of Lords shows that others were taking advantage of the laxity of the authorities. Richard Luthert, a Catholic, had recently set up as a schoolmaster in Bellingham, at the age of 60; he remained there in the same occupation until his death in 1770 despite the survey. Two schoolmistresses, Margery Laidler and Dorothy Joplin, were noted as active in Durham itself, and another, Mary Emmerson, who taught in St. Andrew Auckland, had been resident there for ten years. Mrs. Greggs, schoolmistress in Lanchester, Esh and Cornsey, had been resident for 26 years and John Thompson had been schoolmaster at Bishopwearmouth for six years. The schoolmasters in Felton and Tweedmouth, Joseph Wilson and Thomas Park, were noted as married to Catholic women; it seems just possible that the teachers were themselves less assertive Catholics.

Although these references to Catholic teachers are few and scattered, their very variety makes it likely that they are only a representation of a greater number. Specialised branches may also have provided openings for Catholic teachers; the religion of a peripatetic dancing master was unlikely to be of concern to the authorities. One such, James Patefield, was returned as teaching in Warton, Lancashire in 1767. Teachers of foreign languages too may have included Catholics as many of them were French or Italian. There is then sufficient evidence to postulate that, even before the legal relaxations of the last thirty years of the century, Catholic schools did exist in the north, providing at least an elementary education for members of their own faith. Further that it is unlikely that there was any period in the eighteenth century when such provision was totally absent from the north.

Whilst there were Catholic schools in the north the commonest form of education used by the Catholic gentry within England was almost certainly the private tutor. As the Protestant returns provide no data about tutors there is less evidence about these men; such family papers as survive however emphasise their importance. Every tutor that has been traced was without exception in holy orders and presumably fulfilled the role of family priest as well as tutor. John Bell was tutor to the young Silvertop at Ministeracres until moving on to Crook Hall in 1793. One of his pupils, Henry Silvertop followed him there. It had been common before the extension of the Catholic colleges abroad for the tutor to continue his charge by accompanying his pupil to the Continent, either to a place of higher education or upon the fashionable grand tour. Thomas Middlehurst acted in this capacity for the Stricklands, Fleetwood, John Thornton and William Jameson took care of the foreign education of successive generations of Eggerstons. The function of the tutor abroad became one of supervision and direction rather than personal teaching, but at home they undoubtedly took the role of teacher as well as priest. William Gibson, the future bishop, educated John Silvertop; John Bamber taught the Salkeld children at Whitehall in Cumberland before taking up a more peripatetic style in his priestly duties. It was in any case natural that the Catholic gentry and aristocracy should follow the fashion of the times for private tutors. The Howards of Corby had their children educated at home before going on to Douai in the same way and for the same reasons that the Percies employed home tutors before going to Eton. The identification of family priest with home tutor was a consequence of the penal laws against the Catholics, in that the priests found their safest and best support in the houses of the Catholic gentry, and as educated men were all eminently suited to the task of tutoring, academically and morally.

An alternative to the temporary Catholic schools in the north and the home tutor was the endowed school. There were permanent Catholic schools in England; Twyford in Hampshire⁷⁶ flourished until the Jacobite rising in 1745. The sons of Sir Carnaby Haggerston were at this school shortly before its closure, and were accompanied on their travels abroad from 1746 by a tutor, Mr. Fleetwood. As the headmaster of Twyford from 1726 was of the same name it seems likely that he had turned from one form of education to another.⁷⁷ The school was re-opened in 1753 in Hertfordshire, and later became Old Hall Green School. George Silvertop attended between 1793-4. Sedgley Park school was founded in 1762. Thomas Smith, son of John of the Broome, near Lanchester, attended this school before going on to Douai. Another long-lived Catholic school which in all probability received pupils from the north was at Fernyhalgh in Lancashire. Although few northern pupils have been traced to these establishments, there is little doubt that children were sent south to these schools.

Finally there is evidence that Catholics made use of the Protestant endowed schools. There was, of course, no legal barrier to this practice, and the majority of poorer Catholics must have perforce sent their children to these schools for their basic education, unless they were so fortunate as to live near one of the gentry families that housed their own priest and tutor. The £5 left by Laurence Liddell for the education of poor Catholics in 1730 was restricted to the children of Sunderland Bridge.⁷⁸ As no lasting Catholic school is known in that place the money was probably used to assist children who were attending Protestant schools. Even the Catholic gentry can be shown to have occasionally made use of such schools; Charles Radcliffe eventually went to his death in 1745 because he had been recognised by a Mr. Reed of Aydon, who had been at school with him in Corbridge. Such education as Radcliffe had received at Corbridge must have been elementary, as his wider education began at

the age of eleven in Paris. On the other hand Henry Swinburne of Capheaton attended an endowed grammar school, Scorton, before entering Douai. He therefore probably received some 'secondary' education before going to purely Catholic educational establishments.

There were then some facilities for Catholic education in England throughout the eighteenth century; nevertheless the most outstanding feature of Catholic education under the penal laws remained the use of schools and colleges abroad. These were many and varied in their situation and purpose. The most famous were the establishments around Douai. There the Benedictines school, St. Gregory's and Cardinal Allen's college both offered education from the rudiments upwards at very reasonable cost. The Jesuits maintained a school at St. Omers ⁷⁹ for lay pupils. All of these institutions provided wide courses and trained boys up to university level. Douai college also offered instruction at a higher level for those intending to enter holy orders, but boys intending to join the Jesuit order received further education at Wattignies ⁸⁰ after St. Omers. Many boys from the north of England attended these schools in the eighteenth century, but it is very difficult to give precise figures because of the desire of all concerned for anonymity. The names of over 150 northern students at Douai, St. Omers and its continuation, Liege, are known for the period. This should be multiplied by something like two and a half to reach a fair estimate of the actual number going. The majority of these boys and those that attended less popular Catholic schools abroad were from the gentry. Although the fees were not exorbitant the cost of travel overseas on top of a school fee in the region of £20-£25 p.a. put this form of education outside the reach of all but the gentry or students they might sponsor.

The education which the boys received at these schools was similar in syllabus to that offered by academies and modernised grammar schools

in England. In Douai College instruction was centred around religion and classics, but included writing, arithmetic and geography, as well as the essential study of French.⁸¹ The courtly accomplishments of music,⁸² dancing and fencing were also taught. It was possible at this school to qualify for financial assistance from the college if the boy entered as a Church student.⁸³ At St. Omers and Liege the school prospectus of 1750 offered roughly the same course.⁸⁴ Theological students might continue to the end of their studies at Douai, or transfer to other English colleges abroad. As far as northern students were concerned the most popular of these were Rome, Lisbon, Bornhem, Valladolid and Paris.⁸⁵ They were however much less used than Douai; only 42 students in all are known to have entered them from the north in the eighteenth century. Further all students who entered these colleges were in their middle teens on entry, or even older; at least as far as the north is concerned the, these colleges were restricted to the completion of theological studies.⁸⁶

The main function of these colleges, and of Douai, was the training of a priesthood for England; this had been the purpose of their foundation. The education of the lay pupils remained a minor part of their work to the end.⁸⁷ There were however colleges which specialised in teaching English boys who did not intend to enter orders. The cost of education in these academies, and indeed for lay pupils anywhere on the continent, was considerably higher than that of the theological students. Sir Edward Swinburne of Capheaton sent his younger sons, John and Edward, to St. Omers. When they left in August 1779 their bill for the previous six months came to £73.0s.10d., although they were paying only £35 p.a. fees, and indeed in this particular bill owed only two months fees.. The rest went on extra tuition in the accomplishments,⁸⁸ clothing and pocket money. Three years later Edward had completed

his basic studies and was about to consider his career; his father was advised by a Mr. Cowley from Paris.

"You tell me that he proposes applying himself to the Law. If this is the place of life he intends to pursue I am inclined to think that a year's study of Rhetoric at Paris might be of great service to him.... The plan which our professors go upon is more extensive than that which is adopted at Liege, at least it must be far better calculated to support a knowledge of French literature, which ought to be one great object your son must have in view during his stay here. If he has a natural taste for polite learning he will revise with pleasure the Latin authors he has already seen at Liege.... The college I would recommend is either Plessis or Lixieux... Abbe Durend has received Mrs. Swinburne's letter and has wrote to me about your younger son. He gives the preference to a private person and recommends Mr. Jon in our street ... I confess I don't much approve of private pensions unless a young gentleman has a proper preceptor to attend him about his studies. The only thing your son would learn here is a little ... of the French language, without any of its beauties ... Little notice will be taken of what he learns, provided his pension be duly paid, and expences may well amount to near £100 p.a. I dare say little or no attention will be paid to the Latin and Greek authors .. Mr. Biddulph was indeed at Mr. Jon's for a year, but his chief object was Musick which cannot be properly learnt in a college."

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This letter illustrates a considerable system of education available to Catholics on the continent. The correspondence of another northern Catholic shows that these facilities were being used to the full by the English.

William Thomas, son of William Salvin, was educated abroad from 1780 when he was thirteen, onwards. The correspondence between his parents and their continental agent, G. Walker, provides much light on

the lesser academies which received English pupils. After five years at Liege academy his parents began to consider further education. Walker advised that:

"... a gentleman depends very much on his first setting out. There is an academy for young gentlemen at Paris, but Paris is a very dangerous place for young people; there is also another at Angers which has had considerable reputation formerly, but it is full of English, and on enquiry I have been told that several very bad subjects have of late come from that place; there is another academy at Caen in Normandy, but I do not hear so favourable an account of it as of Angers, there are many English also there, as indeed everywhere. As for what you mention of getting anyone to have an eye upon him, I can assure you from long experience that it will be to no purpose, unless he be allways (sic) with him, I know of no other academy in France of any considerable reputation I must here add that a young man will be in great danger in any academy without a tutor, with a proper one I think the best place in France would be Angers."

At the beginning of 1787 the boy went to Paris, where he came under a private tutor. The deficiencies of his training then became apparent. Walker commented:

"... I fear that he has profited very little hitherto in any kind of improvement, Latin must, I believe, be out of the question, for he owned to me that he had lost his time while he ought to have acquired it. I have done all I can to persuade him to use all his endeavours to make up for so great a loss by applying himself to French literature, history, etc."

The tutor's fee was £131 p.a. but there were many additional charges, including fees for specialist teachers. The bill for the first quarter of the year was over £1300.⁹² Despite an illness, which the tone of Walker's letter suggests might have been brought on by a disinclination to work, Williams was about to start on a course of experimental philosophy in June of that year.⁹³ Although in this case the pupil may not have been fully capable of making use of the opportunities there was clearly a broad system of education in being for English boys in France and the Low Countries.

These facilities were not a novelty of the end of the eighteenth century. They were available throughout the century. Successive generations of Haggerstons were educated abroad. Carnaby Haggerston went to the continent at the age of thirteen in May 1711 with his tutor, the Jesuit John Thornton. For the next six years he studied in various Catholic seminaries; at Pont-a-Mousson in 1712, at La Fleche for the next four years and finally at Montpellier. He then embarked upon the grand tour, still accompanied by Thornton. They visited Italy, Switzerland, Germany and Holland before returning home in 1720. Carnaby's eldest son, Thomas, received his basic education at St. Omers, but, at the age of seventeen in 1740, he, too, transferred to other academies. He went first to Pontoise with his tutor, Pemberton, and his sisters. As they failed to find a capable master there Haggerston and Pemberton then moved to Poitiers in April 1741, to Angers in the summer of 1742, and finally to Paris. The studies of these finishing years were mainly of a fashionable nature; architecture, painting, dancing, fortification and riding.

During Thomas's travels he was supervised not only by his priest and tutor, Pemberton, but, also, at a distance, by Sir Marmaduke Constable, who reported regularly on the boy's progress to his father.

At the beginning of his travels Constable had outlined the purpose of this form of education. Writing to Sir Cernaby on the 6th July 1740 he commented: "Tommy, if you send him home, you will soon see your error, and will as quickly send him abroad again ... Do not imagine he has any bad qualifications ... No, on the contrary. But tho he has nothing bad, he wants everything good ... The first years (of education) will not cost much. The beginning must be good masters in all the exercises fit for a young gentleman, he that is with him, must above all endeavour to bring him to a love of reading, at least English and French; when he comes to travel and move about the expense will increase..." Once the advice was accepted Sir Marmaduke became more detailed in his suggestions. On the 20th of July he wrote: "Tommy .. to go off for the Loire and there settle for about a year, or to a degree higher the sun, Poitiers. I should choose that place where there are the fewest English. It would be a great discouragement to Tommy to begin his exercises in Company with those far advanced and much under him in age and growth. One year alone and then in company as much as possible..."

Sir Marmaduke continued to watch over the education of Thomas Harrerston for the next five years, and undertook similar offices for the younger brothers in the second half of the decade. His correspondence with their father contains much detailed description of the running of the academies abroad, and mentions others in Brussels, Boulogne and Paris, which took English pupils. ⁹⁴ It illustrates how the continental education of the sons of Catholic gentry was supervised by relations who lived abroad and by members of the religious orders. As with the Harrerstons this education normally culminated in some form of the grand tour, the more conveniently as the boys were already in Europe. Only a very few Catholics are known to have used their time on the continent

to enter a university; Thomas Huddleston, Patrick Widdrington and Barnaby Haggerston became alumni of Padua, the latter entering in 1719 in the same year as Philip Wharton. Albert Silvertop and William Archdeacon attended Leyden university, the first, disastrously, in 1733, the second in 1784, and one Catholic, Henry Huddleston of Durham, attended Utrecht, where he took his M.D. in 1711. These, with Henry Swinburne who entered the Royal Academy at Turin, are the meagre few northern Catholics who can be traced in the universities of the continent. In view of the large numbers of Catholics from England which the evidence indicates were educated at least partially abroad this is a very short list. Others could probably be traced by examination of the relevant alumni lists.

The education of Catholic girls followed a similar pattern to that of the boys. The very sparsity of educational data in this area suggests that most girls were educated at home. There was a permanent girls' school in the north of England for Catholics, at the York Bar Convent. There were popular schools on the continent, the Blue Nuns' school in Paris, that of the English canonesses of the Holy Spelchre at Liège, and other in Pontoise, Bruges, Gravelines, Brussels, Montargis, Cambrai and Louvain. The letters which have provided an outline of the facilities for boys' education abroad also cover that of girls. The studies undertaken were apparently very similar to those taught in private girls' schools in England; Nelly Swinburne was learning to dance, read Latin and study geography in 1757. Perhaps the most surprising feature of this complex system of education for English children of both sexes on the continent is the general willingness of the upper class parents to be parted from their sons and daughters. Martha Swinburne entered the school of the Blue Nuns at Paris on the 30th of May 1774. She was then at the advanced age of 5½ years. She moved to Bordeaux in 1775 and died at Rome in 1778. This is an extreme example of the acceptance of separation which was common to all upper class

parents in England, of any sect, but especially prominent amongst the Catholics as a result of their old legal disabilities.

The entire pattern of Catholic education changed in the last decades of the century. The French Revolution brought the closure of all the schools and colleges on the continent and the re-opening of some of them in England. This has been fully and frequently described, ⁹⁸ and will only be considered here in those aspects which directly concerned the north. However this course of events was accompanied and indeed preceded by changes in England of a more fundamental nature. The Anglican majority in England had at no time attempted to prevent the education of Catholic children, as long as it was carried out by Anglican masters. Indeed at least one attempt had been made in the north to encourage the Catholics to partake in an undenominational school. The Rector of Rothbury, Dr. Thomas Sharp, in the middle of the eighteenth century "maintained at his own expense five, if not more, different schools in the villages The children of Roman Catholics and of all other sects, were equally admitted ... and very strict care was taken not to give any offence to ⁹⁹ them, or their parents, about the difference of religious opinions". Toleration in fact went much further throughout the eighteenth century; no Catholic teacher or parent was prosecuted in the north in that period, and the nearest approach to a presentation for unlicensed teaching was in the case of Widdrington Bourne. Yet the evidence shows that there were Catholic schools, and further that the Anglican authorities were aware of them. Except in the political crises of 1688, 1715 and 1745 there seems to have been no action taken against Catholics in the north by either the authorities or the general public. This toleration was however of negative kind; the visitation survey carried out by the Bishop of Durham in 1793 indicates the development of a new phase in the acceptance of Catholics.

Between the survey of 1767 and the visitation of 1793 there is very little evidence of Catholic schools. Peter Newby opened the only such school to be traced in the north-west at Burton-in-Kendal in 1773, but it only lasted there for two years. It is known that Tudhoe academy was in operation well before 1793. These are the only traces of new Catholic schools until the 1793 visitation reveals eight Catholic schools in the north-east.

A summary of the extracts which refer to Catholic schools illustrates the wider toleration that had developed.

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| Ellingham | A Popish school kept by a woman, The squire, Haggerston, a papist. |
| Ryton | Two popish schools are taught by women. Protestant schildren are admitted. |
| Durham | |
| St.Mary's in the south | A French popish schoolmaster has some protestants boarding with him. |
| Warden | A school taught by a reputed papist at Haydon. Protestant children are admitted. |
| Brancepeth | The papists have a school at Tudhoe. Protestants are not admitted. |
| Morpeth | A school for young girls kept by two papists; protestants are admitted. |
| Billingham | A school kept by a reputed papist. It is aided by the Dean and Chapter with £4 p.a. Nor does he have a licence or bring the children to church. |
| Whittingham | A popish school in which are one or two protestants, who are taught our Catechism. |

The new feature revealed by this visitation is the acceptance by the Anglican authorities that Catholics could not only teach, but also teach Protestants. The penal laws as interpreted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in theory harsh, but in practice defensive. They were used in the same spirit as the founders of the S.P.C.K. acted; to prevent the spread of Catholic doctrine through education. Although the wording of the laws bespoke an interest in the schooling of the sons and daughters of Catholics, persecution in this active manner had ceased by the eighteenth century. The concern felt by the Rev. Sharpe over the teaching of Widdrington Bourne was related to his training of Protestant children rather than his mere employment as a schoolmaster. By 1793 it was clearly acceptable to many people that a Catholic teacher could take Protestant pupils. This change of attitude, combined with the enforced return of the schools and colleges to England in the 1790s, fostered the growth of a Catholic school system in England.

The Roman Catholics continued to display educational enterprise in the north to the end of the century. A Catholic school was endowed at Esh in County Durham about 1795-6. Refugees from the continent set up two schools. The Poor Clares from Rouen advertised a school at Haggerston Castle near Belford in the Laity's Directory of 1797. They announced that they would teach young ladies and that they 'have taken the neighbouring poor children gratis'. Although not clearly stated this too probably meant undenominational entrance. The Directory also carried the announcement of the opening of a school in St. Helen's Auckland by the Teresans from Lier in 1800.

The most important development in the north in the last decade of the eighteenth century was the survival of the Catholic academy at Tudhoe, and the growth around it of Crook Hall. The academy was opened in 1788 by Rev. Arthur Storey. He had been encouraged in his project by Sir John Lawson. Although restricted to Catholics the academy was in no sense a theological seminary. Assistants were employed to provide a

a full range of studies for a charge of £22 p.a. Classics, Modern Languages, History, Geography, Military exercises and the accomplishments were taught. ¹⁰⁰ The younger pupils, for the academy accepted boys from the age of eight, were also taught the basics. The high quality of Storey's own teaching, especially of the classics, was later attested to by one of his pupils, Charles Waterton. ¹⁰¹ He went on from this school to Stoneyhurst in 1796, where he was a fellow pupil of at least two other northerners, Thomas Haggerston and William Charlton.

In 1794 Tudhoe academy was very briefly the accommodation for the fugitives from Douai, until they moved on to Crook Hall and then to Ushaw. ¹⁰² The background to these changes has already been fully described. Although these events were of great moment to northern Catholics, and many of them attended before the end of the century, they appertain to the nineteenth century history of Ushaw rather than to the eighteenth century history of the north. Storey continued his academy until 1805 when he retired. It was finally extinguished in 1808; the building then became ¹⁰³ for one year a home to the Poor Clares from Rouen.

The education of the Dissenters and Roman Catholics of the north does not appear to have differed to any great extent from that of their co-religionists in the rest of England. Although it is possible to describe in some detail the institutions established by the minority sects there remains some doubt about the extent to which these groups restricted themselves to their own schools. The dissenters certainly made use of private academies and it is likely that the Catholics did also. Although the latter continued to make use of a separate system of schools until the end of the century, with the return of their schools from Europe in the last decade and the growth of private Catholic academies the dividing lines began to blurr, as those between Dissenting academy and private schools had already done.

NOTES

1. And perhaps even in grammar schools; Ch. III
2. Robson p.67.
3. Mans pp 5-8.
4. See below p. 233.
5. De. Montmorency pp 171-2.
6. See above Ch II pp .38-41 .
7. Ashley-Smith, Chart between pp viii and ix.
8. Nicholson and Axon pp 122-141. Ashley-Smith pp 17-21. McLachlan pp 63-70.
9. There is a list of his pupils in Nicholson and Axon pp 532-612. See also Ashley-Smith p 21 and footnote, MacLachlan o. 70.
10. John in Ashley-Smith p. 106, but James in Nicholson and Axon p.250 and McLachlan p.115.
11. Wilson III pp 133-5, Bogue and Bennett II p. 40, Nightingale II p.1401.
12. Nicholson and Axon p.258. Other dates are suggested as late as 1711, TCHS.
13. It is noted as such in D.H.B. and MacLachlan p.125, but not as such in the catalogue of the graduates in arts.
14. Ashley-Smith p.107, MacLachlan o.126, Nicholson and Axon p.295.
15. Nicholson and Axon p.296.
16. Nicholson and Axon p.303-4 and see below p.233 .
17. This aspect of his career is covered in Ch. X.
18. Ashley-Smith p. 108.
19. Ch. XXVI.
20. Nicholson and Axon pp.320-1.
21. Despite the possible criticism in Walker's letter (Nicholson and Axon pp 324-7). It is just possible that the education referred to was gained at the grammar school in Newcastle. Scientific subjects were taught to the older boys there throughout the eighteenth century, although there is no evidence of it being taught there as a private subject and charged for.
22. Ashley-Smith p. 297.
23. C.7.11.1730.
24. The Monthly Repository, No.LV, suggests about 120 compared with 56 divinity students.

25. Nicholson and Axon p.322.
26. Evidence by inference of this is presented by Nicholson and Axon p.307. Only one course of lectures has however been positively traced.
27. C.20.6.1752.
28. B.M.C.
29. See Appendix IX.
30. C.30.4.1774.
31. The register of William Turner's school supports the view expressed.
32. See below pp.238-9.
33. Stroud pp 17/8, Hubbard p.23
34. Friend's Intelligencer Vol. LVIII p.424.
35. Minutes of Kendal Quarterly Meeting, 3.11.1700, 2.8.1702, 4.5.1712, 4.8.1723, 1.8.1708, 4.2.1700 and 4.11.1722.
36. See John Brunskill, Josiah Forster, William Hutton, Martha Bingley and Thos. Yallowley.
37. See John Bigland, Sara Carlile, Thos. Chambers, John Fearon, Thos. Fletcher, Edward Garment, Jane Meason, Jane Miller, Richard Parker, Elizabeth Pearson, Thos. Rudd and Thos. Rebanks.
38. See John Glenny.
39. However Jopson himself was noted as a classicist.
40. See Ch. VI.
41. Another dissenting schoolmaster, John Lithgow, sent at least one pupil up to Cambridge.
42. Note Appendix II; for example, Sunderland.
43. Their central organisation in Meetings has left considerable records. Also the Anglicans records specify the extremist Quakers, but treat all other sects as dissenters.
44. See John Hodgson and Richard Parker.
45. T.W. Thompson p.77.
46. See Ch. III. There were a few dissenters who entered the English universities, for example Joseph Benson.
47. It is well known that the dissenting academies accepted Anglican pupils. Secker is the prime example. However the theological bent of these academies tended to restrict their number.

48. Robson p.67.
49. The whole course of penal legislation against the Roman Catholics is listed in Beales I p.272-3. See also De.Montmorency Ch. III and V.
50. The relaxation of the Clarendon Code in respect of dissenters which was achieved by Bates' case in 1670 and Cox's case in 1700 did not apply to Catholic schoolmasters. They were still barred from teaching any form of school by the statute of 17 Car II Cap 2.
51. Hushes I p xvi, 3, 23.5, 269, Leys pp 117-8, 120-2 Ch IX.
52. See below p.5 and Hughes op cit. Ward XXIV-VII pp.7-8.
53. Mason has suggested that 4.4 be used as a factor to calculate the number of persons from the families recorded in these returns. However the very returns upon which this estimate is based, those for Rothbury, give a different result for the Catholic population of the parish. In their case the factor is almost exactly 10.
54. Forster. Tshaw Mag. LXXII 1962.
55. Milburn p 90f. The population of Catholics is discussed here pp.89-92
56. Milburn p.91. The expansion may also indicate that the previous decline in numbers has been underestimated T.Holt pp 3-9.
57. The relevant surveys were The House of Lords Returns of Catholics of 1704-5 and 1767, and the ecclesiastical visitations 1735, 1766 and 1793.
58. Hans pp. 20-1.
59. Leys.
60. Chandler's Survey illustrates this. See for example the reference to Kidland and Allenton.
61. See Widdrington Bourne.
62. Berrington, passim, Beales I, Appendix 4 pp 273-4. Sweeney, A.S. Barnes, passim. Ward Ch. IV.
63. Beales' published work so far covers the period up to 1688. Nor does his list of Catholic schoolmasters yet cover the eighteenth century.
64. Foley Vol 3 p.116. Beales 2 p.216.
65. Heyes p. 37., CRS, XL.
66. House of Lords Returns 1704-5; Vincent-Smith I; Mickleton-Spearman MSS Vol 91 No. 41/11.
67. Vincent-Smith I; Mickleton-Spearman MSS Vol. 91 No. 41/6.

68. One Nicholas Sadler was presented f.t.w.l. at St. Giles, Durham in 1704.
69. See Beales I p.272.
70. S.P.C.K. Archives. MSS Wanley. Letter of 19.10.1700. Also ALB Letters of 8.10.1700 and 6.6.1701. Mickleton-Spearman MSS Vol 91 No. 41/12.
71. The 1736 survey of Bishop Chandler mentions no Roman Catholic teachers although it does refer to Catholic chapels and priests, who themselves probably had a part in educational activities. However the material in this survey on Durham, then the most populous county in terms of Catholics, is very sparse.
72. Everingham Park Mss, Beverley. Letter of 9.7.1740, Ref. III 124. Constable mentioned that one of the Jenisons had recently attended the school. The whole correspondence, which will be examined below in more detail, is thoroughly covered in Leys.
73. Heyes.
74. Franklin MSS In Archives of Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle. Vincent-Smith 2.
75. See Thomas and Carnaby Hoggerston.
76. A. Barnes p. 97.
77. Foley vii p. 262. Walter Fleetwood left Twyford in 1732 to become a Jesuit. He was at Everingham Park in 1767.
78. D/Sa/F 116.9. D.R.O.
79. Only until 1762; they then moved to Liege, A.S. Barnes p.62.
80. Sweeney pp 132-6; A.S. Barnes Ch IV and V.
81. A summary of the syllabus is in the Hedley MSS, NRO.
82. Sweeney p. 133.
83. At least one fund was of northern foundation. Nicholas Salvin made a bequest in 1696 for the education of Catholic boys at Lisbon or elsewhere. This was mostly used for Douai. Heyes. Roughly three-quarters of the pupils at Douai College were intended for holy orders. Ward Ch IV.
84. Ushaw Cabinet papers 258c.
85. Of these Bornhem also offered the facilities of a school and the English College at Rome accepted boys into a grammar class at an early age, but at about 14 years. J and R. Jackson and W. Winter.
86. This is not to say that lay students did not visit the colleges and make use of their facilities.
87. St, Omers (Liege) was an exception to this generalisation.

88. ZSW 521. 21.8.1779. N.R.O
89. ZSW 521. 22.8.1782.
90. D/Sa/C 86.1.
91. D/Sa/C 86.2.
92. D/Sa/C 86.6.
93. D/Sa/C 86.8. This boy's education and **its** expense are discussed in detail by Heyes.
94. The MSS (See note 72 above) were copiously used by Leys and Forster.
95. Such an investigation was considered too time consuming to be feasible in the context of the present study.
96. CRS vols viii, x, xiv. Kirk, Leys and Foley.
97. ZSW 521.2.
98. A.S. Barnes Ch VII-XV. Milburn pt 1.
99. Hoare i p 223. Quoted in Vincent-Smith 2.
100. Advertised in the Laity's Directory from 1794-1800.
101. Cosse pp 5.7, 11.
102. Milburn pt 1.
103. Ushaw College Hist. Collection 250.

CHAPTER IX

The Education of Northern Boys outside the area

The preceding chapters were concerned with the educational facilities available in the north of England in the eighteenth century. The evidence put forward therein shows that the quality and, above all, the quantity of these facilities in the north were well above the standards normally accepted as typical of eighteenth century England as a whole. The number of grammar and private schools in this area is quite out of proportion to the rest of the country if present estimates of the national totals of these schools are at all accurate.¹ The education offered in the local endowed schools has been shown to have been generally broader and more 'modern' than that described in surveys of these schools on a national scale.² Scientific and humanistic lectures were offered in the north with a frequency which has yet to be described for any other part of England.³ The number of boys going on to university from the north, although in common with the rest of the country declining in the middle of the century, remained constantly at a rate above the average proportionate to the population of the area.⁴ It remains very difficult in a regional survey of this nature to decide whether the results reflect the variance of an educationally well provided area or underestimates of educational opportunity in eighteenth century England. Whilst other local studies in recent years would seem to support a more generous view of the education provided for English children at this time,⁵ nevertheless the excellence of the schools of the north in that period has been noted.⁶

Some evidence for the true significance of the observed variations is supplied by enumeration of those pupils from the north sent to schools outside the area and examination of the motives behind their

parents' choice of school. If the region was so much better provided with schools of high quality than the rest of the country, then it would appear likely that few parents, even of the upper classes, would have chosen to pay the extra cost to send their children far away from home. On the other hand if it was normal for the richer parents to make use of facilities available elsewhere in England, then the pattern of education in the north was probably less than exceptional and may indeed have lacked features which would appeal to upper class families. In chapter I the examination of the education of D.N.B. men from the north of England revealed that far fewer of them were educated at the great 'public' schools of southern England than Hans's national figures would suggest. In Hans's survey 22% of D.N.B. men went to one or other of the nine leading schools; the corresponding figure for the north was 8%. The major role in the education of the outstanding men of the north was played by the local grammar schools. Even the grammar schools outside the area were found to be almost as important as the public schools, producing 7% of D.N.B. men. However the strictures already applied to the D.N.B. group as an instrument for educational assessment of the eighteenth century limit the significance of these differences.

Study of the wider group of northern worthies reveals that in fact many children were being sent outside the area for some or all of their education. The attraction of southern schools for northern parents did not lessen during the century, despite the growth of private schools and the modernisation of grammar school curricula in the north. Four quite distinct types of school attracted pupils from the north; schools for certain religious minority groups, grammar schools on the fringes of the area, private academies of high reputation, especially those of the metropolis, and the great public schools. The first of these types, the sectarian schools, has already been dealt with; the others, too, must be treated separately as they appealed to different sections of the community, and were made use of for widely varying reasons.

Those boys who were sent to schools in Lancashire and Yorkshire, or to schools in the border counties of Scotland are classed as receiving an expatriate education only because this study has been restricted to the four northern counties of England. They were going no further than many boys did inside the area for their schooling; they received much the same education as was offered in grammar schools all over the north; and

frequently the school they attended was geographically nearer to their home than any grammar school in their own county. Pre-eminent amongst these schools were the grammar schools of Hawkshead and Sedbergh. These

provided most of the D.N.B. men classed as educated in grammar schools outside the area. It is not possible to give the numbers of boys attending these schools from the four northern counties in the eighteenth century with any accuracy, as the records of both are incomplete. There is no

register of the old boys of Hawkshead; the main sources for old pupils of this school are the university entrance registers and lists of donors to

the school library. ⁷ Sedbergh does boast a printed register, but its eighteenth century sections are incomplete; many names are recorded

without further data and some names are omitted. ⁸ Despite these weaknesses in the data available it is possible to draw some useful conclusions from the lists of known pupils of these two schools. Sedbergh register includes

just over one hundred pupils from the north in the eighteenth century; the majority of these entered the school before the 1730s, and although the school did see further northern entries later in the century, especially in the 1750s, it does not seem to have attracted pupils in the later decades

to the same extent as before. Almost all the boys (100 out of 104) known to have gone to Sedbergh from the north went on to university, this in itself suggests that many less successful boys used the school but left no trace of their presence.

TABLE XXII (pp 269-70)

Pupils at Sedbergh who entered from the four northern counties

| Date | <u>County of origin</u> | | | | Total |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------|----------------|-------------|-------|
| | Cumberland | Durham | Northumberland | Westmorland | |
| 1690-1700 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 13 | 22 |
| 1701-1709 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 11 |
| 1710-1720 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 13 |
| 1721-1729 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 18 |
| 1730-1742 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1782-1786 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 1746-1760 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 15 |
| 1761-1770 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 9 |
| 1771-1782 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| 1781-1799 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 7 |

The school register is a compilation of university entrants ~~except~~ in period 1701-1709

| <u>Occupation of parents</u> | |
|------------------------------|----|
| Gentry | 10 |
| Clergy | 15 |
| Merchant | 7 |
| Attorney | 5 |
| Doctor | 2 |
| Official | 4 |
| Teacher | 1 |
| Tradesmen | 16 |
| Husbandman | 9 |
| Unknown | 35 |

The background of these boys sent to Sedbergh was ~~is~~ not different to that of pupils at most of the northern grammar schools; the parents were predominantly tradesmen, husbandmen and lesser clergy, with a sprinkling of the more well-to-do attorneys, merchants, officials and gentry.⁹ This social admixture is very similar to that of the parents of pupils at Carlisle G.S.¹⁰ Their geographical disposition is more surprising; pupils were drawn from all the northern counties, although naturally the majority came from Westmorland, but a large number of them came from towns which already possessed flourishing grammar schools of their own. Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale, Newcastle, Durham, Carlisle and Gateshead provided them 39 alumni; other towns with a prominent grammar school added a further 17. The reputation of the school was clearly high. Its ancient links with St. John's College in Cambridge, evidenced in the eight Lupton scholarships which were restricted to old boys of the school, were an attraction to parents who hoped for a university training for their children. The headmasterships of Postumus Wharton and Samuel Sanders, which covered the period 1674-1741, saw the school at the height of its fame.¹¹ More personal reasons may also have contributed to its popularity amongst northern parents. A number of Sedberghians became schoolmasters in the north and may have spread the repute of the school. It is noteworthy that the seven boys who moved from Newcastle grammar school to Sedbergh during the century were all presumably taught by a Sedberghian, Richard Stewardson, the usher.

The decline in the number of boys proceeding to Sedbergh in the second half of the century is a reflection of the general decline of the school.¹² Its favoured position amongst grammar schools seems to have been taken over by Hawkshead. The existing records of this school from the eighteenth century are so concentrated in the last two decades

that little can be said about the extent of its use by northern boys earlier in the century. The number of university entrants from this school however clearly shows that it was much more attractive to northern parents at the close of the period. Three boys only from the northern counties gave Hawkshead as the place of their education when they entered college between 1700 and 1760, two more in the 1760s, seven in the 1770s, twenty-four in the 1780s and sixteen in the last decade. The lists of donors to the school library make it clear that, as one would expect, the university entrants represent a much larger number of northern boys actually present at the school. In the 1790s apart from the sixteen going on to university at least seventy-eight other pupils came to the school from one or other of the northern counties. The background of these pupils, in those relatively few cases in which it can be established from the school and university records, seems very similar to that of the pupils at Sedbergh; there is a predominance of small landowners, professional men and tradesmen amongst the parents; large numbers came from towns which already possessed a flourishing grammar school, notably Kendal, Penrith, Carlisle and Whitehaven.¹³ Sons of the nobility are noticeably absent from the school lists. The superior regard in which Hawkshead and previously Sedbergh were held, in comparison to the local grammar schools, is illustrated by the frequency with which boys were transferred from the latter to these schools. The schools of Carlisle, St. Bee's, Bampton, Houghton-le-Spring, Newcastle, Heversham, Kendal, Penrith and Kirkby Lonsdale sent 26 boys on to one of these two schools; only 9 left Hawkshead or Sedbergh to return to a local grammar school.¹⁴

The intake of these two schools has been dealt with in some detail because the boys concerned appear typical of the kind of pupils sent from the north to many other grammar schools in the adjoining

counties in the eighteenth century. No other school approached Hawkshead or Sedbergh in the number of its northern entrants, Richmond G.S. with 12 known pupils and Scorton G.S. with 11 being the next most frequently used, but a total of 77 boys are known to have made use of neighbouring grammar schools.¹⁵ As a group these boys share much the same social background as those at Sedbergh. Included as neighbouring schools are six Dublin schools which educated English boys who later entered Trinity College, Dublin; the regular trade between the west coast and Dublin made it as convenient a place to board children from Whitehaven as Sedbergh.¹⁶

Whilst there were many boys who went to this group of schools because they themselves lived on the borders of the northern counties and were closer to these grammar schools than those of their own county, there were many who could more conveniently have used local schools. The motives of their parents in choosing a more distant school were very varied. Part of the reason for the removal of William Cotesworth from Newcastle to Sedbergh in 1716 seems to have been the change of headmasters at the former school. Certainly Dr. Jurin was still held in great esteem by members of the family years after his resignation from Newcastle. In 1718 the eldest son William recommended his brother Robert to seek him out during his stay in London.¹⁷ Another motive for this transfer was that a cousin, also William, had already been educated at Sedbergh, and gone on from there to university in 1712.¹⁸ A quarrel between the Stanley family and the headmaster of Hawkshead, Rev. William Taylor, produced a wholesale transfer of children from that school to St. Bee's in 1786, as the Senhouses, Raincocks, and other families close to the Stanleys followed their example.¹⁹

Personal conflict could bring about changes in choice of schools; so too could parental despair. An anonymous teacher criticised parents

in the Agreeable Miscellany of 1750 for their regular habit of moving dull children from school to school in search of improvement. He claimed that this tended to make the children less capable of achievement rather than vice-versa.²⁰

Closed scholarships to one of the colleges at Oxford or Cambridge were a very real attraction to parents. Although these did exist in the north²¹ a child's chances of a university career could be improved by attendance at schools outside the area. The Rev. Francis Yates writing to his patron Lord Lowther in 1742 noted that:

"I find upon enquiry that my son²² will stand more chances than one for a fellowship if he was to be for some time at Sedbergh Schole and then remove to St. Bee's before he went to University; for then he would have Pretension to Pembroke Hall or St. John's²³ in Cambridge, or to Queen's in Oxford."

The physical operation of this kind of educational advantage is made clear in a letter of the headmaster of Sedbergh, Saunders, to William Cotesworth's brother. Its concern with educational preferment may explain its presence in Cotesworth's MSS, as he too was to send a son up to university from Sedbergh within three years.

June 2d 1712

Sir,

..... and his improvements are such, as (I doubt not) render him capable of being admitted in the university with credit. I would advise your sending him to St. John's in Cambridge, it being a college where he may have the best opportunity of making considerable advancements in learning, of any kind I know, and where it may be in my power to do him some kindness, and shew how ready and glad I shall be to encourage and reward so good behaviour as his, even after he has left me. I design to visit Cambridge myself this Whitsuntide, and if I knew you was resolved on St. John's, I dare say I could

procure some considerable help towards his maintenance there before he goes"²⁴

A parent's decision might also be affected by direct financial consideration. Anthony Askew of Kendal left money and rents for the education of his grandson, Anthony, in 1733. His will stipulated that the boy was to be educated at Lowther or Sedbergh grammar schools, and a codicil of 1737 gave the extra choice of Kendal G.S.²⁵ Generally however the choice of a grammar school outside the north cannot have been made on the grounds of economy, at least in comparison with the alternative of a local grammar school. The additional expenses involved in attendance at distant grammar schools were not simply the costs of travel; Richmond G.S., one of the more favoured of the Yorkshire schools, was already noted for the extra charges made upon 'foreign' scholars²⁶ at the beginning of the century. Compared however with education in the 'public schools' or the private schools of the south, a grammar school education was cheap, even for boarders from distant homes.

Another reason for a boy to leave the north to enter a grammar school was the activity of northern schoolmasters outside the area. Thomas Bowman, headmaster of Hawkshead from 1787 to 1829, came from Askham and had been educated at Bampton G.S. His first assistant, John Docker, was the son of a Bampton yeoman and was probably at Bampton G.S. at the same time as Bowman. The presence of a Westmorland headmaster at Hawkshead must have helped to attract the large number of Westmorland boys who entered the school in the last decade. A similar influx of northern pupils to Merchant Taylor's School, Crosby, may have accompanied the appointment of Rev. Matthew Chester as headmaster in 1788; certainly he made a practice of recruiting his ushers from the district around Morland, where he himself had been baptized. Five such ushers were appointed between 1791 and 1808.²⁷ A yet more striking succession of northern masters occurred at Rugby in the same century.

Although the motives varied the primary reason for the use of these schools, the neighbouring grammar schools, by northern parents seems to have been the currently high reputation of the school chosen. Once a school had achieved success, measured in terms of university entrance, its popularity was ensured for the duration of the headmaster. Richmond G.S. under Temple was of such repute that Hugh Moises, the outstanding master of the century at Newcastle and perhaps in the north as a whole, sent his own son Edward there.²⁸

A quite different kind of school to attract northern pupils²⁹ was the large private academy of the south, and particularly the metropolis. These have been described in detail by Dr. Hans.³⁰ Two of the most important of them had strong northern connections through their masters. Cheam school was run from 1752 to 1780 by William Gilpin, who was born and educated in Cumberland. He was succeeded by his son William in 1780. The father, whose educational practice was perhaps the most original in eighteenth century England,³¹ took a close personal interest in pupils from his native north. This in itself must have been a considerable attraction to parents who were so far from their children. Soho Academy too had a succession of northern masters; Cuthbert Barwis was co-owner from the 1740s and was succeeded by his nephew, John Barwis. In 1800 another northerner, William Whitelock, became master of the same academy. It seems likely that the other masters of the academy in the second half of the century, the two Barrows were also from the north; one at least came from Sedbergh.³² Despite these strong northern connections only a few northern boys are definitely known to have been educated at these schools. The lack of registers from the period makes it impossible to judge how truly the known entrants represent the actual entries, numerically or socially. The same difficulty is met with other kinds of school, including grammar schools and the great public schools. Very few grammar schools have accurate records of their pupils for the eighteenth century; in the

north itself only Carlisle G.S. even approaches such comprehensive coverage. The 'public' schools have only marginally better records, and the private academies left even less records. Such estimates as follow are therefore based on so small a number of boys that, at best, they can only be the roughest of guesses.

The entrance registers of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge throughout the century show clearly that some northern boys were being educated privately in the south. Hackney and Kensington academies appear to have been the most popular choices; the former certainly was the best known academy in the country in the century.³³ However in all only 13 boys are known to have gone there from the north between 1700 and 1800, and only 5 to Kensington. The total of pupils from northern England known to be educated in academies or private classical schools in the south is but 40. Undoubtedly this total discounts many boys who failed to go on to university, but the paucity of names suggests that entrance to these schools from the north was somewhat limited, as the physical problems of attendance would in any case lead one to expect. The social background of the known pupils suggests that the appeal of these schools was narrow. This may explain their relatively small number of northern entrants.

Almost all of the forty are sons of the richer gentry; some of the Gilpin family attended Cheam, due, no doubt, to the presence of William as its master; a gamekeeper, Robert Molesworth, sent his son on from Carlisle G.S. to Kensington in 1783; Captain Rees of Northumberland also found the means to afford this education for his son in the 1780s. Otherwise the known pupils come from the richest families, apart from the nobility, in the north. The names read as a roll of northern honour; Brandling, Ord, Ellison, Grey, Forster, Stanley, Carr, Eden, Bowes, Blakeney and Liddell. The cost involved is one immediate cause of the restriction of this form of education to the upper classes. Gilpin's charges at Cheam, and the cost of living away from home, made the average

yearly cost of George Stanley's education there about £50. This was similar to the costs at other academies in the south, and higher than the charges involved in private education in the north in the mid-century.³⁴

The motives which brought this group of parents to favour education in the south are fairly clear, although rarely stated. These academies provided, from the beginning of the century, a width of course which was not to be available in the north until later in the century.³⁵ The numbers involved are so small as to make it only worth recording, without comment, that over half of the pupils referred to were educated in the south before 1740. The geographical separation of home and school, parent and son, was often far less than it would have been for lower classes, as most of the families mentioned maintained a London house, had relatives in the metropolis or were so involved with business in London, the inns of court, or Parliament that the child was as much at home in the south of England as in the north. The commercial importance of the capital brought provincial parents to apprentice their younger sons to London firms, and sometimes the boy's schooling might continue the while. Robert Ellison was thus sent to Fuller's academy, when he entered his apprenticeship in 1754.³⁶ The modern curriculum and convenience of these academies were powerful inducements to wealthy parents, who thereby gave their children a fashionable education in a peer group,³⁷ but one that was much cheaper than that at a public school. The other arguments against a public school education in the eighteenth century are well-known, and were very fairly stated by Gilpin himself.³⁸

Nevertheless far more use was made of the public schools than of private academies. Hans's survey of the D.N.B. men shows the great part played in the education of the upper classes by these schools, and in particular by Eton and Westminster. Whilst these schools did not play so important a part in the upbringing of northern D.N.B. men their role was still significant. This conclusion is borne out by

TABLE XXIII (pp 277-9)

Northern entrants to Eton and Westminster

| | <u>Date</u> | <u>Later at Oxford</u> | <u>Later at Cambridge</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-----------------|-------------|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| I. Eton | 1690-1700 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | 1701-1710 | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| | 1711-1720 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | 1721-1730 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| | 1731-1740 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | 1741-1750 | 2 | 4 | 7 |
| | 1751-1760 | 0 | 6 | 14 |
| | 1761-1770 | 6 | 12 | 21 |
| | 1771-1780 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| | 1781-1790 | 2 | 10 | 16 |
| 1791-1800 | 3 | 10 | 18 | |
| II. Westminster | -1700 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | -1710 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| | -1720 | 2 | 6 | 10 |
| | -1730 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| | -1740 | 3 | 3 | 9 |
| | -1750 | 3 | 3 | 11 |
| | -1760 | 2 | 2 | 8 |
| | -1770 | 5 | 0 | 8 |
| | -1780 | 4 | 4 | 9 |
| | -1790 | 6 | 2 | 11 |
| -1800 | 6 | 1 | 9 | |

examination of a larger northern group. Eton and Westminster alone are known to have educated 177 pupils from the north in the eighteenth century. The actual number of boys sent to the great schools was probably in the region of 500. if Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby and Winchester are added. The absence of detailed registers again makes it impossible to do more than estimate. Harrow and Rugby have full lists of their alumni, with sufficient biographical material to identify almost all pupils; Charterhouse, however, has no printed register of its day boys from the period. An unpublished list on this class of boys from 1760 onwards makes it clear that a considerable number of northern boys did attend the school.³⁹ Winchester presents a greater problem; its records preserve only the surname of the eighteenth century alumni. These include many names which are suspiciously familiar. Blakiston, Brougham, Burdon, Calverley, Conyers, Eden, Fenwick, Lamplugh, Ogle, Pennington, Raincock, Ridley, Senhouse, Tempest and Trevelyan are a few of the more obvious ones. However only 11 boys have definitely been identified as going to that school from the north. This is clearly a gross underestimate of the school's importance, as it may have been as much patronised by northern parents as Eton. The records of the latter school, too, lack the biographical material necessary to identify many of its eighteenth century pupils. Within the limitations imposed by this lack of data it is possible to make some generalisations about entry to the public schools from the north of England in this period.

The amount of entries to Eton and Westminster slowly increase during the century,⁴⁰ although the increase is less marked in the case of Westminster. The rolls of Winchester suggest that entries to that school follow a similar pattern. The entrants to Harrow and Rugby however are concentrated in the last thirty years, an indication of the late development of the boarding school reputation of these schools.⁴¹

The increase at Rugby may also be a result of a succession of northern masters at that school from the middle of the century. The appeal of these schools as a preparation for university and as a training ground for life was made almost exclusively to the gentry and aristocracy.⁴² The clergy and professional classes did send children to Eton but they were few in number compared with the sons of landowners. The high social status of the pupils at Eton was at once dictated by the cost of education there.⁴³ Mildred Stanley doubled the expence of educating her son by moving him from Cheam to Eton.

Although certain of the wealthy families made regular use of the great public schools it would be wrong to see this as a criticism of the facilities offered by the local grammar schools. Many of the boys later to attend Eton or Westminster had previously been educated at a northern grammar school. As previous evidence has suggested⁴⁴ the mobility of education was considerable in the eighteenth century. The practice of an individual family is as good a guide to educational choice as the fallible records of school attendance. The various forms of education preferred by the parents of the Cotesworth, Ellison, Stanley, Senhouse and Chaytor family have already been described in print.⁴⁵ Other families exhibit the same diversity of choice. The Allgoods of Nunwich and Beamish normally went to local grammar schools, but Sir Lancelot, who had himself probably been educated at Durham school, sent one of his sons to Eton in 1753. It was an unfortunate choice; the boy was drowned in 1756. The Bigge family of Benton traditionally went to Westminster, but some at least were pupils at Newcastle grammar school beforehand. This pattern is repeated in many gentle families in the north.⁴⁶ It was the very richest who tended to have their only formal education at a public school; the Percies and Delavals made no use of grammar or private schools.

It is apparent from the number of boys sent out of the area for their schooling that forms of education existed outside which were not available in the north. However the very classes which made use of these schools also, with a very few exceptions, sent their sons to local grammar schools. Apart from those parents who sent children to peripheral grammar schools, only the well-to-do were able to afford the high costs of private schools in the south, let alone the public schools which were more costly still. There appears to be very little evidence of an increase in the use of the public schools by northern families,⁴⁷ and none at all of such an increase in the use of private metropolitan schools. This conservatism in educational usage may in part reflect the high quality of local educational provision

NOTES

1. See Ch IVpp 94-5, Ch VI pp. 181-2.
2. See Ch IVpp 110-120.
3. See Ch.X pp²⁸⁷⁻³⁰ Lecturing in the Manchester area has been described by Musson and Robinson, but their emphasis was on the last thirty years of the century.
4. See ChII Ipp 62-64.
5. Simon; Wynne; Harding; Robson; Sanderson.
6. Dobbs. P. 61 et alia.
7. T.W. Thompson; appendices II and III.
8. Many of the entrants of the first decade of the eighteenth century are recorded as a name only. Omitted entrants may be found in appendix I under Troghear, Bright and Craster. For much of the century the register is in fact a list of the pupils that went on to university.
9. See table XXII.
10. Ch.IV pp128-9. Another comparison may be made with the lists of pupils at Penrith G.S. Some of these are analysed in J. Jackson but omitted there were the lists of 1788-1790.CRO.
11. Table XXII.
12. Table XXII.
13. Whitehaven is included in this list because of the proximity of St. Bee's.
14. A number of these left because of a personal quarrel. See below pp 272 .
15. Apart from those already mentioned the following schools are known to have taken at least one northern pupil in the eighteenth century: Clitheroe, Kirkleavington, Guisborough, Sherburne, Urswick, Hartforth, Ripon, Catterick, Sheffield, Wakefield, Giggleswick, Beverley, Kirkleatham, Kirkby Ravensworth, Manchester, Crosby, Thornton, Leeds, Wycliffe, Linton, Threshfield, Oakham, Broughton-in Furness and Yarm. This list does not include very distant grammar schools or public schools.
16. Hughes 44 p. 188.
17. Letter of William Cotesworth to his brother Robert 11.2.1717/8. D/Cotesworth, Ch/7/16. Jurin was related to the family. Hughes 1 p. 99.
18. The motives are discussed by Hughes 1 pp 342-3.

19. The quarrel was the cause of the removals rather than just the change of master on Taylor's death. Hughes 4 pp 297-8. See also T.W. Thompson pp 337-8.
20. The Agreeable Miscellany 27.4.1750.
21. See appendix IV.
22. Probably Lowther Yates, who entered St. Catherine's Cambridge in 1746/7.
23. D/Lons, W.Letters 44. See also Harding pp 67-8.
24. Cotesworth MS C.G.1/32.
25. Farrer pp 126-7.
26. Hughes 1 p342 and Wenham pp 38-9.
27. Ex info. H.M. Luft. There is no register of the school for the eighteenth century.
28. It is noteworthy that even here personal influence may have played a part. One of the ushers at Newcastle, John King, had been educated at Richmond. He was on the staff at Newcastle at the time when Moises would have been considering his son's education.
29. There were a number of boys who went from the north to schools elsewhere in the British Isles. The majority of these, who total under forty, left the area because their parents made a permanent move. The small number involved, and the wide scatter of the schools to which the boys moved allays any suspicion of a trend to use more distant grammar schools. Just as many boys came to the north and were educated in northern schools.
30. Hans pp 63-135.
31. See appendix VIII and the works referred to there.
32. Hans pp 90-2.
33. Hans p. 70.
34. Appendix VIII; Hans pp 78, 89; table XVII.
35. At least the present study has not revealed such facilities in the north at that time. However the reservations with which this conclusion must be taken have already been emphasised in Ch. VI.
36. Ellison MSS; letters of 3.9.1734.
37. One of the reasons put forward for the growth in popularity of the public schools has been the increasing disinclination of the gentry to send their sons to the grammar schools where they would have to mix with their social inferiors. There is no positive evidence to support this suggestion in the material from the north of England. Mingay pp131-5;

Spufforth p 247

38. Appendix VIII.
39. Typescript by R.L. Arrowsmith.
40. See table XXIII.
41. Mack pp 17-8.
42. Appendix VIII; Mack p 17.
43. Hollis pp 146-7; Mack pp 10, 20-1.
44. Ch II pt 2.
45. Hughes 1 and 4; Appendix VIII.
46. See John and Ralph Carr, Richard Cuthbert, the Ridley family, George Rook et alia.
47. Only the Harrow and Rugby registers indicate a late increase in the number of pupils from the north. Eton's figures fluctuate, whilst those of entries to Westminster are steady through the century. The slight increase in total of all the boys going on to public schools reflects only the growth in population of the period.

Adult Education

In the eighteenth century full-time education ended for all but a small minority when they left school. At most something like three thousand boys went on to university from the north in that period, from a population which must have approached two million during the century.¹ The rest entered employment. It would be erroneous however to conclude that education ceased at that moment; clearly every working adult had also to learn the skills of his trade, no matter how humble.

Apprenticeship still carried connotations of education even if the system had generally fallen into abuse by the eighteenth century.

Certain occupations which would now be classed as professions were entered via apprenticeship; medicine, especially the branch associated with surgery, the fine arts and the law culled most of their practitioners in this way.² Vocational learning of this kind is an inevitable accompaniment of the differentiation of labour necessary for civilised society. During the eighteenth century it became possible to supplement the practical training provided at work by attending evening classes and lectures. The development of these facilities, which were avowedly intended for those in the early years of their trade, can be traced in the north from the very beginning of the century.

These strictly vocational classes and courses were part of a much wider movement of public education which has, as yet, been hardly comprehended. Scientific lecturing was so widespread as to be almost commonplace in the eighteenth century. The importance of private lecturers has been greatly underestimated for many reasons, particularly the sheer lack of evidence of their activities. The vital part played by these men, not only in the dissemination of scientific knowledge and technology, but also in the general education of the working population

has hardly been realised. They were undoubtedly amongst the more important of the accelerating forces responsible for England's industrial revolution.

Evening classes and lectures attracted a wide range of people; there were modes of education however which were restricted to the wealthier classes. The accepted course for the upper classes continued to be a grand tour of western Europe, although the practice of attending the Inns of Court seems to have been moribund by the beginning of the century. The northern aristocracy and richer gentry continued to send their sons abroad for a final polish until the outbreak of the French Revolution.

Formal education was then available for those that sought it, provided they were not of the very poor. It is not remarkable that men like Charles Hutton and George Stephenson could find instructors who would enable them to compensate for their lack of school education. There were many teachers eager to offer evening instruction in this period. However it was also the eighteenth century which saw the greatest advances in informal education. A considerable expansion in book publication was reflected in the growth of book clubs and various types of private and public library. Above all the development of the newspaper provided the printed word, urgently and immediately in front of the public. It is not possible to measure the educational impact of the increasing proliferation of newspapers in London and the provinces; in that it provided a stimulus towards literacy and a means to practise reading, the influence of the nascent press must have been of great importance.

The widespread demand for the printed word at economical rates was one of the motives for the movement towards institutionalisation, which also began in the eighteenth century. The Newcastle Literary

and Philosophical Society had as one of its objectives the provision of an ample library for its members. The eventual success of such bodies, which had faltered somewhat in the north earlier in the century, was to change the character of adult education.

The relevance of all these developments in adult education to the economic changes occurring in England at the end of the eighteenth century is only beginning to be appreciated. The connection was perhaps more clearly seen by contemporaries; in May 1802 Thomas Bigge, a vice-president of the Literary and Philosophical Society proposed the institution of regular lectures on science. In his address to the Society he made it clear what benefits he expected to accrue from such a move. He stated, "We are placed here at a considerable distance from any part of the Kingdom where experimental philosophy is systematically taught. The Scotch universities are least remote; yet to them it is evidently impossible for a great majority of those persons to resort who wish to acquire a knowledge of the science most applicable to the various concerns of life. When we consider the expense of long journies, and of residence at these places, and the inconvenience of absences to persons who have a daily employment, it will appear that the miner, the mechanic, the manufacturer and the agriculturalist, can rarely hope to participate in the advantages of experimental science unless they reside in the neighbourhood of a philosophical establishment." The importance of the facilities for adult education can perhaps be best established by a detailed description of such provision in the north, because it is the very quantity of lectures, classes and libraries that proves the extent of public interest

Public Lectures

Itinerant lecturing was perhaps the most important aspect of the growth of adult education in the eighteenth century, but it has been also the most neglected. Hans outlined the main figures in the movement, particularly around London and more recent studies have provided

information about individual lecturers.⁵ Lecturing in the areas of Manchester and Birmingham was examined by Musson and Robinson but their interests were concentrated in the latter half of the century. The pattern in Scotland has been outlined but the existence of public lectures sponsored by the universities in the northern kingdom made the Scottish picture atypical.⁶ No attempt has yet been made to analyse the growth and decline of itinerant lecturing⁷ in general nor have any of the studies mentioned given much indication of the large number of men involved. For this reason the story of lecturing in the north of England is worth presenting in some detail, before any attempt is made to analyse its components.

James Jurin, the first known lecturer in the north, was appointed Headmaster of Newcastle Free Grammar School on the 23rd of January 1710, and remained there until 1715. He was the son of a dyer of London and had been educated at Christ's Hospital and Trinity College, Cambridge where he took his B.A. in 1705/6. Prior to his appointment at Newcastle he entered Leyden University in 1709 as a medical student but did not take a degree from that university.

Shortly after Jurin's arrival in Newcastle the first successful⁸ newspaper in this area, the Newcastle Courant, was printed by John White in 1711. On the 1st of October in that year Jurin advertised in the Courant. "Young gentlemen or others desirous to learn any part of the mathematics may be privately taught by James Jurin For the information of such persons as may be willing to learn but apprehend that they cannot spare time he gives notice that he will read, as is practised in London, only three days in the week and one hour in the day. And as he is to begin a course in Geometry within 10 or 14 days " This course was fully subscribed in a short space of time. In less than two months Jurin was again advertising in the Courant;

"Being desired to begin a second course of Geometry, which is all my business will permit me to engage in, till the first be finished; such young gentlement, or others as care to make use of this opportunity are desired not to be too late in giving notice" This course of instruction continued to be popular; in March 1712 Jurin offered "a course of Specious Arithmetick, or Algebra ... to be continued three days in the week, an hour at a time"⁹ This course was held, as presumably were the others, in the School House in Westgate.

Jurin followed up these successful and obviously profitable courses with a far more ambitious proposal. This was for a course of lectures on Mechanics.

"Whereas the Knowledge of Mechaniks may be generally useful to all sorts of Persons, but especially to Gentlemen concerned in Colleries and Lead-Mines; by enabling them to examine and improve the Engines and Methods, commonly used for drawing their Coals and Lead Ore, and clearing their Pits of Water; As Likewise, to form a certain Judgement of any new Contrivance, invented by themselves and others for those services, which will prevent their being imposed upon by Pretenders to Perpetual Movements, and other vain and deceitful Projects; It is hoped that the following proposals, for an evident and publick Good, will meet with suitable Encouragement, from a Country, to which a design of this Nature may be of greater Service, than to any other Part of the Kingdom.

PROPOSALS

For carrying on by Subscription A Compleat Course of Mechaniks. By which Gentlemen, unacquainted with any Part of the Mathematicks, in the Space of twelve or eighteen Months, by meeting three times a Week for an Hour at a time, may be enabled to compute the Effect of any Machine whatsoever, or to solve any others Problems of the like Nature.

That the Course will consist of

1. So much of the Principles of Geometry, Arithmetick and Algebra as shall be necessary for this undertaking.
2. The general Laws of Motion, and the Principles of Machanicks deduced frcm them.
3. The Doctrine of Percussion, or the Effects which follow from the Stroke of Bodies upon one another.
4. The Natural Motion of all heavy Bodies.
5. The Motion of Bodies upon inclined Plains.
6. The Theory of all Kinds of Engines simple and compound, with a particular Explication of the Engines used in Collieries, and the method of Examining their Advantages or Defects.
7. Hydrostatics, under which Head will be demonstrated by Experiment; The chief Properties of Water and other Fluids; as, That their Pressures directed not only downward, but sideways, and upwards; That this pressure is always Proportional to the Perpendicular Height of the Fluid; The Method of Calculating the Weight or Pressure of Water against the Banks of Rivers, or Milldams, the Gates of Sluices, Sides of Pips, and other Surfaces, and consequently determining the strength requisite for those Bodies to support the Pressure; The Explication and use of the Hydrostatical Balance, in finding the Specifick or Relative Weights of Bodies, and by this Means discovering the Adulteration, either of solid Substances, as of Money, Jewels, & or of Liquors.
8. Pneumaticks, The Weight and Spring of the Air, it's Rarefaction and Condensation, It's Density and spring demonstrated to encrease in Proportion to the Force that Compresses it. The Air-pump, and Condenser, together with the Barometer, Thermometer, Hygrometer, or the Instruments for measuring the Weight, the Heat, and Moisture or the Air, their Nature and Uses explained.

The Effects of the Air applied to Mechanical Uses in Pumps, Syringes, Siphons, Engines for quenching Fire, &.

9. Hydraulicks, or the Doctrine of Water and other Fluids in Motion

The Method of estimating the Swiftness of Water running in any Canals open or closed, as in Rivers, or Mill-Races, Drifts, Pumps, Conduit Pipes, & with the Quantities of Water that they discharge. A particular Application to the draining of Collieries in determining the Quantity of Water carry'd off by any Engine in a given Time, or the Time requisite for carrying off any Quantity of Water by an Engine given; as likewise the Force to be applyed to any Engine, and the requisite proportion of the several parts of the Machine, for drawing off any Quantity of Water in a certain Time, or for clearing and keeping a Colliery clear of Water. Of the Force of Fluids, as Air, or Water, to carry about the Sails or Wheels of Mills and other Engines, and the best proportion of the Mahines driven by them, or by Horses.

10. Lastly, The Important Theory of the Friction of Rubbing of

Machines, with the Impediment caused by the stiffness of the Ropes, for want of which the greatest Engineers have been disappointed in their undertakings, and the best concerted Machines have been rendered useless. As this has been lately set in a clearer light by the Experiments and Discourses of several Members of the Royal Academy of Sciences at PARIS it will be explained in an easy manner, partly by Experiment, and the Application of it to the Calculation of Machines will be demonstrated.

That the Number of Subscribers do not exceed 10, or 12 at the most, And that after all have subscribed, such proper Hours for their Meeting be agreed on, as may be for their general Convenience.

That every Gentleman intending to be present at the Course, pay upon Subscription 2 Guineas, and afterwards $\frac{1}{2}$ a Guinea a Month.

Which it is hoped, considering the very great Charge of the Apparatus for Experiments, and the Labour of compiling and digesting the Course, cannot but be though highly reasonable, being but half the lowest Rate of Private Teaching Mathematicks in LONDON, tho'without any Experiments.

Gentlmen already Qualify'd with Geometry and Algebra, may Subscribe only to the Mechanical and Experimental part of the course on the same Terms. The Hydrostatical and Pneumatical Experiments alone, may be seen for Two Guineas.

Any other Gentleman, not engaging in the Course, that out of a publick Spirit, shall be pleased to Contribute any thing to the Charge of so useful an Undertaking, shall have his Benefaction thankfully acknowledged and shall at any time be welcome to see what Particular Experiments he Pleases.

SUBSCRIPTIONS will be received by the Undertaker, James Jurin, Master of the Free Grammar School in NEWCASTLE, or by Mr. Jasper Harrison, at his Coffee-House on the Sand-Hill." 10.

The terms of this advertisement indicate that Jurin's decision to offer lectures was made on the experience of his previous private mathematical teaching. The course he offered included that given in 1711-12 but was designed to attract adults in general and commercial interests in particular. His prices were very high; Desaguliers in London was charging $2\frac{1}{2}$ guineas for shorter single subjects courses, but Jurin's monthly addition brings the cost of his course up to at least 8 guineas, if he did complete it in one year. No later lecturer in the north attempted to charge so much, nor indeed did any offer so long lasting a programme. Jurin left Newcastle in 1715 and there is no evidence of the success or otherwise of his proposed lectures, except

that he went on to study medicine at Cambridge, becoming M.D. in 1716, and one local authority claims that the expenses of this year of study came out of the proceeds of his lecturing.¹¹

Jurin's course on mechanics is the earliest known lecture course given in the provinces and very few metropolitan lecturers are known to have anticipated him. However it must be at once pointed out that the evidence for early lecturing is meagre. Hans claimed that lecturing began in London about 1712-3 and that the first in the field was Desaguliers. This view has been shown to neglect lectures delivered in London by the Hauksbees, father and son, in 1712. Lectures had also been delivered in London almost two decades before by George Wilson. His course on chemistry was priced highly at three guineas. It was given in Smithfield in 1694.¹² None of the advertisements for these courses made any claim to great originality as one would have expected if lecturing had not occurred before. It is at once clear that the basis for all estimates of the beginning of this movement is the accidental survival of publicity material. With a very few exceptions that is the only kind of evidence remaining of the lecturing movement throughout the eighteenth century. There are some surviving manuscript notes of lectures; presumably the rough notes used for the actual delivery of the course. Later in the century a few lecturers published their courses in book form.

However the great weight of evidence is from the publicity efforts of the lecturers. This took two forms: broadsheets printed at the expense of the lecturer and presumably distributed ahead of his visit; and advertisements placed in the local newspapers. The broadsheets or hand-bills were necessarily of a most ephemeral nature;¹³ very few of these have survived. Only one hand-bill advertising a lecture in the north of England in the eighteenth century has been discovered. This was issued by one Jonathan Peacock, who was lecturing on Geometry and Geography at Penrith. It was undated and

had spaces for the proposer to fill in his proposed time and place; thus Peacock was presumably an itinerant lecturer. The bill survived amongst the Whelpdale family papers.

The newspaper, if such existed, was probably the preferable medium of publicity. It was less expensive, already had an established network of agents and would be taken by the people likely to be interested in lectures. It was possible to puff one's own lecture course by inserting anonymous letters of a recommendatory nature. This kind of material has survived far better than the hand-bills.¹⁴ As a result the records of visiting lecturers in any area are very closely correlated to the extant newspaper files of that locality. Almost one half of the lecturers active in the north are known only through their advertisements. The actual details of each course, occasion and place of delivery, have rarely survived in any other way. Thus in the north-east where newspapers flourished from about 1710 and consistent runs of issues exist from the 1720s lectures can be traced in most years after 1725; but in the north-west there were no established newspapers until the appearance of the Pacquet in 1774. It is probably a consequence that only five lecturers are known to have been active in that area before 1774, whereas fifteen certainly lectured there between 1774 and 1800. The origins of eighteenth century lecturing probably remain concealed by the lack of evidence.

In the absence of surviving newspapers it is not possible to date the first lectures delivered in the north by John Horsley, but he probably began to lecture shortly after Jurin. The pamphlet he wrote describing his course, "Account of the most necessary and fundamental principles of Statics, Mechanics ...", was certainly printed before 1721,¹⁵ and he had presumably lectured for some time before venturing into print. He continued to lecture in the next decade. He was probably the proposer of a course of "Mechanical, Optical, Hydrostatical and Pneumatical Experiments", which were advertised to be given in Morpeth

in 1725. Horsley was the Presbyterian minister at Morpeth and kept a school there. He certainly lectured both in Morpeth and in Newcastle in 1731-2, just before his death, and those lectures were advertised in very similar terms to that of 1725. The success of Horsley's course is indicated by a revised version of his pamphlet issued by John Booth in 1743. His equipment was purchased, after his death, by Caleb Rotheram for use at the latter's academy and in his lecturing activities.

In September 1722 John Thorold, a mathematics teacher from London, advertised a school he had recently opened in the Close in Newcastle. He also announced "Lectures in hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, mechanics and natural philosophy". It is not clear whether these lectures were public or merely part of his mathematical course in school. In February 1724 he offered public lectures on the same subjects in partnership with Martin Triewald, a Swede. Triewald was an engineer as well as a mathematics teacher, and had been responsible for the installation of the first Newcomen engine in the area. Thorold and Triewald assured prospective attenders that no previous knowledge was needed and appear to have had some success as they continued to lecture in the town. They offered the same course in June 1725, and in October of the same year advertised a course on experimental philosophy. They did not confine their activities to Newcastle. The partners gave their course in Edinburgh in 1725. Triewald returned to Sweden in 1726 and Thorold does not appear to have lectured again, although he remained in the north for some years.

The year 1730 saw the arrival in the north-east of the most prolific of the northern lecturers. Issac Thompson advertised a course in Durham in October; it was the beginning of a long career, during which he was to lecture alone and with partners on a variety of scientific subjects. The Durham course of 1730 was on the subject of natural philosophy, to which Thompson intended to devote twenty lectures. He

advertised it in great detail in the Courant, specifying that experiments would be shown. The cost for the whole course was one guinea. This programme he repeated in Newcastle in June 1731 over 21 lectures, and in the advertisement he mentioned that he was then teaching a 'publick school' at the Side in Newcastle, covering the subjects of Maths, Book-keeping and Writing. This course finished at the end of August, but Thompson was unwilling to allow his apparatus to lie unused and instead proposed "for the entertainment of the fair sex to perform Mechanical experiments at his school in the evenings". In all probability this meant the performance of the experiments from his normal lecture course, without the theoretical part of the course which was judged too difficult or perhaps too dull for light female minds.

In the next year he again offered lectures on natural philosophy at his school in Newcastle, but realising that his potential audience had been cut down by his previous course, he offered cut rates to those who had attended his former course; five shillings instead of the price to new attenders of one guinea. This offer became a common feature in later advertisements of his standard lecture course, although not of course in those lectures tied to a solar event. Shortly after this Thompson entered into his first partnership. An advertisement of his school in the Courant in May 1732 includes George Mark as a teacher at the school on an equal status with Thompson. Mark had been associated with Horsley in Morpeth, may have assisted him in his school in Morpeth and certainly worked with Horsley on cartography. He published a survey of part of Northumberland in 1734 and in 1753 a map of Northumberland, which was prepared by Horsley. Mark's function at Thompson's school may have been to cover new subjects as they offered experimental philosophy and grammar as well as the subjects previously mentioned. Their partnership eventually extended to lecturing. In November 1732 they offered together a lecture on the eclipse of the sun. Thompson

In 1789 John Banks repeated his 1783 tour of the north-west, giving his course on natural philosophy in Kendal, Cockermouth, Whitehaven, Wigton and perhaps also in Carlisle. Moyes returned to the north in 1791 and 1792, lecturing on both occasions in Newcastle on the Philosophy of Natural History. R.E. Lloyd gave a course on astronomy also in Newcastle in 1791. This course was later published.

In the nineties the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle came into being and this body sponsored lectures from its earliest years. These, and the Society, will be described later in this chapter. Apart from this very important development this decade was one of little activity in adult scientific education. A printer and bookseller of Workington, John Richardson gave lecture courses on pneumatics in Workington and Newcastle in 1797, and proposed to offer the same course in Whitehaven, Kendal, Lancaster and Preston. The course was a brief one of three lectures and cost only 5/-. A course on chemistry of 6 lectures was proposed in the Courant in April 1798 by an anonymous lecturer, and this course does seem to have been held in Newcastle at the end of that month. At the very end of the century a mathematical instrument maker, William Bowie, gave a course on natural and experimental philosophy "intended Principally for the instruction of youth". This course was delivered in Newcastle in 1800.

MEDICAL LECTURES

Whilst Jurin and some of his successors in the eighteenth century addressed the advertisement of the lecture course to certain groups in society, the most frequently invited being the mine owners, they did in fact offer lectures on science of interest to the general public. Such strictly vocational lectures as have been traced are restricted to courses aimed at the medical profession.

The earliest medical lecturer was also the most prolific. William Smith studied medicine in London and in Paris. He became M.D. of St.

continued to make use of such natural phenomena as occasions for astronomical lectures during the rest of his career. He lectured again with Mark in Newcastle in June 1734 on a course similar to Jurin's at the usual price of one guinea. The partnership had apparently broken up by March 1735 when the school was again advertised but without mention of Mark, who later moved to Scotland and taught in Dunbar.

The frequency of Thompson's lectures may have affected the response of the public as he does not appear to have delivered any more until September 1735, and then he emphasised in his announcement of the course its particular usefulness to those employed in the coal trade. Indeed he stated that the course itself, a very similar one to that of 1734, would be held because of subscriptions from the coal owners of the river Tyne. This bias was repeated in his advertised course of Experimental philosophy lectures given in December 1736, but he was careful to assure the readers that it would be extended to a general explanation of Nature. He also pointed out that the lectures would co-incide with an eclipse of the sun. These lectures may have exhausted his public's interest for a while as he does not appear to have attempted to repeat his course until 1739; however he was at this time busy with other ventures. In April 1739 he began publication of the 'Newcastle Journal', a successful weekly paper; at the same time he completed a treatise on geography which he published in instalments in his paper and helped in the preparation of a map of the river Wear with M. Burleigh. In July 1739 he advertised a course of Mechanical, Hydrostatical, Pneumatical and Optical lectures with astronomy also to be delivered in August at the usual price of one guinea. This was to be the last year that Thompson was to have a clear field; in 1740, to his evident annoyance, other lecturers entered the area which by now Thompson must have regarded as his own preserve.

There had been other lectures in Newcastle in the 1730s; a Mr. Jack a visiting mathematics teacher, gave 'Publick discourses upon the

speculations (of his pupils) ... especially upon astronomy' in the summer of 1737. This was probably Richard Jack, a maths teacher, who published 'Elements of Conic Sections....' in Edinburgh in 1742, and 'Mathematical Principles of Theology....' in London in 1747. He was also a mathematical instrument maker, and took out a patent for a telescope in 1750. William Bristowe gave a course of evening lectures in the town at the very end of 1739 on the subject of the mathematical side of Architecture; and John Wilson gave his first lecture on botany in 1739. There were lectures too upon non-scientific subjects. Education, religion, trade and society were the themes of a course delivered in Newcastle in 1731.¹⁶ None of these lecturers however covered the same ground as Thompson. In August 1740 the Courant carried an advertisement for a 'Complete course of Astronomy and Geography, with other branches of Natural Philosophy, consisting of fifteen lectures at Durham on Monday 18th, and to be continued three days in the week till finished ... by Mr. Thos. Wright from London, Author of the Physical and Mathematical Elements, of Astronomy, and of the general Doctrine of the Sphere & ... with several experiments upon light and colours, electricity &' ... 'a separate course is intended for the ladies, provided a sufficient number subscribe'. Wright was a well known teacher in London and the north-east and had been teaching in Durham since 1730. Thompson himself offered a course in Stockton-on-Tees in September 1740 on Natural and experimental philosophy with William Elstobb and intended to repeat this in Darlington and in Richmond in the new year if sufficiently subscribed. This course began at Stockton on the ninth of December. Thompson's new partner was probably the William Elstobb who was active as an engineer and surveyor in the Fens from 1744-93.

The partners were faced by direct competition during this series of lectures; a course of natural and experimental philosophy was offered for

Darlington, to begin in December 1740, by David James Dove and John Booth. They further proposed to move on to Stockton as soon as subscriptions were raised. Booth and Dove had already lectured in Newcastle and were equipped with an orrery, previously unknown in the north. The conflict which ensued in 1741 between Thompson and the partners has been described elsewhere.¹⁷ Whatever its result Booth and Dove left the north in that year and Thompson continued to dominate the field for the next decade. He gave a course on astronomy in Newcastle in January 1742 and repeated it in the same place twelve months later. His course by 1743 had dropped to seven shillings and sixpence for new attenders. In January 1743 he also issued 'A Description of the Orrery'.

This publication was from his own press, which he now owned in his own right since the break with his printing partner William Cuthbert in 1742.¹⁸ In February 1743 he offered his course on natural and experimental philosophy at Yarm in Yorkshire for the standard price of one guinea and increased his takings by giving his astronomy course in Stockton, in intervals between his lectures at Yarm. In 1744 he gave his astronomy lectures at the usual price in Darlington in January, and in Durham in June. The public response to his lectures may by this time have been in decline, as he does not seem to have offered any in 1745 or 1746, though he must have been busy for some of this period in the preparation and publication of maps of Northumberland and Cumberland which came out in 1746. In 1747 he offered a new course in Newcastle; a course of electrical experiments, with a lecture on the Solar Microscope. The cost of this series was only five shillings, and to further encourage good attendance he specified that he had recently acquired a lot of new electrical equipment.

This course provides another interesting example of Thompson's opportunism. It was almost certainly inspired by the visit to Newcastle of John Pinchbeck, who had advertised lectures on electricity in January 1747. Pinchbeck had moved on to Scotland by April of that year but his course in Durham and Newcastle had presumably attracted enough interest for Thompson to seek to emulate it. This venture was almost the last made by Thompson for a decade. Apart from one lecture on astronomy on the occasion of a solar eclipse in 1748 and a brief course of three lectures on electricity again in 1754, he abandoned lecturing until his partnership with Robert Harrison in the late 1750s.

Thompson's career illustrates all the more important features of eighteenth century scientific lecturing. Like his predecessor, Jurin, he laid great emphasis upon the vocational aspect of his courses; he made much of the experimental equipment at his disposal, advertising and exhibiting it to the public before the delivery of the lectures. He was the first lecturer in the north to take advantage of astronomical events for short courses, and was quick to seize upon new methods of attracting an audience. This led him to lecture upon a considerable range of scientific subjects. He also appears to have been the first lecturer in the north to visit a circuit of smaller towns. Horsley had indeed lectured in Morpeth but there is no evidence that he had in any sense toured with his course. Thompson's methods set a model for later lecturers in the north; he was the first in the area to realise the advantages of publishing details of his course and of his equipment. His "Description of the Orrery" (1743) and "Short Account of a course of lectures on natural and experimental philosophy" (1757) were both excellent advertisements of his lecture courses and more likely to sell because of this association. His struggles with Booth and Dove illustrates his considerable ability in representing himself favourably

to the public, a product no doubt of his experience in journalism.

He was also typical of eighteenth century lecturers in his religious beliefs; dissenters played a role in this educational activity disproportionate to their number in the country. Even if a number of Scottish lecturers must be discounted because the proximity of northern England to Presbyterian Scotland exaggerated their influence the importance of dissenters is remarkable. Whilst insufficient data makes it impossible to estimate the total of known lecturers in each religious group, the prominent figures of Horsley, Thompson, the Rotherams, Adam Walker, Dalton and Saul were all certainly members of dissenting sects. The lecturers from the continent, Midon and Triewald should probably be added to this list, as should other minor figures such as Burton, who was recommended by Joseph Priestley. Even if there is some doubt about Thompson's own beliefs (his adoption of "Esquire" is hardly Quaker in spirit), he was certainly a dissenter by upbringing and therefore must be included in this group.

Although no one else lectured in the north-east on Thompson's subjects until 1749 there were other lecturers active there. One of these was in fact a protege of Thompson. John Wilson gave regular lectures on botany in Newcastle from 1739. He was born near Kendal probably in 1696, does not appear to have had any formal education, but, whilst working as a shoemaker and later as a baker, studied botany. He may have had some assistance in this from local scholars and in general science from Isaac Thompson whose assistant he became. In Thompson's paper he offered "To the curious of both sexes; that a course of Botany will be begun immediately in Newcastle" He undertook in this course to classify the plants of the neighbourhood. The cost of this lecture course was five shillings. It was offered first in June 1739 and repeated there in 1740, 1742, 1743 and 1749. He was also one of the first known lecturers in the

north-west. He gave his botany lectures in Kendal in 1741. He died in August 1751.

Lectures were also given in Newcastle on geography, although some doubt must exist about their excellence. In March 1743 a course of eight lectures was advertised on Geography to be held at Painter-Heugh on the Side by James Leathead. He ran a school at the foot of Westgate and was willing to allow his former pupils entrance to the course for five shillings; the rest were to pay half a guinea. Whether or not these lectures were successful they were certainly not repeated because, in October 1743, it was discovered that Leathead was the leader of a gang of counterfeiters. His description was circulated, giving his probable age as about 40, but unlike his associates he was not captured, his knowledge of geography perhaps proving useful in his escape!

There were also visiting lecturers from the capital; John Taylor, the oculist to the King, visited Newcastle, Durham, Carlisle, Whitehaven and probably other towns in the north during his tours of England, lecturing on optics and blindness in particular. He is known to have lectured in those towns in 1744, and in Newcastle and Durham in 1748, and he may well have made brief visits in other years. Stephen Triboudet Demainbray, a private pupil of Desaguliers, lectured in the north in 1749; he began a course of 46 lectures on natural and experimental philosophy in Newcastle in April at the reasonable price of 1/- per lecture or 25/- for the whole course; continued the same at Durham in July; and repeated the course in Sunderland in August.

Geography was again the subject of a course of lectures given in Newcastle in 1749 by John Wibbersley. He was a graduate of

Cambridge and had been teaching at the free school in the town since 1742, although he had only recently risen to the post of usher. His course, which was advertised in July of that year, was to include the history of geography, and parallels drawn between historical and modern geography. The lectures cost half a guinea and were given in the free school. It is unlikely that Wibbersley ever repeated this course as he was soon afterwards appointed curate of Lamesley in Durham, and had been replaced at the school by 2.1.1752.

Lecturing on scientific subjects had become a fairly regular occurrence in the north-east, especially in Newcastle, by the middle of the eighteenth century; there is much less evidence of it in the north-west, although the almost complete lack of newspapers as sources in this area until the last quarter of the century may account for this apparent disparity. Caleb Rotheram, who conducted a dissenting academy in Kendal from at the latest 1733 and perhaps earlier until his death in 1752, had purchased Horsley's scientific apparatus. He is known to have lectured in Manchester on natural philosophy in 1743. Although there is no positive evidence that he lectured in the north-west, it seems most likely that he did so. Joseph Sowerby, a teacher in Penrith, announced that he would give lectures on astronomy and geography, together with the use of the Globes in August 1744. His lectures were held in the evenings, but only in the winter season. Sowerby was the son of Jeremiah, a yeoman. He had been born in 1721 at Graystoke in Cumberland. Although he was mainly self-educated he did receive some instruction from Alexander Naughley, the curate of Threlkeld and from George Smith. After teaching and lecturing in Penrith, Sowerby moved to London where he died in 1749.

George Smith who assisted Sowerby in his studies had attended lectures by Desaguliers in London and had taught in Wakefield before he came to the North. In 1741 he settled at Brampton and later moved to Wigton where he read a lecture on a solar eclipse in July 1748. He was well qualified to do so as he had published "A treatise of Comets" in London in 1744 and in 1748 "A dissertation on the general properties of eclipses"

The only other lecturer known to have been active in the north-west at around the middle of the century is Jonathan Peacock. He lectured in Penrith probably in the 1750s or 60s. The only evidence of Peacock's work is a broadsheet recently discovered amongst family documents deposited in the Record Office, Carlisle. This announces to the public that "Jonathan Peacock, Teacher of the Mathematics, intends to hold a course of Lectures on the Doctrine of the Globes, whereby will be explained and demonstrated the first Principles of Geography and Astronomy....." The broadsheet has a date but no year. There is some internal evidence of date. A reference to Chronology in the list of subjects to be covered finishes "according to New Stile". This indicates a date after the alteration in the calendar in England in 1752. Subscriptions were to be handed in to the proposer or to Mr. Corney. A bookseller of this name is known in the 1750s. In any case Peacock is one of the earliest known lecturers in the north-west. He was apparently an itinerant teacher as his school was being held in the Old George.

In 1751 an Infirmary was established at Newcastle by public subscription. Some £42 of the fund was raised by Dr. John Rotheram by public lecturing. John Rotheram was the son of Caleb Rotheram, and had been educated at his father's academy in Kendal. From there he went on to Edinburgh University in 1740. He appears in the

lists of scholars at the anatomy classes there in 1741 and 1742 but does not occur in the list of Edinburgh medical graduates. In all his advertisements however he refers to himself as M.D. He lectured in Manchester c.1745, and by 1751 was working as a physician in Hexham. It was at Hexham that he offered a Course on natural philosophy "for the benefit of the Infirmary in Newcastle" in June 1751. Rotheram was to become a regular lecturer in Newcastle after he moved there in 1760, but whilst he was at Hexham he appears to have lectured on only one other occasion. This was a repetition of his 1751 course and was given in Hexham in 1753.

There were apparently no lectures on natural philosophy in Newcastle between 1749 and 1752. This may partially account for the success enjoyed by Francis Midon, when he brought his course north in the latter year. Midon was an experienced lecturer who had been working in Yorkshire and the Birmingham area since at least 1742. He advertised himself as M.A., which may have been gained at a continental university. The announcement of his first course in Newcastle was very detailed, even in an age when the amount offered appeared to the proposer more of an attraction than the style of the terms. It comprised ten lectures on natural philosophy illustrated by many experiments. Each lecture was to last for two hours and would be repeated in the evening. The cost was 10/6 for the whole course or 1/6 per lecture, and with some appreciation of psychology Midon invited any ladies to come to the first lecture gratis. This course was held in July and August of 1752, repeated in Newcastle in November 1752, repeated again there for the benefit of the Infirmary in December 1752, again at an increased price of one guinea in March 1753, and once more in Newcastle in September 1753. The courses in 1753 did have one feature new to lecturing in the north, though

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Desaguliers had used it in London in 1728; the lectures were given in French on alternate days, "for the aid of those who desire to improve in that language". Midon published an abstract of his course of lectures in March 1753 at a price of 6d. It was available from "the author at Mr. Fontenelle's". This connection is a further indication of Midon's nationality. On at least one occasion, in June 1753, Midon had the use of the free school, for an introductory lecture on "The usefulness of Natural Enquiries", prior to a full lecture course; it is an indication of his success by this time that he could charge 2/6 for a type of lecture often given free. After one more course in Newcastle, in April 1754, Midon moved into the county of Durham. He lectured twice at Bryan's Leap in the first six months of 1755 "especially for those who are concerned in collieries". He then moved to Sunderland and gave his course in September and again in October-November of 1755. He died in April 1756.

Robert Harrison was a talented and versatile school-master who began teaching in Newcastle in 1751. His first public lectures were given in Newcastle in 1754 on the principles of geography and astronomy. In December 1756 he joined Isaac Thompson in offering a series of Lectures on mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics and astronomy. This course was delivered in 1757 and published in the same year. It appears to be the last course that Thompson took any part in, although he continued to publish his newspaper until his retirement in January 1775. Harrison only lectured once more in his long career; in 1763 he offered a course on geography to be held in Trinity House, where he was then head-master.

Another school-master of Newcastle lectured on geography in this period. Thomas Jackson, who opened a mathematics school there in 1755 gave a course on Globes, Geography and Astronomy for 10/6 in January 1756. He gave the same course again, but in partnership with J. Barnfather in January 1759.

The death of Midon and the retirement from lecturing of Thompson left the north-east without a regular lecturer on general science for the first time for many years. No lectures were given in Newcastle on Science between 1759 and 1763; Charles Hutton, it is true, was active in the area, but at no time did he advertise public lectures. His work in the field of adult education lay in evening classes and will be dealt with later. This period of quiescence was ended by John Rotheram. He had moved to Newcastle in 1760 and in April 1763 offered a course. This was to cover the usual subjects of mechanics, optics, hydrostatics and pneumatics in 20 lectures at a cost of one guinea. He tendered the first lecture gratis to all comers and specified that both sexes were welcome. This first venture was obviously successful as he continued to lecture for the next few years. In 1764 he gave a course on geography and astronomy for half a guinea; in 1765 he offered a course of lectures on pneumatics, practically unbiased, and covering respiration, diseases of the lungs and ventilation in mines, ships, hospitals and prisons. Before this year a competitor had appeared, encouraged perhaps by Rotheram's success. John Davison, who had been conducting a mathematical school with an advanced scheme of subjects, offered lectures on mathematical philosophy in the town in August 1764. His course specified geometry, physics and astronomy. He advertised proposals for printing this course by public subscription in 1766. He went on, in 1767 to offer a much wider course of lectures in Newcastle covering mathematics, philosophy, astronomy, education, optics, commerce, geography, hydrostatics and chemistry. This course was still priced at 10/6. Davison does not appear to have lectured after this, although he continued to teach in Newcastle for at least eight more years. He was active during these years in trying to promote a celestial observatory in the town.

Rotheram meanwhile continued to give regular lectures. He gave a course on electricity, lighting, the Aurora Borealis, heat and cold in Newcastle in March 1767. In 1768 he again lectured on experimental philosophy, in particular, practical mechanics and motion. In the same year James Ferguson lectured in Newcastle. He advertised in the Courant that if 30 persons would subscribe to his course on experimental philosophy and astronomy he would stop there on his way to London. This advertisement is dated 20.9.68 from Morpeth, and his course in Newcastle did not begin until 6.10.68, so it is possible that he also delivered lectures in Morpeth. Ferguson also lectured in Newcastle in 1770,²¹ although he did not advertise his course in the local papers.

Apart from one single lecture on astronomy for a charge of 3/- in 1769 Rotheram did not lecture again until the end of 1773, when he gave a course on experimental philosophy in Newcastle. Lectures had been given previously in that year by a Rotheram however. The doctor's son, also called John, gave a course on geography and astronomy in Durham in the January of 1773, and repeated them in Sunderland in April of the same year. He had been educated at the local free school, and received scientific instruction from Charles Hutton, and doubtless from his father also. He graduated at Upsala university in Sweden and later became professor of natural philosophy at St. Andrews.

In the thirty years after Sowerby's course very little is known of lecturing in the north-west. A French assistant at the academy-like grammar school of Bampton offered lectures in the evenings there in 1767; apart from his name, Steytin, nothing else is known about him. Adam Walker, although definitely active as a travelling lecturer in the north from at least 1766 and perhaps earlier, cannot be proved to have lectured in any of the four northern counties until 1773. His known lectures in these counties are confined to a course in Darlington in December 1773, and repetition of the same course on natural philosophy all over the

north in 1774. He proposed to visit in this year Durham, Stockton, Sunderland, Newcastle, Chester-le-Street, Northallerton, Shields, Hexham and Carlise. It seems probable that he had lectured at some time previously in the north-west, which was where he was born. His course was not quite so novel in its practicality as has been claimed, as Davison had anticipated him to some extent in the sixties. 22

Walker's "Analysis of a course of lectures on natural and experimental philosophy" was printed in Kendal by Ashburner in 1766, and reprinted many times subsequently.

John Banks was the first known lecturer to make regular tours in the north-west. His first datable course is in 1774, but he almost certainly began in the area before this date, probably about 1770. The appearance of a successful newspaper in Cumberland is the only reason his lectures after 1773 can be fixed with more certainty than those of Walker. In November 1774 he gave a course on natural and experimental philosophy at St. Bees, repeated it in Whitehaven in the next month and offered to move on from there to Wigton, Penrith, and Appleby. In 1775 he published his course as "An Epitome of a Course of lectures" This also was reprinted many times. Banks lectured in Lancashire as well as the north-west, and his next course was not advertised until 1782. In October of that year Banks advertised from Kendal, where he was probably lecturing, that he would give his course in Penrith in November and would then move on into Cumberland. He spent the whole of 1783 lecturing there: at Whitehaven twice, at Workington, Keswick, Wigton, Thursby, and at Cockermouth twice. In 1785 he was appointed lecturer in natural and experimental philosophy at Manchester College of Arts and Sciences and does not appear to have visited the area again for some years.

Scientific lectures were also apparently given before 1772 by John Draper, a mathematics teacher in Whitehaven. He published "The Young Students Pocket Companion" in 1772, and this contains a notice that he had prepared a course of lectures on natural philosophy ready for printing. He died in May 1776, and was succeeded in his school by his son John. John Draper (sometimes spelt Drape) the son also offered lectures on natural philosophy; in his Whitehaven school from 1776 and at his academy in Greenrow in Holm-Cultram from 1780 until his death in 1793. The lecturing tradition at this academy was maintained by his successor, Joseph Saul, who combined his teaching activities with travelling around, lecturing in the vacations. Saul had lectured for some time before he took over the academy. He gave one lecture at Whitehaven on physical astronomy in 1789, and repeated this in Keswick in 1790. The cost was 1/-. He charged the same for a lecture on Aerology at Workington in the same year, and then gave his astronomy lecture successively at Kendal, Lancaster, Preston and Liverpool. He called himself at this time "mathematician of Cockermouth". In 1793 he lectured again at Liverpool, prior to his re-opening of the Greenrow academy in September. His new work may have curtailed his lecturing but in 1799 he advertised a lecture on optics, and in 1800 he offered lectures in Carlisle, Cockermouth and Whitehaven on astronomy and geography in the Christmas vacation. He continued to conduct this academy until his death in 1845.

Lecturing continued in the north-east in the 1770s, although there was no regular lecturer in this decade. A Mr. Young gave a course in Newcastle on geography in November 1775. He had previously opened a school there. One Callender delivered a course there on botany in 1776 and the son of John Booth used his father's equipment to illustrate a course on natural philosophy in 1777. He lectured in succession at

Durham, Houghton-le-Spring, Sunderland and North Shields, delivering his course four times at the latter town, before moving to Newcastle. There he gave a course on geography as well as one on natural philosophy. There were also lectures in Newcastle on rhetoric in this period. William Perry gave a series of lectures on that subject in 1775; a course that he was to repeat frequently in Edinburgh. In 1776 he was followed by John Herries who had also given the course in Edinburgh. Another Scot to bring his lecture course to Newcastle was Henry Moyes, although his subject was chemistry rather than rhetoric. The course he delivered in Newcastle in 1780 was that which he was to specialise in for the rest of his career.²³ It appears to have been the first occasion upon which he lectured outside Scotland.

Cuthbert Clarke was the last regular lecturer in the north-east in the eighteenth century. It is perhaps symptomatic of the change that had occurred in public taste since the beginning of the century that he, in contrast to the learned and academic Jurin, should appear flamboyant, shallow, in all a showman rather than a scientist. Certainly the last twenty years of this period saw the appearance of frauds and quacks in the ranks of the lecturers; Clarke was not one of these but he did not always keep to the educational form of the previous lecturers. Clarke appears in DNB as a writer on agriculture and mechanics; he was also an active inventor. He advertised a new threshing machine in 1768, wrote on the origin of the fire engine in 1773, and his first lectures in Newcastle were given by "the inventor of the celebrated Automaton, or only real self-moving, invariable Timekeeper". These lectures were on possible solutions to the longitude problem. They were given in June 1781. On 26th of October 1782 the Courant carried an advertisement of "A course of Natural and Experimental Philosophy" to begin on the 15th of November "on such subjects as are deemed the most useful and interesting

to the commercial connections of this town and neighbourhood as I had reason to believe that Dr. Rotheram's advanced years would influence him to decline a further course..." The writer goes on to say that he had asked for the loan of Rotheram's apparatus, and had received not only the promise of this, but also Rotheram's aid in the course as well. The writer was Cuthbert Clarke. As Rotheram is last known to have lectured in 1773, this advertisement may indicate that he had given lectures in the town without notices in the local papers in the intervening years. The course was given in the following November by the joint lecturers. This was Rotheram's last public course; he died in March 1787.

Clarke had published two further pamphlets shortly before this course commenced; an astronomical tide calendar for the north-east coast that was eventually to be the cause of some controversy and a work on barometers. He offered a new course on natural and experimental philosophy in Newcastle in March 1783, with the added attraction of free entry to a lecture on an engine he had just invented "for drawing coals". This lecture cost 2/- to those who were not subscribers to his philosophy course. In May 1783 he performed the same course in North Shields, and then in July repeated it in Chester-le-Street. In this last course he tried a novel method of subscription. He announced that only subscribers would be allowed in to any lecture. Previously he and earlier lecturers had permitted entrance to individual lectures at a slightly higher cost than the average charge for each lecture to a general subscriber. This experiment does not appear to have succeeded as he reverted back to normal policy halfway through this very course.

Although Clarke did give his normal 12 lecture course on natural philosophy in Newcastle in 1784 he spent most of the year touring the north-east exploiting the new sensation of balloons. His

procedure was to allow inspection of his equipment before its inflation, lecture on the theory of their flight, and then to inflate them and let them off. He gave this display all over the area in 1784, visiting Darlington, Stockton, Morpeth, Alnwick, Penrith, Carlisle, Hexham, Barnard Castle and Newcastle and probably other places as well. In 1785 he reverted to his course on natural philosophy, perhaps because of the arrival in the area of another balloonist, Lunardi, who actually went up with the balloon. The popularity of this mode of public entertainment in the north seems to have dropped sharply after the fatality on the town moor in Newcastle in 1786.²⁴ Clarke delivered his natural philosophy lectures in Newcastle in January 1785 and added to the profits by teaching geography after the lectures. He then transferred to Morpeth in February and repeated the course. He has not been traced in the north in 1786 or 1787 but he was active once more in 1788, when he delivered his normal course in Wooler, Staindrop and Newcastle. Whilst lecturing at Newcastle he found time also to deliver lectures on electricity at Tynemouth. In 1789 he published "A new systems of Weights and Measures" and held his own through the course of a long and somewhat bitter controversy over the accuracy of his tide tables with William Drysdale, but he advertised no new lectures. He died in February 1790.

Although he was the most prolific lecturer of the 1780s Clarke did not have the field to himself. John Weaver gave a course on natural and experimental philosophy at Whitehaven in December 1782, and repeated it in Durham and Houghton-le-Spring in 1783. This course was published by J. Milliken in Carlisle. Joseph Jackson of Gilcrux, Cumberland exhibited experiments to show the causes of variations in the compass in front of "scientists and navigators" in Whitehaven in 1784. A Mr. Long from London made a brief lecturing tour of the north

in 1784, reading on electricity at Kendal, Whitehaven and Newcastle; this was a single lecture rather than a course. William Walker, the son of Adam, lectured on the Eidouranion and on astronomy in general in Whitehaven in April 1784, and in Newcastle in June of that year, after a visit to Edinburgh. The eidouranion was a transparent orrery or globe of the heavens which had been invented by Walker the elder. It was described in print by father and son and the book ran to numerous editions. William was no more than 18 years of age when he delivered this series of lectures which included a lecture to the students at Edinburgh University.

John Dalton delivered lectures on natural philosophy in his school at Kendal in 1787. The breadth and complexity of his school course have already been described, and his lectures were probably equally "modern"; however they may not have proved as successful as Dalton's eminence in the history of science would lead one to expect. When they were repeated in 1791 Dalton charged exactly half the fee he had demanded from subscribers in 1787. In 1793 he left the north to take up a position in Manchester Academy.

Lectures on natural philosophy were also delivered in 1787 in Whitehaven by I. Atkinson. This lecturer had certainly been active before this date as his course had been published in Kendal in 1784, but no previous lectures have been traced. 1787 also saw the first visit to the north of Dr. Gustavus Katterfelto. He lectured in North Shields and Sunderland in May of that year. These lectures were advertised as scientific; however Katterfelto was so obviously a fraud that his frequent appearances in the area from this date until 1798 have little connection with education, and will not be detailed. Serious lectures on natural and experimental philosophy were delivered in 1788 in Durham, Newcastle and Stockton by Mr. Burton who came armed with a testimonial to his ability from Joseph Priestly.

Andrews University in October 1787, but had been in practice in Newcastle for 24 years before he took his degree. He offered his first lecture course on midwifery in partnership with Mr. Greenwell in Newcastle in 1756, and continued to give this course alone every year up to 1789 and perhaps even later. He also gave lectures on surgery in most of these years and in December 1792 offered twin courses of anatomy, 14 on the horse and 42 on human anatomy. Although he failed to gain the appointment as surgeon to the Infirmary in 1762,²⁵ he was a well respected local practitioner. When he took his degree he produced testimonials from Stephen Pemberton M.B.Oxon., John Radulph Fenwick M.D.Edinburgh, William Blackburn M.D., John Clark M.D., John Hall and Charles and J. Brown. His course in midwifery, which offered a certificate of attendance at the end, was regularly given gratis to poor midwives.

Lectures on midwifery were also given in 1756 in Sunderland by R.A. Watts, a local surgeon. Richard Lambert, the surgeon to the Infirmary, lectured on anatomy and surgery in Newcastle in 1758; the course cost one guinea. The first physician to offer public lectures in the north was Dr. Andrew Wilson. He was the son of Gabriel of Maxton in Roxburghshire and had been educated at Edinburgh University where he took his M.D. in 1749. He became F.R.C.P. of Edinburgh in 1764 and worked as a physician in Newcastle until 1775 when he moved to London. He was physician to Newcastle Infirmary from 1772 until 1775. He was already in Newcastle in 1765 when his "Short remarks on physiological thoughts" was published by White but his first known lecture course was in 1766. In that year he offered a general course on medical practice, divided into three lecture series on physics, the human body and disease. In his announcement of this large and comprehensive course he added "I need only observe in justification of the proposal that, notwithstanding the eminent universities in this Kingdom, yet almost all the regular instruction in the different branches

of Medicine is carried on, not by public professors, but by the lectures and instruction of private teachers" He offered further lecture courses in 1767 and 1768. He did not advertise lecture courses subsequently, although he gave a single lecture on the composition of the water in Coxlodge, with the aid of a Dr. Hall in 1770. The same subject was lectured on a few days later by Dr. Rotheram. Before Wilson left Newcastle he also delivered a single lecture on the circulation of the blood in 1773.

Another noted medical practitioner to lecture in Newcastle was Dr. John Aitken. He too had studied at Edinburgh and worked as a surgeon in that city. He gave lectures on anatomy, surgery and midwifery in 1784 and 1787. George Grieve was still a student at Edinburgh University in 1785 when he gave a course on midwifery in Newcastle. He worked as a surgeon in Newcastle, becoming a Fellow of the Obstretical Society of Edinburgh in 1787, and took his M.D. at Aberdeen in 1793. Further lectures were offered on midwifery by Mr. Humble, surgeon at the lying in hospital in Newcastle in 1786, and by Mr. Stout a Newcastle surgeon in 1787.

The two most prominent medical lecturers of the end of the century presented a marked contrast. James Graham, who claimed to have a degree and certainly was at Edinburgh University, was an eccentric and a fraud. His lectures on health, delivered in the north and all over England, were as little connected with medical practice as his celebrated earth-bathing scheme. George Wilkinson, the surgeon and writer of Sunderland although he lacked university training was a serious practical lecturer. He was a member of the medical society of London and of the R.C.S. of Edinburgh. In 1786 he gave a course on anatomy and physiology at Sunderland, avowedly aimed at the interest of the general public. This was not his first attempt in the lecturing field as he refers in the advertisement to a former course which had been designed for medical

students only. He repeated this general course in 1788. In 1797 he performed his specialised course and followed it once more with one for the general public in 1798. It is perhaps noteworthy that his 1797 course was the only lecture series of the century in this area to receive the compliment of the thanks of its attendant students in print. ²⁶

The vocational lecturers on medicine include the only woman lecturer so far traced in the north; Beatrice MacDonald offered a course of lectures on the subject of inoculation at her house in Sandgate in Newcastle in June 1768. No other details of this bold pioneer have been traced.

This brief description of the more important private lecturers active in the north in the eighteenth century has been presented because only enumeration of the courses would properly emphasize their amount and regularity. There still remain obvious gaps even in this elementary catalogue of lecturers; only those offering a separate course to the public have been mentioned. Schoolmasters who lectured as part of their school course have been largely omitted. It has already been pointed out that the evidence of lecturing in the early decades of the century is meagre and probably covers only a proportion of the actual lectures delivered in that period. Equally it is unlikely that the north-west and particularly Westmorland, were as poorly served by the lecturers as the description would suggest. It has been noted that certain well-known lecturers cannot be proved to have been active, in those areas, although it is most probable that they were.

Even with these deficiencies there is perhaps enough material to justify some attempt to analyse the movement in the eighteenth century. The lecturers themselves were of a mixed background. Sixteen had university training and at least twenty were private teachers of mathematics at some time in their career. As would be expected masters of endowed schools played less part in lecturing but the important figure of Jurin

was one of them. It is clearly dangerous to read trends into figures so small but it is tempting to note that almost all the important lecturers until the 1770s were schoolmasters of some kind, whereas in the last twenty-five years of the century only one considerable lecturer, Saul, was a teacher. This would suggest that the occupation of lecturer was gradually differentiating from other educational activities. This process had certainly begun early in the century in the metropolis. The lecturers who practised in the north of England can be clearly divided into three types on this kind of basis. There were lecturers of national fame who visited the north as part of their tours around the provinces. Ferguson, Demainbray, Moyes and Desaguliers were of this type. They were clearly of a higher status academically than the more local figures. They were also generally better equipped. The deference displayed by Thompson and Booth to the great Desaguliers shows that the distinction was appreciated at the time.

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There was also the lecturer who restricted his activities to one area and lectured in a regular circuit in that region. Clarke, Thompson and Rotheram are obvious examples; so too was Midon who certainly changed his area of operations but did so on a more permanent basis and did not undertake national tours as the first class did. Finally perhaps the largest number of lecturers, although the least significant in general terms, were those who gave the occasional lecture upon a subject in which they specialised. These only rarely lectured outside the town in which they lived. This kind of tri-partite division of lecturers is observable in the north from the 1730s. The career of Isaac Thompson suggests that the provinces did provide a sufficient audience for a resident lecturer from early in the century.

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It is not possible to equate these types of lecturer with particular types of course. Whilst the occasional local lecturer did tend to offer the more specialised courses, such as midwifery, botany or architecture,

there were national lecturers who covered only restricted subjects.

Moyes' lectures were unique in their material. Although it would be possible to classify the lecturers by the subjects they covered it would appear more meaningful to note that some gave a general course, entitled natural or experimental philosophy, whilst others specialised. The wider the field of activity of the lecturer, the more general was his course.²⁹

At the same time every lecturer was very conscious of his potential audience and set out to appeal to the interests of the local population. For this reason the scientific lectures display in their syllabi a prominent concern with the vocational aspects of the material. From Jurin onwards the scientific lecturers in the north-east made great play of the advantages that a mine-owner or an industrialist might gain from attendance at their courses. The same trend has been noted in Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield and Scotland,³⁰ although in each case a different emphasis was used, in order to meet the differing industrial demands of each area.

If the lecturer of the time was very concerned about his audience so too must be any historian who wishes to appraise the importance of the lectures. Evidence of the size and composition of the groups that attended the lectures is vital for any such estimate. There is sufficient evidence to provide some indication of size. Dalton wrote to his brother Jonathon in 1796, proposing a course. Jonathon had remained in Kendal when his more famous brother had gone on to Manchester. John write: "I have had some thoughts of delivering a course of lectures at Kendal this summer, as far as the apparatus there would admit, and what additional might be made for the occasion. About six lectures on Chemistry and six on the other branches would be my plan. I imagine you have had none lately. Twenty subscribers at half a guinea would be sufficient to commence Thou may please to mention it to one or two to see how it is likely to take and let me know by the end of the month...³¹

The course was eventually delivered. Apart from suggesting yet another way to set up a course of lectures, this is a fairly typical expectation in terms of numbers to be subscribed for a lecture course. There were however courses which attracted far larger numbers. A famous lecturer such as Ferguson was able to command considerable audiences. Manuscript notes by that lecturer indicate that he had at one time 118 subscribers at Bath, and later 62 in Bristol. Griffiss attracted sixty subscribers at Birmingham in 1755 and perhaps most remarkable of all was the great concourse that came to hear Thompson's lectures on his new orrery in Newcastle in 1741.

Some indication of the composition of these audiences is at once provided by the charges of the courses. These varied between five shillings and a number of guineas. Three guineas however proved too much for the interested parties in the north when Desaguliers offered his services in 1741; most of the courses given averaged around half a guinea. Such a price was clearly out of the range of most of the population. It would seem reasonable to suppose that most of those attending were of the middle class; but there is evidence that a wider public was being reached. Bigge's reference to mechanics and miners must be interpreted in the eighteenth century sense. He was talking of the viewers and managers rather than the workmen but even this is a step from the dilettante interest of the gentry. Much more significant are the unexplored links between the lecturers and the endowed grammar schools. It is well known that Adam Walker lectured at Eton, Westminster, Winchester and other endowed schools in the eighteenth century. His son, Deane Franklin Walker, continued the practice of his father. He had already lectured at Eton, Rugby, Harrow and Winchester when he gave a course at Yarmouth in 1821, specifically inviting the local schoolboys to attend. The first known course in the

north was given by the head-master of the grammar school in Newcastle; it is difficult to imagine he did not attract some alumni of the school, past or present. Steytin's lectures at Bampton in 1767 were part of the school course. Wibbersley and Midon both lectured in the grammar school in Newcastle and, although the course was given on a public basis, it would appear likely that the scholars would be encouraged to take advantage of it. These are positive examples of a connection between the endowed schools and private lecturers but the itineraries of many other lecturers suggest that this kind of link was common. As an example may be quoted John Banks, who lectured at St. Bee's in 1774. This lecture was not designed for the population of nearby Whitehaven because Banks moved there a month later. It can only have been economical if the grammar school of St. Bee's was behind the course. Similarly Booth junior must have hoped for considerable support from the local grammar school when he sought to promote a course at Houghton-le-Spring in 1777. The grammar schools are known to have employed private masters for modern or technical subjects; it seems likely that their pupils also benefited from the visits of the itinerant lecturers.

There is already enough evidence to show that the itinerant lecturing movement was widespread by the early decades of the eighteenth century and continued strong until at least the 1790s. The decline in the popularity of this mode of instruction which is apparent from the number of courses delivered in the last decade may have been a temporary lapse in war conditions; there were certainly lecturers active in the north in the post-war period. Whilst it is not within the scope of the present study to continue the story of these men into the nineteenth century it is perhaps relevant to point out that two quite separate factors which would help to explain the eventual decline of the movement were already present by 1800. The establishment of permanent paid lecturerships in the north had been suggested as early as 1783³⁷ and was

to be achieved through the Literary and Philosophical Society shortly after the turn of the century. This development must have affected the market for occasional lectures. ³⁸ The extension and development of science teaching in schools, both private and endowed, has been shown to have occurred in the eighteenth century. This too must have weakened the public appetite for public lectures on science. The significance of the scientific lecturing movement will not be fully apparent until its metropolitan and provincial history are carefully examined against the background of wider educational developments between 1700 and 1900.

EVENING CLASSES

Many of the private maths masters of the north offered night classes in the advertisements of their schools. Only a representative sample will be mentioned here as they have already been described. Thomas Armstrong, who opened his mathematical school in Newcastle in 1747, offered classes in the evening from 5 - 6 p.m. He had been trained in mathematics at Edinburgh University by McLaurin and taught by means of a teaching machine which he had himself invented. Hugh James opened his writing school in Newcastle before 1754 and is well known to have been succeeded in both his day and evening school by his former pupil Charles Hutton. Other maths teachers in Newcastle who offered regular evening classes included John Davison, the lecturer, William Bell in the 70s, and R. Maule in the 90s. Nor was this form of adult education confined to Newcastle; Jonathon Boucher taught evening classes in Wigton and in Workington between 1753 and 1756; Edward Barras combined an evening school with his teaching at Chester-le-Street in 1767; and both Joseph Wood and R. Dickenson were offering evening classes in competition with one another at Whitehaven in the late 70s.

These examples show that evening classes were a fairly common facility in the north at this time. As would be expected they were generally of a vocational nature and often advertised as being intended for those who wished to improve their prospects in trade, business and the services.

FURTHER EDUCATION FOR THE UPPER CLASSES

Informal education on a continental grand tour continued to be normal practice for northern gentlemen's sons until the French Revolution, just as it was for all wealthy Englishmen. An interesting series of letters survive in the Blakett family papers from the period 1784 to 1786. These provide a personal view of the grand tour from the parental end. The habit of using the inns of court to complete a gentlemanly education was in decline but it was considered for the Cotesworth children early in the century.³⁹ They were naturally still commonly resorted to by those seeking a legal education.

INFORMAL EDUCATION

The tremendous increase in the sheer quantity of printed material during the eighteenth century has already been noted. The development of provincial newspapers was accompanied by an expansion in the number of books printed in the country as a whole, and by the proliferation of local printers, publishers and booksellers. The educational impact of these and associated media must have been at least as great as the growth of formal education. The importance and extent of concern for the printed word has already been treated by Cranfield and Kaufman amongst others. Their work has shown that newspapers, libraries and book clubs flourished in the north in this period as elsewhere.⁴⁰ The culmination of this interest in learning was the foundation of the Literary and Philosophical Society in Newcastle in the 1790s.

The first philosophical society in the north⁴¹ had been begun in Newcastle in March 1775. This was a small debating society, which showed no interest in science as far as extant records of its debates show. The first scientific society was the philosophical and medical society formed by a group of local doctors in Newcastle in November 1786. This was not restricted in theory to medical men; indeed one of the society's

earliest plans was the formation of a general library for the town. However in practice it was very much biased towards medicine. This society was dissolved in 1800. Apart from a medical book club formed in 1790, which was nearer to an eating and drinking group than a scientific society, the next body to be formed in Newcastle was its literary and philosophical society. This has survived to the present day. Most of the early impulse towards the foundation came from the Rev. William Turner. This Newcastle schoolmaster had long been a promoter of educational projects in 1793 when his proposals issued at a general meeting of interested parties led to the formation of the society. This society differed from its local predecessors in that it was actively concerned in promoting learning in and about the area. One of its first achievements was the creation of a general library. It was also concerned in public lecturing almost immediately. Wilkinson's 1798 lectures were delivered in rooms rented from the society, as were a series by Dr. Katterfelto in September of the same year.

These lectures may have inspired more positive support. In December 1798 Turner read a paper to the society on the usefulness of public lectures, and it was agreed at that meeting to invite Dr. Thomas Garnett to deliver a course. He accepted the invitation and the course was advertised, but illness and personal affairs forced Garnett to abandon the project. This disappointment did not kill the interest in lectures; in October 1800 it was proposed that the Infirmary might be used for this purpose and in May 1802 Bigge gave the lecture which finally produced an institutionalised lecture. Money was donated for apparatus and for a permanent lecturer. Turner was appointed and equipped with apparatus bought from Garnett's estate after his death.

The members of the society were a cross-section of the intellectual leaders of the north. The professions predominated, with clergy, the law, medicine and even teaching well presented. When originally founded

no member was from the peerage and there was only one knight. The membership shows no apparent religious bias, having members from both the Anglican and Dissenting ministries. The successful marriage of interests in arts and sciences by the lasting foundation of this society was a fitting conclusion to a century which had seen enormous strides in the provision of education in the north.

NOTES

1. An estimate based upon the 1801 census and a norm of five generations to a century.
2. See for example Duane, Cotesworth or Davison.
3. Only Musson and Robinson of the main studies of the Industrial Revolution explores educational trends to any extent. Historians of education for their part have played down the economic importance of scholastic trends.
4. R.S. Watson.
5. J.A. Harrison 1. D. Layton. Appendix IX.
6. Cable 1 and 2.
7. See however a brief study of eighteenth century and later trends in Sheffield by I. Inkster in Annals of Science 28.3.1972.
8. There was an ephemeral predecessor in the Newcastle Gazette; or the Northern Courant, 17.10. Cranfield 1.
9. C 24.11.1711, 5.3.1711/2
10. C 22.11.1712.
11. Brand i p 95f.
12. Hans pp 136-7. P.J. Wallis "Ephemera issued by the Early Lecturers in Experimental Sciences" 1971. (As yet unpublished lecture). Houghton's Collections 11.5.1694. (Quoted by Ridsen p 34f)
13. See P.J. Wallis op.cit.
14. Whilst an individual newspaper was just as ephemeral as a hand-bill the number issued would probably be larger. In addition the northern newspaper proprietors kept copies for record purposes and most of these have survived.
15. Durham Philobiblon ii (1969) pp 72-3.
16. C 1.5.1731. The proposer omitted to advertise his name.
17. Appendix IX.
18. J. October 1742.
19. Perhaps a graduate of a continental university.
20. Hans p. 139.
21. Hans p.146
22. Hans p.147.
23. J.A. Harrison 1.

24. A youth, Ralph Heron, fell to his death when the balloon broke free.
25. J. 12.12.1762.
26. C 20.5.1797.
27. Appendix IX.
28. Layton suggests that this development came somewhat later in the century.
29. An exception, Moyes, has already been noted.
30. Musson and Robinson, Inkster op.cit. and Cable 1 and 2.
31. W.W.H. Gee.
32. Eric Robinson has extracted many advertisements of eighteenth century lectures from Aris's Gazette. Those that give numbers of subscribers indicate similar totals. See also Musson and Robinson p 101 et seq.
33. John Johnson Collection, Education 27. The Bodleian Library.
34. Aris's Gazette 21.4.1755. Appendix IX.
35. Cable 1 pp 47, 52, 72.
36. John Johnson Collection, Education 27.
37. Ch. 8.3.1783.
38. Inkster op.cit. indicated a similar trend in Sheffield in the nineteenth century. Cable has pointed out how few private lectures were offered in Scotland where institutional lecturing had begun early in the eighteenth century.
39. Hughes 1 p. 82.
40. Cranfield 1 and 2, Kaufman 1 and 2. Additions to the northern circulating libraries listed by Kaufman are:
 R. Taylor, Berwick. J 28.4.1739.
 John Richardson, Durham. C 5.2.1757.
 Mr. Hudson, Hexham. C 14,9.1771.
 R. Fisher, Newcastle. C. 10.4.1773.
 L. Smith, Carlisle. A 21.5.1791.
 The pattern of informal education in the north will be shortly clarified by the work of C.J. Hunt (listed as C.J. Hunt 2)
41. One was proposed for Newcastle as early as 1731. C 1.5.1731. A society of schoolmasters had been set up in the north in 1774. Its main purpose was to provide insurance for its members but it also suggested some concern for professional standards in its rules. The Association endured until the 1860s. It has been described recently in The Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Architectural and Archaeological Society, vol. III, by P.J. Wallis and the writer.

42. R.S. Watson

43. The 1793 members are listed in Appendix III.

THE EDUCATIONAL WRITINGS OF NORTHERN TEACHERS.

The existing records of eighteenth century endowed schools provide much information about their organisations, curricula and masters. The advertisements and broadsheets issued by private schoolmasters and lecturers describe the courses they offered. These sources do not, however, offer much information about the daily practice of the schools, or about the actual lectures delivered. The lack of variety between the syllabi offered by private schoolmasters has already been commented upon; ¹ yet there must have been considerable variation in the abilities of the numerous masters, and therefore in the standards that they attained. The advertisements put out by Dr. Katterfelto were in themselves little different from some of the hyperbole which emanated from Booth and Thompson earlier in the century, and would not alone condemn their author as a charlatan. Direct information about the real work done in schools is rare. Few schoolboys' exercise books have survived; it was even rarer for the master to describe his day to day work in detail, at least in any form that would survive. ² In the absence of the pupil's actual work or the master's teaching notes the best remaining guide to the detailed material taught, and to the approach adopted by the individual master, is the summary of that master's experience written down in the form of a text-book. Many of the teachers and lecturers active in the north did venture into print in this form; their surviving volumes provide the most accurate guide available ³ to the actual practice of teaching in this period from the elementary level up to university entrance.

Appendix VI includes any published work which might illustrate the educational practice of a lecturer or teacher,

who was active at some time in the north of England in the eighteenth century. Also listed are a few proposed works which apparently did not get into print, as their very titles can add to the known scope of their author's teaching activities. Books published in the nineteenth century are included only if their author is definitely known to have taught before 1800. An attempt has been made to enumerate the editions of most of the books. The popularity of a book, indicated by the frequency of its re-issue, is clearly of vital importance towards an estimate of its influence.

Most immediately apparent from this list is the sheer amount of educational writing prepared by teachers connected with the north. Over four hundred books and proposed books have been traced. In the absence of definitive lists of all eighteenth century works upon specific subjects,⁴ it is very difficult to translate this total into a meaningful percentage of the whole national publication output. However some indication can be gained from the recent bibliographies of R.C. Alston. Of the volumes so far issued in this series those of most general implication are volume I, which covers English Grammars written in English, and volume IV, which deals with Spelling Books. In both of these categories of school books the north played a more important part than any other provincial area of England. There were thirty-two separate editions of English grammars printed in Newcastle alone, far more than from any other town in the British Isles outside of London; Dublin with twenty, and Glasgow and York with thirteen each are the nearest competitors. In the issue of Spelling Books Newcastle and Berwick with seven editions each again were the leading publishers of provincial England, although well outstripped in this case by Glasgow (ten), Dublin (eighteen) and Edinburgh (thirty). The number of school-

TABLE XXIV

School Book publication in the North

| | <u>Religious & Moral Education</u> | <u>Eng. Lit.</u> | <u>Eng. Lang.</u> | <u>Writing</u> | <u>Foreign Lang.</u> | <u>History</u> | <u>Geog.</u> | <u>Arithmetic & Maths</u> | <u>Music</u> | <u>Vocational Studies</u> | <u>Grand Total</u> |
|---------|--|------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| 681-690 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 691-700 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 701-710 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 711-720 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 10 |
| 721-730 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| 731-740 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 16 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 3 | 34 |
| 741-750 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 4 | 33 |
| 751-760 | 8 | 3 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 10 | 44 |
| 761-770 | 7 | 17 | 21 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 32 | 0 | 7 | 90 |
| 771-780 | 8 | 24 | 43 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 27 | 1 | 29 | 139 |
| 781-790 | 20 | 14 | 35 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 20 | 1 | 10 | 106 |
| 791-800 | 13 | 7 | 23 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 27 | 0 | 8 | 87 |
| Totals | 22 | 71 | 141 | 11 | 31 | 10 | 6 | 140 | 4 | 77 | |

This table is discussed on pp 330-2

Books have been classified by subject in this table.

Numerical examination, by decades, of the incidence of school book publication. Almost all the books in Appendix II are included in these figures, each edition being separately entered. Omitted are proposed works, and books of national circulation written by teachers no longer working in the north, unless they have a northern imprint. Thus the works of Emerson are included as he remained active in the north, but only those of Hutton are included which were first published when he was in Newcastle. Where an edition has not been traced to a specific year it is allocated to the year between the earlier and later editions. The untraced 6th edition of Fisher's grammar is thus arbitrarily included in the decade 1751-1760.

books published upon other subjects makes it likely that the north was also prominent in those fields.

The number of educational texts published by northern teachers increased remarkably during the century. Table XXIV suggests that this trend, beginning in the 1730s and 1740s, reached a peak in the 1770s. The figures of this table are necessarily a crude indication; the writings of one man, such as Emerson, or the great popularity of a single book which brought it to many editions, such as Fisher's grammar, give great weight to prolific individual writers. However it is significant that the same pattern of a peak in the 1770s appears in most of the columns classified by subjects. No individual in the north was so comprehensive in his writings as to dominate more than one subject; so it seems probable that the trend observed, although crude, is valid. The entire pattern shown in Table XXIV confirms the crucial importance, in the publication of schoolbooks, of the printer and publisher, even before the writer. The eighteenth century development of schoolbook publication in the north was largely the result of the work of a very few men who combined an interest in education with the skills of printing and the finance to publish.

The most important centre, in the north, of all forms of publication was Newcastle. The development of printing there to the end of the century was described in some detail by R. Welford.⁵ However, covering as he did all aspects of Newcastle printing in that period, Welford failed to emphasise the educational bias of some of the more productive printers and publishers. It was the activities of these men that created the peak of educational literary output in the 1770s. The first enduring printer of eighteenth century Newcastle, John White, did issue some educational works: one of his ear-

earliest books printed in Newcastle was a Spelling book, written by a Mr. Bourdon of Gateshead; Brumell, Davenport and Swinhoe also used his press for their textbooks; and moral texts were some of his most frequent publications. However there is no evidence that White was himself concerned in education and he certainly did not specialise in that form of publication. The first educationalist to embark upon printing and publication in Newcastle was Isaac Thompson who, jointly with William Cuthbert, published "The Newcastle Journal" from 1739. Thompson was already well known as a scientific lecturer, had run an academy in Newcastle in partnership with George Mark from 1732 until at least 1735, and was also a successful author and cartographer. In his first year as co-publisher of the Journal he used his newspaper to publish in extracts his own treatise on geography. He was the author of "A Description of the Orrery.",⁶ printed in 1743 by his partner Cuthbert. He, jointly with Robert Harrison, wrote a description of their lecture course on natural and experimental philosophy, which was published by "I. Thompson and Co." in 1757, some thirteen years after his break with Cuthbert. His press was also responsible for educational works by other authors, notably Midon and Wetherald, but his importance in the development of northern printing and of northern education lay in his personality rather than his achievements. During Thompson's career in Newcastle he was involved in so many bitter controversies that some of the responsibility for each must rest on his shoulders, whatever the merits of the individual arguments. Although a Quaker he assumed the address of esquire in a number of his publications and used it even in his will. Certainly he does not appear to have been the most friendly of men. Yet the squabbles in which he was involved were normally productive and the success of some of his

discarded associates show that he had the ability to recognise talent.

Thompson and his first known partner, the surveyor Mark Burleigh, offered proposals for mapping parts of Durham in 1730. They were at once opposed by the partners, William Bristowe and William Menier on the one hand and by George Mark on the other. The competition blew over after a few advertisements and Thompson went on to continue his association with Burleigh until at least 1737, whilst in the same period he lectured and taught with his erstwhile critic, George Mark. This was however apparently the only time that an open quarrel did not lead to a permanent break between Thompson and his adversary. In 1737 Mark left Newcastle to teach in Dunbar and his post as co-lecturer with Thompson was filled by William Elstobb in 1740. Before this date however Thompson had entered the ranks of publishers by issuing the "Newcastle Journal", printed by William Cuthbert, in 1739. This in itself began a long and unresolved enmity between Thompson and the rival newspaper proprietor, John White. Although White had been the publisher of Thompson's poems in 1731, the two men were bitter enemies by 1740. In the lecturing battle between Thompson and Booth of that year ⁷ White supported Booth and his partner, both by printing their advertisements and by editorial approval of their course.

Thompson broke with his printer Cuthbert in September 1742 with much acrimony on both sides ⁸; Cuthbert's side of the argument inevitably appearing in the Courant. The eventual result of this split was that Thompson found himself a new printer, John Gooding, whilst Cuthbert began a new newspaper, The Newcastle Gazette, in 1744. Aside from his partnerships, Thompson had already shown his ability to promote talent.

He employed in Newcastle the ex-Kendal shoemaker, John Wilson, and it was very probably Thompson's encouragement that pushed Wilson into lecturing upon botany from 1739 onwards. Wilson's magnum opus, "A Synopsis of British Plants.." was printed in Newcastle in 1744 for John Gooding. As the first proposals for it had been issued in the Journal, Thompson's newspaper,⁹ the choice of Gooding as printer probably confirms Thompson's influence over Wilson's work.

Educationally the most important relationship of Thompson's career was that with Thomas Slack and the Fishers. It is not known when Slack began to work in Thompson's firm, but he was there by 1751, the year in which he married Ann Fisher. The Rev. Daniel Fisher had used Thompson's press for some years before this. His "Easy Lessons for Little Children..", first published in 1745, was probably printed by Thompson although no printer was mentioned in the advertisement. Certainly the second edition, of 1746, and the third of 1751, were both printed by Thompson; similarly the second edition of his more important "New Grammar", written in collaboration with Ann Fisher¹⁰ was printed for I. Thompson and Co. in Newcastle in 1750. In view of Fisher's early connection with Thompson it is even possible that Slack met his future wife through his employment at the press. Whatever the strength of the personal connection of Slack and Thompson they continued in business together, with Thompson as the employer, until 1762. During these years the works of Mrs. Slack and the "New Grammar", which she had co-operated in writing, presumably continued to be printed upon Thompson's press, although after the 1754 edition of the grammar they were issued as printed for T. Slack. Whether Thompson was unwilling to take the financial risk of publication or, as is more likely in view of the continued

success of the books, that Mr. and Mrs. Slack preferred to take the larger profit of merely renting the printer's time, is not apparent.

In 1762 Slack and Thompson quarrelled. By April 1763 Slack owned his own press in Newcastle, and had opened a bookshop; in March 1764 he published his own newspaper, the Newcastle Chronicle. Slack and his wife, Ann, combined the functions of printer and publisher, practical schoolmistress and educational theorist.¹¹ Between them they produced by far the most successful series of schoolbooks written in the north in the eighteenth century. Mrs. Slack's school texts, especially the grammar and the "Pleasing Instructor", all ran to numerous editions. Her two most successful works received the sincerest form of flattery from competitors when both were issued in pirated forms later in the century.¹² After Slack's death his son-in-law, Solomon Hodgson, continued issuing editions in Newcastle. Both Slack and Hodgson made use of London publishers for these books, although the printing¹³ was probably usually done in Newcastle.

The other Newcastle printer to concentrate much of his work on school and pre-school books was White's successor, Thomas Saint. He inherited, with the Courant, the same rivalry with the proprietors of the two rival papers that White had displayed. It was Saint's newspaper which carried the advertisements of the "improved" versions of the Pleasing Instructor as printed by Etherington of York, much to Slack's evident annoyance. Saint himself printed and published many school¹⁴ books, mostly of an elementary nature. Many of these works were anonymous. The extent to which Saint and Slack dominated the publication of schoolbooks in the latter half of the century is roughly indicated by the number of editions

definitely known to have been printed in Newcastle by each printer through the century. Of the books listed in Appendix II, fifty-two were printed by Saint, and the partners White and Saint in all contributed seventy editions; forty-seven were printed by Slack, with a further eleven by his successor Hodgson. Thompson and Gooding produced eighteen editions between them; the remaining thirteen Newcastle printers mentioned in the appendix total less than fifty editions between them.

The combination of schoolmaster with printer so felicitous for the publication of school texts in Newcastle existed in the north-west also. William Masheder was a bookseller and printer in Whitehaven; he published amongst other works Fletcher's Universal Measurer in 1752/3. "The Navigator's Companion" bore not only his imprint in 1754, but also his signature on the preface. His authorship of this book, and possibly also "The Youth's Companion", published by him in 1757, is made the more likely by the fact that he had been a practising schoolmaster for "upwards of 30 years" and was advanced enough in his studies to be called "philomath" in a subscription list of 1738. Another printer of the north-west, John Ware, the owner of the Pacquet, also entered the ranks of authorship. His "European Pilot" came out in 1774.

The great influence of printers interested in educational works strengthened the natural tendency to centralise northern printing around Newcastle. It was not until the very end of the century, and the beginning of the next, that presses of lasting importance were set up in the lesser towns nearby. Otherwise only towns at a considerable distance from Newcastle were able to sustain a printer. Berwick and Darlington in the north-east, Whitehaven, Kendal and, to a lesser extent, Penrith and Carlisle in the north-west participated in the printing of school books in the period. Far more

significant for the expansion of school texts than the minor local printers were the printers of Edinburgh, Glasgow and, above all, London. The Scottish printers and publishers do not seem to have been linked in any way with local firms.

The considerable number of books in Appendix VI stemming from Edinburgh and Glasgow is rather an indication of the strong educational ties between northern England and the Lowlands. Scottish lecturers and teachers worked in northern England, but, being temporary rather than permanent residents, their printed works, if any, usually were published in Scotland.¹⁷

In the same way books written by peripatetic teachers from the south were often published in London, but there was also a special relationship between some metropolitan printers and publishers and those of the north.

There were obvious advantages in securing a London publisher; advertisement to the large population of the capital was likely to produce initially a wider subscription, if such was called for, and later a wider sales market; the connections maintained by a flourishing London bookseller, as most of the publishers were, would be on a national scale, and should therefore spread circulation to areas to which a local publisher would have no entree. At the same time local sales could be easily covered by the co-operation of a local publisher. This form of arrangement became increasingly common in the eighteenth century. The second edition of L. Metcalfe's Rudiments was printed by Saint for J. Wilkie of London in 1771, the third edition of Story's Grammar was printed for T. Longman and T. Evans of London by T. Angus; above all others Sack and his successor Hodgson followed this practise. The first edition of Fisher's grammar was published in London in 1745. This was probably the choice of Daniel Fisher whose other work,

the "Christian Education", remained a London publication through all its traced imprints.¹⁸ The second edition of the grammar, reflecting the influence of Ann Fisher and her future husband, was printed in Newcastle by I. Thompson and Co. The third edition came out in two imprints, one from Newcastle, the other from London. London publishers figured in many of its subsequent editions. Other works by Ann Fisher were similarly published. Her "New English Tutor", published in 1762, was printed for J. Richardson in Paternoster Row and T. Slack in Newcastle. London publishers were also used for her "Spelling Dictionary" and "Pleasing Instructor" in some editions. Despite the London imprint on such works it is probable that the actual printing was still done in Newcastle, particularly when they had been a previous Newcastle issue. Some books may even have printed partially in the north and finished off in the south.¹⁹

AUTHORS.

Inevitably the most authors of educational books were themselves schoolmasters or lecturers. There were others; churchmen writing upon religion in education, accountants, navigators, surveyors, all concerned to introduce the elements of their skill by means of a text, and members of other professions who produced vocational studies. The majority of educational books were nevertheless designed as texts for elementary or secondary schools, and were written by practising teachers. Private schoolmasters were far more active in this field than public schoolmasters; eighty-nine authors of Appendix VI were teachers in a private sphere, whilst only twenty-eight masters of endowed schools produced an educational book. As might be expected from the relative bias of the two types of school the only kind of school text which was pre-

dominantly written by endowed schoolmasters was that which dealt with the classics. There were however private masters who wrote on the classics, and there were public school masters who wrote on other school subjects. It is not immediately apparent why there should be such a disparity in authorship between public and private masters; there is no reason to think the latter more educated or able than the former, indeed it was common for private schoolmasters to have been educated at an endowed school.²⁰ Nor did the average private schoolmaster have more spare time than his public counterpart.²¹ The probable reason lies in the main business, in the eighteenth century sense, of the schools. The endowed schools taught the three basic subjects if non-classical, the classics with an increasing admixture of modern subjects if classical. Textbooks on these subjects were less likely to appeal to the public, especially to the adult reader, than the vocational texts and those such as mathematics which might be of service in business. Classical texts in particular were unlikely to be successful because of the widespread use of standard texts, such as Lily's grammar, and the great popularity of versions of the classics already in circulation.²² This meant that there was little hope of selling new classical textbooks to the schools, endowed or private, and it was unlikely that adult readers, capable and eager to learn from such books, existed in great numbers. Those public schoolmasters who taught non-classical subjects had a wider possible market as there were no accepted texts for reading, writing and simple arithmetic. Consequently it was these public schoolmasters who were the more successful in authorship. The books of Banson, Errington and Daniel Fisher appeared in more editions than any of the classical works written in the north.

There were writers of originality and importance amongst

the schoolmaster authors of the north. Mrs. Slack was the first to include illustrations of bad English amongst her examples; a practise that was criticised but followed by Joshua Storey. Alexander Murray claimed to be the originator of the device of supplying a key for his grammar. ²³ Even more original in his writing, although much less applauded, was Thomas Spence who created his own spelling. Charles Hutton's mathematical works won wide acclaim from the beginning. Cockrel, who also recommended Break's Surveying, observed of the Mensuration that "...it stands higher in the estimation of the learned than any other book written on the subject." ²⁴

It was the private schoolmaster that dominated textbook production. The number of books on the basic subjects and on the technical side of mathematics bespeaks their continued popularity with the public. It also emphasises the importance of the part played in eighteenth century education by the private school. Most of these authors restricted themselves to the subject they specialised in teaching, wrote only one or two books, and remained professional schoolmasters rather than writers. Only the exceptionally gifted, such as Emerson, were able to sustain themselves by writing, although it clearly helped to be married to a printer.

THE PUBLIC

The educational value of these books could be more definitely assessed if it were known who read them. As so few copies have survived of the many editions enumerated most of the evidence for the market being supplied is contained in the books themselves, and the advertisements of their sale. The prices demanded provide an important clue to the area of the public that the author was seeking to interest. These indicate that in general a very wide stratum of the public was being aimed at. The cheapest range of books, as would be expected,

was that designed for very young children. These introductory books cost mostly only a few pennies and were clearly within the price range of all classes of society. However even more advanced works on English, such as Fisher's Tutor, were almost all between nine pence and one shilling and six pence; this price was still within the means of most artisans.²⁵ Indeed, because of the stamp duty, the price was lower than that for three issues of a daily newspaper by the end of the century. The books designed as school texts in the more advanced subjects, were slightly more expensive, averaging between two shillings and three shillings.²⁶ These kinds of prices indicate that the authors hoped their books might be bought by most classes in society and by schools with limited resources. The popularity of schoolbooks with parents is illustrated by the regularity with which all current texts are readvertised about Christmas, irrespective of a new edition. This practice is apparent in all the local newspapers from the middle of the century onwards.

The prices and the habit of advertising around Christmas suggest that these school books were selling to a wide public as well as to schools. More direct evidence is available in the case of those books which were printed by public subscription, as these usually included a list of the subscribers. Unfortunately only a few relevant texts contain such lists, and these tend to be of the higher price range of books; their buyers cannot therefore be taken as a pattern for the purchasers of the general run of schoolbooks. Of the books in Appendix VI which have been seen to have subscription lists four were minor mathematical works. These, the works of Perry, Chambers, Thompson and Fitzgerald, had received a large number of subscriptions but almost entirely from the north of England and the Lowlands of Scotland. Although a few school-

masters do appear in these lists the great majority of subscribers seem to have been businessmen. Particularly well represented in the subscriptions towards Chamber's and Fitzgerald's books are local sea-captains. Clergy and local gentry fill up the rest of the list. Much the same type of subscribers supported Wetherald's Calculator, but Howard's Treatise had a rather wider appeal. At least fifty-four schoolmasters subscribed to it as did mathematical instrument makers, mathematicians who appear as problem solvers in the Ladies Diary and eminent members of the clergy. Nevertheless its appeal was still predominantly local to the north of England. The more remarkable then is the national interest aroused by Hutton's Mensuration which came out between 1768 and 1770, long before the author had attained a position of national importance in mathematics. This subscription list contained far more teachers than any of the previous lists. Further, although there was naturally a numerical bias towards the north amongst the subscribers, subscriptions had been received from all over England. The only possible reason for this national recognition of a writer who was still a private schoolmaster of only local note is that Hutton's earlier Schoolmaster's Guide must have been as successful in its first two editions as the large number of re-issues would suggest it was later. Other factors as well as previous publications must have affected the reception of a new school textbook. Likely subscribers were the past and present pupils of the author; thus the subscribers to Thomas Wright's Clavis and Original Theory are predominantly the very metropolitan lords and ladies that he lectured and taught in the summer months; the subscribers to Bruce's Geography of 1803 include a very high proportion of young ladies, many of whom were probably at one time private

pupils as Bruce is known to have spent much of his time on private tuition. Whilst schoolmasters as a group were of a fairly low social standing it was not unknown for a black-sheep of the upper classes to descend to such a calling. That his own class would still rally around to the extent of supporting his attempts at authorship is illustrated by the subscription list of Gale's Miscellanies. Apart from a few schoolmasters the list is virtually a register of the gentry of the north-west.

The subscription lists show that the more advanced type of school text was being ordered by schoolmasters, private and public, local business and tradespeople and local gentry. Some of the latter no doubt were merely adding to a formal unused library, but the regular appearance of some names indicates the existence of an educated and intellectually interested group in the upper classes in the north, much the group which were to back the Literary and Philosophical society at the end of the century. The composition of this group has already been examined; forty-seven of the seventy-three ordinary members in 1793 had been subscribers to at least one of the textbooks already referred to. Confirmation of this interest in advanced educational texts from the actual book holdings of members of the local middle and upper classes is rare as the libraries have either disintegrated or remain uncatalogued in a published form. A list has survived of the books at one time in the possession of Richard Smithson, an amateur mathematician of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Newcastle, who was probably related to the family of the Duke of Northumberland. This catalogue illustrates the wide interests of the educated public at the turn of the century. Together with many works on theology there are numerous books on mathematics, classics, astronomy and English.

The only local authors to be well represented are Emerson, and Hutton, but the absence of local books on English grammar may reflect the lateness of the collection rather than a distaste for the local grammars published in the eighteenth century.

The popularity of a book was dependant upon the educational subject covered, as the relative numbers of books and editions printed on each subject show. The most popular kinds of books were, by the standard of editions, those on basic English and arithmetic. There was also a strong interest in works connected with the problems of seamanship, navigation, practical astronomy, tables of exchange and general seaman's manuals. It is likely in view of the evidence already presented in Chapters Four, Five and Six that the main markets for these books was where they were printed, in the commercial towns along the coastlines. The few subscription lists which include the origin of the subscriber amply back up this supposition; Fitzgerald's Book-keeping, for example, was almost entirely subscribed for by inhabitants of Whitehaven, Workington, Cockermouth and Maryport. Not all were so narrowly supported; William Thompson's Treatise had many subscribers from country towns such as Alnwick, Hexham and Wooler, but this too gained most support from commercial centres rather than market towns.

That the interest in mathematical subjects was not restricted entirely to the large towns is apparent from the origins of the solutions sent in to local and national papers and journals in the century. There was no regular column of mathematical problems in a local newspaper in this century; although at times there seemed a demand for it, the space consumed was incommensurate with the profit and as each began so it

was curtailed by the proprietor. Whilst these columns lasted they proved the wide interest in mathematics; the Courant ran one briefly in early summer 1767. This received solutions from Alnick, Durham, Bedgefield, Barton near Richmond, Shilbottle, Togston, Fallowden, Houghton-le-Spring, Kirkleatham, Causey Park, North Shields, Hexham, Longhoughton, Birtley, Bladon and Seaton Sluice. These solutions are the only other examples of actual work done by pupils and teachers of the period in the north, apart from the manuscript material and books already detailed. They have not been listed in Appendix VI²⁸ because the authors are frequently enumerated by initials or pseudonyms, the solution printed is that of one solver whilst the majority only receive a credit, and because those traced can only represent a small fraction of practising solvers.

CONCLUSION.

Appendix VI is a list of the main evidence for the reality of eighteenth century education, the writings of teachers active in the north. Incidentally this list also provides numerical evidence to show that the peak of educational writing in the north was reached and passed before the end of the century. The most probable cause for this trend seems to be the co-incidence of a number of educationally concerned printers and publishers in the north between 1740 and 1780. These men helped to make the north the leading provincial centre of educational writing in eighteenth century England.

The majority of the authors were private schoolmasters, writing on the basic subjects, mathematics and vocational studies. Their books were generally within the price range of all but the poorest of men, although it is clear from the subscription lists that the more advanced works were written for

a richer as well as more educated clientele. The subscribers that can be located are in line with the trend already observed, that is for the inhabitants of the ports and commercial centres to exhibit a demand for private education in modern subjects. Nevertheless there is evidence that the interest in mathematics was shared in country districts.

NOTES

1. Chapter VI p.177.
2. The examples from St. Bee's and Newcastle G.S. already quoted are the only detailed instances in the north.
3. Clearly the text cannot be taken as the actual practice, but rather as an idealised form of it. The human tendency would be to exaggerate the rapidity and ease of the learning process.
4. This gap is in the process of being filled. Seven volumes have already appeared of "A Bibliography of the English Language from the invention of printing to the year 1800" by R.C. Alston. Mathematics and associated subjects will soon be similarly covered by P.J. Wallis's "A Bibliography of British Mathematics and its Applications up to 1850", which is in preparation. Many of the editions referred to in Appendix IV were culled from the seven printed volumes of Alston. The great majority of the mathematical data came from the MS of the latter work.
5. Welford. 2 and 3.
6. This is misdated in BM. It was probably this source which misled Welford into assuming a rapprochement between Thompson and Cuthbert. Welford 2, p. 32.
7. Appendix IX.
8. Amongst other things Cuthbert accused Thompson of plagiarising the geography articles. C. 2-10-1742.
9. J. 2-10-1742.
10. The relationship between Daniel and Ann Fisher is still unclear.
11. The school taught by Ann Fisher was moulded around her theories of English teaching and her books as the advertisement of it in J 28-4-1750 shows; "Young ladies who choose to learn the English Grammar yet cannot attend conveniently in school hours may at Mrs. Fisher's school at St. Nicholas' churchyard, Newcastle, between 5 and 8 o'clock of the evening be instructed on the following heads. The peculiar sounds of the several letters; To spell and divide by rule; An exact and proper method of reading, according to points, cadence and emphasis; A critical knowledge of the various kinds of words and parts of speech to which each word particularly belongs, with the comparing of qualities, forming of verbs, stating of pronouns etc. Likewise to concord and connect words in a sentence or sentences together, consistent with the manner of the best English writers....".
12. The Pleasing Instructor was pirated by a number of printers, first by Etherington of York in 1769. (J. June-July 1769). Etherington repeated this in 1772 and the other piracies were issued by Soulby of Penrith, Mozley of Gainsborough and Hoey of Dublin. There was also at least one forgery of the Instructor, in 1787. (See Higson). Soulby also

pirated the Grammar in 1806. (TH). It is noteworthy that Fisher's Dictionary, in a new edition of 1777, was "signed to prevent piracies".

13. This was a common feature of the century. Neitz 2 p. 7-8.
14. Saint was so active in this field as to earn the soubriquet "The Northern Newberry" from a recent writer. L.F. Field p. 275.
15. Wetherald set up a press in Sunderland after his arrival there in 1762; printing had also occurred in the eighteenth century in Alnwick, which was to have a flourishing press in the early nineteenth century. Burman.
16. This is not to say that there were no other towns concerned in printing. However the amount produced was small and not educationally biased.
17. Examples are Warden and Perry.
18. The printers of Daniel Fisher's Christian Education, 2nd, 1744 were C. Hitch and J. Downing. The first edition of the Grammar, 1745 had no printer's name, but was "sold by M. Downing, C. Hitch and J. Clarke."
19. Welford 2 p. 36f.
20. Ch. VI p. 191.]
21. Although many of the public schoolmaster had clerical duties the private teachers generally spent time on evening classes, private pupils and lecture courses.
22. The books bought for scholars at Crosby Ravensworth and Bampton GS illustrate this point. Stirling was an exception.
23. M.G. Mason. I. Lewis pp. 376-83. Detailed textual criticism of the textbooks listed in Appendix VI and comparison of the methods advocated would certainly reveal more about northern schools in the eighteenth century. Thorough investigation on such lines would however constitute extension of the present study beyond its already unreasonable limits.
24. Cockrel's "Thought...".
25. The price averages quoted are based on the prices given in Appendix VI.
26. Texts aimed at the adult reading public, such as Emerson's, were in a much higher range.
27. Though many of his books were bought after 1800 he had been in Newcastle in the 1790's.
28. The solvers' names, initials or pseudonyms are included in Appendix I.

CONCLUSION

When this examination of education in the north of England was begun the intention was to establish that there were the same facilities for learning in the north as in the rest of England. The large proportion of the northern elite that had had their education in an endowed grammar school suggested that the new trend towards private education had not reached the north. However it has been shown that there was ample opportunity for parents to choose private schools in the north if they wished. Indeed the number of private schools and academies indicates that the extent of the trend nationally has been underestimated. The north also enjoyed the full benefits of the scientific lecturing movement and was in the forefront in the development of the new intellectual institutions.

Yet the discrepancies outlined in the first chapter remain; alongside the new forms of education the endowed schools continued to flourish. Certainly peculiarities of the north provide a partial explanation; it was a considerable distance from the nearest public school; classics maintained their appeal in rural areas where ability in Latin and Greek could still lead to ecclesiastical and educational appointments, even in the absence of a degree. The disastrous effects of the price rise at the end of the century would be felt less harshly here than in the metropolis. None the less it would seem that some re-appraisal of the role of the grammar schools in the eighteenth century might be indicated.

Although the evidence from the north of England contradicts some of the details in the trends described by Dr. Hans, it does in general vindicate his original thesis. The eighteenth century was a period of educational development

and progress; progress that was not limited to Dissenting
academies and Charity schools. Both private and endowed schools
responded to the changes of the time and the demands of society.