

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The development of full time Elementary Education
for the Lower Orders during the nineteenth century
with special reference to schooling in Hessle, Hull,
Kirk Ella, Swanland and North Ferriby.

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Hull

by

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October 1982

25 11 1953

ABSTRACT

During the nineteenth century the State increasingly intervened in the field of elementary education. This study examines why the intervention occurred, the form it took, and its impact upon the development of schooling in Hessle, Hull, Swanland, Kirk Ella and North Ferriby. The aim of the study is not to list every state intervention or to provide a history of the provision of schooling in the areas mentioned. Attention rather is focused upon (a) the several unsuccessful attempts made during the period from 1807 to 1858 to entice Parliament to legislate for a national system of elementary education, (b) an examination of the local impact of Robert Lowe's Revised Code of 1862 and (c) the process of the making of the 1870 Elementary Education Act with a description of the School Board era it ushered in. The significance of the School Attendance Committee created by the Elementary Education Act of 1876 is also discussed.

Chapter One details the various types of voluntary schools which flourished throughout the nineteenth century. The origin and development of both the British and Foreign Society and the National School Society is examined. The final section of the first chapter delineates a case study, the provision of voluntary schooling in Hessle during the nineteenth century. The failure of the State from 1807 to 1858 to provide a national system of elementary education is treated in chapter two, by an examination of four unsuccessful elementary education Bills introduced into Parliament, Samuel Whitbread's Parochial Schools Bill of 1807, Henry Brougham's Parish Schools Bill of 1820, J. A. Roebuck's 1833 resolution that the House with the smallest possible delay consider the means of establishing a system of National Education, and W. J. Fox's 1850 Education Bill, 'to Promote the Secular Education of the People in England and Wales'.

In chapter three the workings of the Revised Code of 1862 is detailed and its impact upon North Ferriby National School, Swanland Congregational

School and Bishop Burton National School is examined. The Revised Code had nothing to do with school provision, Edward Forster's Elementary Education Bill of 1870, however, aimed to end the existing deficiencies in school accommodation. Chapter four outlines the proposals contained in the Bill and gives a detailed account of both liberal and tory opposition. The 1870 Elementary Education Act ushered in the School Board era and some aspects of the problems it brought with it are discussed in chapter five.

During the School Board period, a second local education authority was established in areas not covered by a school board, namely the School Attendance Committee. The formation of School Attendance Committees resulted from Sandon's Elementary Education Act of 1876. The first section of chapter six outlines the measures relating to the School Attendance Committee that were contained in Sandon's Bill. The second section of the chapter is a case study of the Sculcoates Attendance Committee; it had little success when trying to combat the problem of truancy. Truancy is also discussed in chapter seven. The chapter examines the causes of truancy at North Ferriby National School from the period when attendance became compulsory in 1880, to the end of the nineteenth century. Truancy, as revealed in chapter eight, sometimes led to confrontation situations arising between the truant's parents and the school master. The chapter, using data from the previously mentioned local areas, examines conflict situations that arose in the classroom, and secondly the use of corporal punishment. The Conclusion reveals the major problem faced by the voluntary schools studied in the thesis was not the religious one, but the need to remain financially solvent and secure the regular attendance of children.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Professor V.A. McClelland, for
without his support the thesis would not have been
written.

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INTRODUCTION

During the nineteenth century the State increasingly intervened in the field of elementary education. This study examines why the intervention occurred, the form it took and its impact upon the development of schooling in Hessle, Hull, Swanland, Kirk Ella and North Ferriby. The aim of the study is not to list every State intervention or to provide a history of the provision of schooling in the areas mentioned. Attention rather is focused upon (a), the several unsuccessful attempts made during the period from 1807 to 1858 to entice Parliament to legislate for a national system of elementary education, (b) an examination of the local impact of Robert Lowe's Revised Code of 1862 and (c) the process of the making of the 1870 Elementary Education Act with a description of the school board era it ushered in. The significance of the School Attendance Committee created by the Elementary Education Act of 1876 is also discussed.

The failure of the State to legislate for a national system of education, left the private sector responsible for the education of the masses. The picture changed in 1870 as a result of Edward Forster's Elementary Education Bill, but it did not bring in a system of State schools; State schools were only established where the voluntary effort could not make good the specified deficiency in school accommodation. Chapter One of the thesis details the various types of voluntary schools which flourished throughout the nineteenth century, such as dame schools, industrial schools and private adventure schools. One such school run by Richard Fewson at Long Riston is examined in some detail. The origin and development of both the British and Foreign School Society and the National School Society is examined. The final section of the first chapter delineates a case study, the provision of voluntary schooling in Hessle during the nineteenth century.

The failure of the State from 1807 to 1858 to provide a national system of elementary education is treated in Chapter Two, by an examination of four unsuccessful elementary education Bills introduced into Parliament, Samuel Whitbread's Parochial Schools Bill of 1807, Henry Brougham's Parish Schools Bill of 1820, J.A. Roebuck's 1833 resolution that the House with the smallest possible delay consider the means of establishing a system of National Education, and W.J. Fox's 1850 Education Bill, 'to Promote the Secular Education of the People in England and Wales'. Also considered are the major objections against and the support given to the measures contained when debated by Parliament. The start of the annual Government grant to schools which began in 1833 is treated, as also is the establishment of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in 1839, and the recommendations of the Newcastle Commission which produced its report in 1861.

The Newcastle Commission favoured in schools a system of payment by results, and this system was put into practice by Robert Lowe, the architect of the Revised Code of 1862. Chapter Three examines the system of payment by results introduced by the Code. The Chapter is split into three main sections, the first details the system itself, its subsequent modification with the introduction of class subjects and specific subjects, the merit grant and the demise of the system in 1900. Some contemporary criticism of the Revised Code is also detailed. Section two of this chapter, by means of a case study, reveals that the Revised Code forced the teaching staff at North Ferriby National school and at Swanland Congregational school to concentrate their efforts on subjects that earned the government grant, for the grant was a major component of the income of both schools. The section shows that the North Ferriby Schoolmaster, J.G.A. Owencroft, went to extreme lengths to make sure his scholars did well at the annual inspection. Extra

lessons after normal school hours were common and, during the academic year 1877/78, no holiday was given at either Easter or Christmas for holidays, according to Owencroft, distracted his scholars from school work. The final section of Chapter Three, is another case study which consists of a detailed examination of the performance of scholars attending Bishop Burton National School in the standard examinations during the period 1864-1888. It reveals that the teaching at this school during the period in question was orientated towards achieving good results at the annual inspection.

The Revised Code had nothing to do with school provision. Edward Forster's Elementary Education Bill of 1870, however, aimed to end the existing deficiencies in school accommodation. On February 17th, 1870, Forster successfully asked the Commons for leave to bring in a Bill 'to provide for public Elementary Education in England and Wales'. Chapter Four outlines the proposals contained in the Bill and gives a detailed account of both liberal and tory opposition. Forster for instance proposed that on the issue of whether or not religious instruction should be taught in board schools, the nature of such courses, was to be determined by each school board. Both radicals and non-conformists on the liberal side of the House attacked the proposal for they thought it would lead to denominational religious instruction being taught in the majority of board schools. They were divided, moreover on the whole issue of religious instruction in board schools, some favouring the secular solution and others a system of non-sectarian religious instruction.

Chapter Four argues the principal aim of the 1870 Elementary Education Act was to provide a school place for every child. "What is our purpose in this Bill?" Forster remarked, "Briefly this, to bring elementary education within the reach of every English home, aye,

and within the reach of those children who have no home"⁽¹⁾. The Act failed, however, to compel by law all children to attend school. A significant proportion of children played truant, even though a school place had been provided. The Act did enable, however, school boards, if they so wished, to pass bye-laws enforcing school attendance and many did, for example Leicester, Leeds, Liverpool, Hull, London, Nottingham and Sheffield.

The 1870 Elementary Education Act ushered in the School Board Era and some aspects of the problems it brought with it are discussed in Chapter Five. It examines how the cumulative vote was employed at school board elections and the processes of 'pumping' and 'mixing' are explained. An examination is made of the limited success working men had in electing their representatives to serve on school boards. A considerable amount of attention is devoted firstly to the development of higher grade schools by school boards and, secondly, to the successful efforts of several school boards, namely, Liverpool, London, Nottingham and Hull, in raising the standard of education their pupil-teachers received. The question of enforcing school attendance is dealt with and it is revealed in a case study that both Nottingham and Hull school boards passed bye-laws and enforced them vigorously. Persistent truants were often sent by the magistrate of the Hull Police Court to attend Marlborough Terrace Industrial school. During the early years of its existence the Hull School Board financially supported both Marlborough Terrace Industrial school and the Industrial ship "Southampton". The Hull School Board's relations with these two institutions is examined in the chapter, as is the Board's decision to establish a girls' industrial school and to take over the running of Marlborough Terrace Industrial school. The final section of Chapter Five examines factors which led to the demise of the School Boards.

(1) Edward Forster, Hansard. 3rd Series Vol.199, page 464.

During the School Board period, a second local education authority was established in areas not covered by a school board, namely the School Attendance Committee. The formation of School Attendance Committees resulted from Sandon's Elementary Education Act of 1876. The first section of Chapter Six outlines the measures relating to the School Attendance Committee that were contained in Sandon's Bill. The Parliamentary support and opposition to the measures is presented. To give one example, Sandon declared the main function of School Attendance Committees was to enforce school attendance in their district. Sandon was not prepared, however, to legislate to compel School Attendance Committees to pass the necessary bye-laws. Instead, he proposed that the School Attendance Committees formed by Town Councils and Sanitary Authorities could pass bye-laws if they so wished. Attendance Committees chosen by a Board of Guardians could only pass bye-laws if requested to do so by a majority of ratepayers in their district. This proposal angered several liberals, such as George Dixon and Lyon Playfair, who favoured a system of universal compulsion as well as a group of tory backbenchers. Thomas Knowles, the tory member for Wigan, for example, proposed that School Attendance Committees chosen by Town Councils should be compelled by Parliament to pass bye-laws enforcing school attendance. His proposal did not refer to attendance committees chosen by boards of guardians. The proposal was supported by several tory backbenchers, namely Hammond, Colonel Ruggles-Brise and Ritchie.

Section two of Chapter Six is a case study of the Sculcoates School Attendance Committee, it being one of eleven attendance committees established in the East Riding of Yorkshire. It is revealed that prior to 1880, when Mundella's Elementary Education Act made school attendance compulsory for children between the ages of five and ten, the Sculcoates Attendance Committee had not passed bye-laws to compel school attendance.

**PAGE(S) MISSING IN
ORIGINAL**

The following is a typical entry in the school log concerning the employment of scholars. The entry is for the week July 11th - 16th, 1887:-

"Some ten or twelve children being absent all the week, most pea pulling".

Children were also kept from school to mind a baby or clean a house.

Wintery weather and heavy rain often resulted in reduced attendance figures. Mr. Hornby, schoolmaster at North Ferriby, in February 1895 noted in the school log, "snow very deep on the ground, ... and nearly 20 children were absent on that account".

Chapter Eight shows at the Clifton Street school infants department - a school constructed and maintained by the Hull School Board - the most common cause resulting in corporal punishment being administered was that of scholars playing truant. Using data from Hull schools and from North Ferriby National school, the chapter examines the offences which resulted in children receiving corporal punishment. The schoolmaster of North Ferriby National school, Mr. J.G.A. Owencroft, made use of corporal punishment occasionally and this sometimes led to a confrontation between himself and the recipient's parent(s). Some examples are given in the chapter. Another source of confrontation between pupil-teacher and scholar is also noted. The majority of complaints Cottingham School Board received concerning teachers were about assistant teachers and pupil teachers physically chastising scholars. On June 25th, 1888, the Cottingham Board requested P.T. Field, a pupil teacher at the Cottingham boys' school to send in his resignation in respect of him having flogged several scholars. Similarly, B. Taylor, assistant master at Cottingham boys' school, was asked to resign by the Board because he had flogged scholars and was irregular in attendance. In February 1900, the Board informed Mr. Dukes, assistant master at Cottingham boys'

school that his services were no longer required as a result of his striking several scholars. A section of Chapter Eight comments upon the conflict that took place between pupil-teachers and scholars at Crowle Street boys' school, which was maintained by the Hull School Board.

Conflicts within schools were not limited to altercations between pupil teachers and scholars. A verbal exchange between Miss Lily Peart, then assistant mistress, and Mrs. Moody, headmistress of the infants department of the Cottingham girls' school resulted in the Cottingham Board giving Miss Peart a month's notice. The Beverley Guardian of October 15th, 1892, gave the following reason why the Board had decided that Miss Peart's services would no longer be required:-

"This course was taken because it seemed patent that the mistresses could not agree, and it was thought that if conflicting elements were allowed to exist in the school they would militate against the good of the school, the scholars and discipline."

CHAPTER ONE

ASPECTS OF THE VOLUNTARY EFFORT

The failure of the State in the nineteenth century to legislate for a national system of education left the private sector responsible for the education of the masses. The first section of this chapter details the various types of voluntary school which flourished throughout the nineteenth century, such as dame schools, industrial schools and private adventure schools. One such school run by Richard Fewson at Long Riston is examined in some detail. The origin and development of both the British and Foreign School Society and the National School Society is examined. The final section delineates a case study, the provision of voluntary schooling in Hessle during the nineteenth century.

Dame schools were so called because they were often run by elderly women, who had received no training for the task. The dame school provided a living enabling that they did not have to rely on the parish for survival. The standard of education provided by the dame schools was rudimentary at best, they often merely served as baby minding centres. The report of the Committee of the Manchester Statistical Society of 1834 reveals how unsatisfactory such schools were in providing rudimentary education for the poor:-

"The greater part of them (Dame Schools) are kept by females but some by old men whose only qualification for this employment seems to be their unfitness for every other. Many of the teachers are engaged at the same time in other employments, such as shopkeeping, sewing, washing, etc., which renders any regular instruction among the scholars absolutely impossible. Indeed neither parents nor teachers seem to consider this as the principal object in sending their children to these schools, but generally say that they go there to be taken care of and to be out of the way at home."⁽¹⁾

Conditions in dame schools were often deplorable. The above report of the Committee of the Manchester Statistical Society describes how "these schools are generally found in very unwholesome rooms - frequently in close, damp cellars, or old dilapidated garrets. In one of

these schools, eleven children were found in a small room in which one of the children of the mistress was lying in bed ill of the measles. Another child had died in the same room of the same complaint a few days ago, and no less than 30 of the usual scholars were confined at home with the same disease"⁽²⁾. The Committee found a better class of dame school, however, "in some of the more respectable districts, ... kept by a tidy elderly female, whose school has an appearance of neatness and order, which strongly distinguishes it from this class of school"⁽³⁾. The Rev. John Allen commenting on schools in Durham and Northumberland reached a similar conclusion to that in the report of the Committee considering dame schools fell into two categories:-

"those kept by persons fond of children, and of clean and orderly habits, - and these, however scanty may be their means of imparting instruction, cannot altogether fail of attaining some of the highest ends of education, as far as regards the formation of character, - and those kept by widows and others who are compelled by necessity to seek some employment by which they may eke out their scanty means of subsistence, without any real feelings of interest in their work."⁽⁴⁾

D.J. O'Donoghue⁽⁵⁾, in an account of the early years of the Hull School Board, reveals that the Hull City Council, shortly after the passing of the 1870 Education Act, appointed a sub-committee under the chairmanship of Alderman Woodhouse to enquire as to the school accommodation available in Hull, and to see if the latter was sufficient. O'Donoghue was appointed to give the sub-committee assistance as required. He was given the task of "visiting any and every building that could possibly be called a school"⁽⁶⁾. He visited two hundred and fifty, many of which were dame schools. The condition of many of the latter "was wretched in the extreme". He wrote: "the overcrowded state of some of the premises, the almost total lack of sanitary arrangements, and the whole of the so-called instruction, except in a comparatively few cases, were simply deplorable"⁽⁷⁾. In one instance, a poor

widow, who kept school in her living room, had lost the roof of her mouth and it was difficult to understand her speech. She taught five or six scholars, charging them a fee of two pence a week, but "for boys of nine or ten years of age she charged three pence"⁽⁸⁾. She claimed she taught reading, scripture and writing on slates, but O'Donoghue noticed there was not a single reading book or slate in the place. He declared, "how the writing or scripture was taught I was never able to find out, but she produced a kind of play bill announcing an Entertainment at the Alhambra Music Hall, which she stated was kindly changed nearly every week thus securing variety and sustaining the interest of the children in her reading lessons"⁽⁹⁾. This widow could write only with difficulty, for when the Hull School Board took legal proceedings against her, she admitted to the magistrate that she signed the return respecting her school with a cross "because her writing was not very good"⁽¹⁰⁾.

In the east Sculcoates district of Hull - O'Donoghue gives no other details concerning the location - a school was kept by an old widow aged eighty-four; she had in her window "a very ancient looking bill splendidly spotted with fly specks containing the following:-

"Mrs.,
Day School"⁽¹¹⁾

The widow had only one room and most of that was taken up by a large four poster bed. She was 'dreadfully deaf' and could neither read nor write.

The above two examples of dame schools taken from O'Donoghue's history of the early years of the Hull School Board were not isolated cases, for according to him there were "upwards of fifty to sixty similar Institutions ... which were supposed to be educating the children of this Town"⁽¹²⁾. There were, of course, exceptional cases.

Gertrude Aram, known as 'Old Gatty' kept a school in her small cottage at the market town of Gainsborough in Lincolnshire. The Chartist leader, Thomas Cooper, was one of her scholars and he noted she was an expert and laborious teacher of the art of reading and spelling. Her knitting too - she taught girls as well as boys - was the wonder of the town. 'Old Gatty' taught her scholars the basics of literacy.

Another type of private school was the common day school. The masters of such schools had also undergone no formal training for their task and it was often the case they had received little schooling. Frequently they had failed in other careers before they turned to teaching; sometimes they had been forced to turn to teaching on account of ill health. In one district⁽¹³⁾ where forty-seven common day schools existed, sixteen of the masters had been unsuccessful in some retail trade, eleven had been miners or labouring men who had lost their health or met with accidents at work and had subsequently 'got a little learning' to enable them to keep school. In 1805 Joshua Macer was appointed master at a village school in Whittlesford in Cambridgeshire. Macer had been in the Royal Navy and had lost an arm at the Battle of Copenhagen. William Brown, like Macer, had also served in the Royal Navy; he had left the service in 1816 and settled in the parish of Middleton in Yorkshire where he ran into financial difficulties. To overcome these Brown established a school which quickly flourished. These two examples indicate the way in which people were able to take up teaching from other modes of employment; anybody who had had a basic education could easily turn to the task. The Chartist leader Thomas Cooper, himself, gave up his trade as a cobbler because of ill health and set up a school in Gainsborough. The curriculum of the common day schools was usually restricted to reading, writing, arithmetic, scripture and, in some cases, accounts. Cooper

tried to teach latin to a few of his scholars but this proved unsatisfactory. Parents complained: "I want our Jack to larn to write a good hand. What's the use of his larning Latin? It will nivver be no use to him"⁽¹⁴⁾.

It was not uncommon for a schoolmaster to undertake duties other than teaching to supplement his income. Joshua Macer at Whittlesford was also the Church Clerk, deputy overseer and collector of rates and taxes. From 1801 to 1836 Mark Heselton was both schoolmaster and Parish Clerk at the village of Swine in the East Riding. At South Cave, Robert Sharp was schoolmaster, surveyor and rate collector. Richard Fewson was both schoolmaster and Parish Clerk at Long Riston; he also served as the village sexton. On one occasion Fewson used his knowledge of grave digging in the school itself. "One boy was a regular truant, and no punishment seemed any good. ... Fewson warned him that the next time it happened he would bury him alive"⁽¹⁵⁾. The boy ignored Fewson's warning and again played truant. When the boy returned to school, Fewson "sent for his tools ... removed all the lad's clothing, and marked out a grave on the mud floor"⁽¹⁶⁾ of the school. Fewson then asked the class "Well what are we to do? Shall we give him one more chance? 'Oh! do Sir', screamed the horrified children. Upon this Fewson asked the boy if he would stop playing truant. The lad, who was as white as a sheet, thinking his last hour had come, (and) promised faithfully"⁽¹⁷⁾.

Fewson's methods of punishment would be unacceptable in schools today; in some instances the victim was forced to wear a dunce's cap, and to stand on one leg on a block outside the school building for passers-by to see. One of Fewson's favourite punishments was to put the offender in a basket and pull him up to the roof of the school with ropes. Another punishment was called 'Nose I' Hole'. A series of

holes had been drilled in the benches, at the command of 'Nose I' Hole', the offending scholar had to bend down and put his nose in one of the holes in the bench; he was then caned.

Richard Fewson was schoolmaster at Long Riston for fifty years until his death in 1873. He was somewhat of an eccentric for it was an unwritten rule that every morning he would receive a kiss from each of the girl scholars, and those he was especially fond of he called his wives. Fewson enjoyed drinking ale and the school was sometimes closed while he spent the day getting drunk. "If Fewson was going to go a distance where drink awaited him he generally took two elder boys with him, so he was sure of getting home."⁽¹⁸⁾ When arriving at the school he would ask the boys, if in good humour, "drunk or sober lads?" Fewson gained a reputation locally for his ability to solve arithmetical problems. The teaching of arithmetic and geometry at his school was of a high standard. The following list shows some of the arithmetical topics he taught⁽¹⁹⁾.

Mathematical topics taught by Fewson - not including geometry

(1) Addition	(11) Weights and Measures
(2) Subtraction	(12) Long Measures
(3) Multiplication	(13) Time
(4) Division	(14) Proportion
(5) Compound Addition	(15) Interest
(6) Compound Subtraction	(a) Simple Interest
(7) Compound Multiplication	(b) Compound Interest
(8) Compound Division	(16) Discount
(9) Bills	(17) Barter
(10) Reduction	(18) Profit and Loss

The scholars at first would attempt to solve a mathematical problem on their slates. When they had got the correct answer, the question and answer would be copied into their mathematical exercise books. Mathematical texts were used such as "the key to Francis Walkingames

tutor assistant", published in 1810, a revised version being issued in 1827. Examining the English exercise book of Henry Fewson who attended Long Riston school - extracts from the exercise book are given in Appendix B - reveals that work in English was mainly comprised of writing out short sentences containing a moral or religious maxim, such as "Humility is better than pride", "Gaming ruins many", "Immoral conduct is wrong", "No wicked man is happy" and, of course, "Education is most important to youth". The exercise book contains extracts with a particular moral message copied from the Bible. Fewson's method of helping scholars who had problems with spelling is quaint:-

"If a boy could not master a word he was mounted on another boy's back. Let us suppose the word was school. 'Give him the first letter' said Fewson. 'S' said the boy on the ground, 'S' repeated the other on his back. Whack went the cane. 'Now thou'll remember that, I've hammered it in' said Dicky (Fewson). This was repeated for every letter in the word"(20)

Joshua Macer, punished scholars by whipping them. The whip was called 'Old Hagger' because it frequently had to be repaired by "the hands of Old Hagger the Village Harness Maker, and mender"(21). A former scholar, G.N. Maynard, provides an account as to how punishment was administered:-

"(Joshua Macer) had but one arm, and that was his left, but of this he made good use. In administering punishment on a boy by the means of 'Old Hagger' he would hold the boys between his legs, by thier (sic) head and neck, and operate most unmercifully upon their hind quarters. Sometimes the boys would have their revenge by biting his legs, and repetedly (sic) have I seen his old grey or white stockings saturated with blood from the wounds thus made from the teeth of his victim,"(22)

Richard Fewson kept teaching till his death in 1873, a common practice in the days when pensions were not dreamed of. Richard Harrison was schoolmaster at Rudston for over sixty years before his death in 1840. Thomas Smith, who died at Wafferton in 1856, had been schoolmaster there for fifty-eight years.

Some of the poor were educated in charity schools. According to M.G. Jones, there was a major increase in the number of these schools during the first three decades of the eighteenth century; this she has termed the Charity School Movement, it being co-ordinated by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The scale of the movement is a matter of controversy⁽²³⁾ and it lies outside the period which concerns this study. Industrial schools were a type of charity school and were usually concerned with training girls in craft skills. Bower's knitting school was established at Bridlington in 1671 - the earliest industrial school in the East Riding - its objective being to educate twelve children from the poorest inhabitants "in the manufactory, art, trade, mystery or craft of carding and spinning of wool, and knitting of all manner of woollenware"⁽²⁴⁾. It was built by William Bower, a merchant of Bridlington Quay. Lawson declares there were other industrial schools in the East Riding "in or near Hull or York . In 1753 Alderman William Cogan gave his house and £2,000 in 3 per cent consols to found a school to train poor Hull girls for domestic service; in 1786 the ancient corporation of Trinity House established a nautical school to train poor boys for the sea service. Ann Watson, left £5 a year 'to a dame school (in Sutton) to teach ten girls yearly for ever to knit, spin and sew...' Spinning schools were established by co-operative philanthropy in York in 1784, largely through the efforts of Mrs. Catharine Coppe, wife of the minister of Hewley Chapel, and in Hull in 1876, ..." ⁽²⁵⁾. Lawson does not mention the Girls School of Industry established in Hessle in 1819. In Nottingham, the Church of England c.1811 opened a girls' school, which quickly became known as the "Girls School of Industry". The greater part of the school's finance came from subscriptions and donations; income was also raised by selling the products scholars

had made. The Nottingham Girls' School of Industry "was avowedly vocational in its aims, more attention being devoted to domestic training than to academic work"⁽²⁶⁾, a fact that was true of most schools of industry.

In 1798, Joseph Lancaster opened a school in an outhouse of his father's premises in Southwark, London. As the number of pupils attending rose, the school was forced to move to a larger site in the Borough Road. In 1803 Lancaster published 'Improvements in Education, as it respects the Industrious Classes of the Community' describing the monitorial system of instruction. The monitorial system of instruction owes its origin to the Scotsman, Andrew Bell, who while teaching in Madras used older scholars to teach younger ones. This method of teaching was taken up and improved upon by Lancaster, the elder boys being known as monitors. Lancaster's 'Improvements in Education' declared monitors had to undertake several duties, such as being responsible for teaching a group - known as a squad - of about ten younger children. The monitors had to note which scholars were absent and why and maintain discipline and cleanliness as the following extract from Lancaster's 'Improvement in Education' reveals:-

"My school (Borough Road) is attended by 300 scholars. The whole system of tuition is almost entirely conducted by boys. The school is divided into classes, to each of these a lad is appointed as monitor; he is responsible for the morals, improvement, good order, and cleanliness of the whole class. It is his duty to make a daily, weekly and monthly report of progress, specifying the number of lessons performed, boys present, absent, etc., etc."

Lancaster's monitorial system employed inspecting monitors, who examined each squad to see who was ready for promotion into a higher class. Lancaster's speeches and publications brought the monitorial system of teaching to the notice of several influential people including George III. The monitorial system of teaching gained support

because it was a cheap method of educating the poor and could be inexpensively extended throughout the country. The list of subscribers to the third edition of 'Improvements in Education' contained the names of three dukes, three duchesses, four marquesses, nine earls, twelve countesses, two viscounts, fourteen peers, twenty-three titled ladies, fifteen baronets, thirty-six members of Parliament, two archbishops and nine bishops, as well as the names of several foreign dignitaries. It is interesting to note that the aforementioned list of subscribers included several members of the Church of England hierarchy, for Lancaster was against sectarian religious instruction being taught in schools. The support of members of the established Church for Lancaster's work was short-lived on account of the literary opposition of Mrs. Sarah Trimmer.

Lancaster wanted to avoid sectarian religious instruction in schools; he favoured the teaching of religion according to general Christian principles and "not to be subservient to the propagation of the particular tenets of any sect"⁽²⁷⁾. It was Lancaster's attempt to base schooling on non-sectarian grounds that brought Mrs. Trimmer into action, for she believed if such a system were adopted nationally it would seriously undermine the influence of the established Church. She wrote, "of all the plans that have appeared in this Kingdom likely to supplant the Church, Mr. Lancaster's seems to me the most formidable"⁽²⁸⁾. Mrs. Trimmer's activities mark the beginning of the struggle between the established Church and non-conformists to educate, as they saw fit, the minds of children of the working classes. The resources and influence of the Church of England made it an unfair struggle, and by the 1860's there were seventeen Church of England schools to every Lancasterian one. To put it another way, the Church of England claimed in 1858 they had school provision for 1,187,086

scholars, as opposed to 151,005 claimed by the Lancasterian society. The dominance of the established Church in the provision of elementary education of the lower orders resulted in its obtaining the lion's share of the government's education grant which originated in 1833. "In the 1840's some £500,000 was distributed by the Committee of Council (for Education) and four-fifths of it went to National Schools"⁽²⁹⁾.

Lancaster's work took a step forward in 1810 with the formation of the Royal Lancasterian Society, four years later it was renamed the British and Foreign School Society. The Church of England's answer was the foundation in 1811 of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. The full title of the National Society states its main objective, namely the education of the children of the poor according to the teaching of the Church of England. The Church of England realised its influence would be undermined if its rivals, non-conformists, were left to educate the children of the lower orders. The Bishop of London, John Randolph, noted after the first meeting of the National Society in 1811, "if the great body of the Nation be educated in other principles than those of the established Church, the natural consequence must be to deviate the minds of the people from it or render them indifferent to it, which may in succeeding generations prove fatal to the Church and to the state itself."⁽³⁰⁾

The rivalry between the Church of England and the dissenters concerning the provision of schooling was not limited to the national scene for it found local expression as is illustrated by the situation at Benson in Oxfordshire during the 1820's. "Here according to the incumbent, the fee-paying village school had been faced with competition from a private dissenting master who succeeded in drawing many of the children away from the Church. We therefore established a free day

school and deprived him of his scholars, since which he has taken himself off"⁽³¹⁾. The rivalry between the British and National schools in Loddiswell, Devon, is illustrated by the following extracts taken from their school Logs:-

NATIONAL, 1883: 'Mr. C. has enticed four children from this school to the British again, and ordered others to do the same - not an unusual occurrence.'

BRITISH, 1884: 'The Vicar of the parish is engaged in a house-to-house visitation, and is trying to persuade the parents to send their children to the National School.'

NATIONAL, 1886: 'Admitted J.E., who is in a very backward state, been attending the British School.'

BRITISH, 1886: 'Admitted two new scholars from the National School... I am bound to say that they are far behind^(A) most of the children in our school of the same standard.'

NATIONAL, 1882: (boy) 'gone over to the British School, on account of parents being summoned for non-attendance here.'

(A) italics in original

Source: Devon Village Schools in the 19th, by R. Sellman page 46/47

When Spice Street Lancasterian school, Spitalfields, was being built an 'honest Churchman' had written to The Times urging "the friends of the Church in Spitalfields to bestir themselves in 'rescuing their neighbours children from danger' by a counter-proposal for a school on Dr. Bell's plan"⁽³²⁾. In reality another five years elapsed before Spitalfields National School was opened. At Hessle, the committee of the National School for boys, attempted unsuccessfully to close the rival Parish School.

The monitorial system was employed in National and in British and Foreign schools. It was operated in large rooms, which enabled the master or mistress to supervise all the scholars. According to the Lancasterian system the central area of the school room was filled with rows of benches for writing drill, while the surrounding space, where the greater part of the scholar's time was spent, was occupied by groups

with their monitor undergoing instruction, usually with the aid of cards hung on the wall, as these were cheaper than books. "Lancaster classified his pupils, according to their attainments, into eight classes for reading and twelve for arithmetic; class one in reading was called the ABC class, while classes two to five were taught words of two letters ranging to five or six letters in the fifth class. Classes six and seven were occupied in reading the Testament and the Bible respectively, and the senior class consisted of the best readers."⁽³³⁾ Punishment and prizes were a fundamental part of Lancaster's teaching methods. Prizes were awarded as a reward for diligence, for example when a boy gained promotion to a higher class he was given a prize and so was his monitor for having taken care to improve the scholar. Within a squad, children were ranked according to educational performance, "each child had a number suspended from his button and changed it as he went up or down in class. The top boy had a leather ticket saying Merit, or Merit in Reading. He also had 'a picture pasted on paste board and suspended on his breast' which he had to give up when he lost his top place."⁽³⁴⁾

Being a Quaker, Lancaster did not employ corporal punishment. Boys who misbehaved by causing disorder, swearing, lying, playing truant, etc. could look forward to one of several punishments - confinement in a closet, wearing a piece of wood round the neck, suspension in a basket, the pillory, wearing a fool's cap, being washed in public. If Lancaster kept a child in school after school hours he would tie the child to a desk so that the teacher did not have to watch over the culprit.

Under the National system desks for writing occupied the outer space facing the wall, the central area of the classroom being used by classes of children standing in squares for instruction by their

monitors - who were named 'teachers' or 'assistants'. A monitor was usually responsible for ten scholars, but in some instances the number was closer to twenty than ten. The sand tray was used in both systems for teaching the basics of writing and numbers, the elder scholars used slates. Reading was taught by spelling all the monosyllabic words in the English language. When the scholars came across a word with more syllables it was broken up and read syllabically. A monosyllabic spelling book was prepared by Mrs. Trimmer. One of the major problems with this method of teaching of reading was that children often did not understand what they had read. After Bell's death in 1832, the National Society became critical of his teaching methods. One of the National Society inspectors, the Rev. Henry Hopwood, after visiting schools in the Oxford diocese in 1842, made the following criticism of the use of spelling cards:-

"Much time is wasted over spelling-cards. Such spelling lessons as 'bla, ble, bli, blo, blu,' are worse than useless. In one girls' school, one of the middle classes is called the 'bla class' from the circumstances that one of the cards ... beginning with this combination of letters, is the reading lesson for that class; and the mistress informed me that this card occupied them, an hour daily, for three months. I need hardly say that the minds of the children were quite stagnant."⁽³⁵⁾

One of the major faults of the monitorial system lay in the use of the monitors to teach scholars, for the former were often ill educated and could teach very little of value. The Rev. Frederick Watkins, H.M.I., regarded the use of monitors as both injurious to the school and to the parents of scholars; he declared it would be "difficult to say whether ... monitors more injure the school internally by their insufficient and frequently erroneous teaching, or externally by removing from parents' minds all hope of the improvement of their children in a school taught on such a method". In the schools inspected by Watkins, he found the monitors were "ignorant

of the subjects taught. They go heavily and unlovingly to it. A card in one hand, the other in their pockets, they go singly or in pairs to work. What is it? A reading lesson, seldom with any questions, but with spelling afterwards. I have often stood by in silence and heard the grossest blunders made in both - words miscalled - left out - half said - others substituted for them. The monitor takes no notice. He frequently does not recognise the blunder if he hears it."⁽³⁶⁾

The schooling provided by National Schools helped maintain the status quo of society, for the scholars were to receive an education suited to their stations in life. National schools were thus inevitably an instrument of social control as can be clearly seen from the first annual report of the National Society issued in 1812, where it is declared:-

"... the sole object in view being to communicate to the poor generally by the means of a summary mode of education, lately brought into practices, such knowledge and habits as are sufficient to guide them through life, in their proper stations.

... One of the most important lessons impressed upon them will be the duty of resignation of their lot; and common sense, experience and Scripture will unite in assuring them that 'he who will not work, neither shall he eat'. By the very constitution of society the poor are destined to labour, and to this supreme and beneficial arrangement of Providence they must of necessity submit."

The National Society was not alone in the belief that it was the duty of the new elementary schools to instil discipline, honesty and subordination into the children of the poor, in order that they would become useful citizens satisfied with their role in society:-

"Spicer Street Lancasterian School was the first in Spitalfields - it aimed to instruct the children of the poor in spelling, reading, arithmetic; in the principles of piety and virtue; in the necessity of honesty, veracity and sobriety; and having them at the same time inured to habits of subordination, industry and cleanliness."⁽³⁷⁾

The advantages of the monitorial school system over the Charity school was that it could educate a large number of children at very little expense while the Charity school educated only a few children at considerable expense. The monitorial system, because of its cheapness was seen as an appropriate method of educating the nation's poor. Table One reveals the average annual cost per pupil was greater at a Charity school than at a monitorial school.

Table One: Average annual cost per scholar at Charity and Monitorial schools

<u>Type of Institution:</u> <u>Charity</u>	<u>Average Annual</u> <u>cost per scholar</u>	<u>Type of Institution:</u> <u>Monitorial</u>	<u>Average Annual</u> <u>cost per scholar</u>
Parochial Charity School, Spitalfields	£4.50 (1816)	Spicer Street, Lancasterian School, Spitalfields.	£1.63 ^(A)
Protestant Dissentors, Charity School, Wood Street, Spitalfields.	£4.50 (1816)	National School, Spitalfields	76 pence (1820)
Parochial Charity School, Bethnal Green.	£5.00 (1819)		
Chews Charity School, Dunstable.	£2.97 (1819)		

(A) Average annual cost per pupil 1812-1816.

Source of information, with the exception of Chews Charity school, Phillip McCann, ed., Popular Education and Socialization in the 19th Century, pages 7 and 21.

The average annual cost per scholar was greater in Charity schools than monitorial schools, because the former often provided scholars with articles of clothing. At Chews Charity school in Dunstable, Bedfordshire, each of the forty Charity scholars were "supplied with clothing to the amount of nearly £3 per annum; the clothing being a suit of clothes, a cap, two shirts, two pairs of stockings, and two pairs of shoes, for each boy".⁽³⁸⁾ In 1819, the expenditure of Chews Charity school was £231.75 pence, of which £110 - nearly fifty per cent - was spent on clothing for the scholars. Parmiters Charity school, Bethnal Green, in 1818 spent £207, of which sum the cost of clothing accounted for £127.

A task that both the National Society and the British and Foreign Society had to get to grips with was the securing of a sufficient number of teachers who could run a school according to the monitorial system. Prior to the establishment of the National Society, Dr. Bell realised that the Madras system could only be implemented successfully if a sufficient number of teachers trained according to its methods were made available. He wrote "we shall never thrive as we ought till we have one school in perfect order in the metropolis where masters may be trained and to which they may be referred"⁽³⁹⁾. The Metropolitan Society for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church was formed in 1811, and it was resolved:-

"... for the purpose of supplying masters wherever they may be wanted, a central institution be established in the Metropolis, at which the present masters of parochial and charity schools, as also any other masters who are members of the Church of England, if they are willing to learn the new method of instruction, shall receive every encouragement and assistance."⁽⁴⁰⁾

The aforementioned resolution was put into effect at Baldwin's Gardens, London, which was to be the centre of the National Society's teacher training activities until it later moved to Westminster. Baldwin's Gardens did not simply train teachers, it also educated local children, and was the headquarters of the missionary activities of the Society. Baldwin's Gardens did not aim to instruct training teachers in the art of teaching but to teach them the use of the monitorial system; practising teachers could also attend to learn about the system. Prior to the opening of the National Society's teacher training facilities, the British and Foreign Society had started training future teachers according to the monitorial system at its Borough Road site. The task of the teacher training section at Borough Road was as follows:-



"It shall support and train up young persons of both sexes for supplying properly instructed Teachers to the inhabitants of such places in the British dominion, at home and abroad, as shall be desirous of establishing schools on the British system. It shall instruct all persons, whether natives or foreigners, who may be sent from time to time, for the purpose of being qualified as teachers in this or any other country."⁽⁴¹⁾

The probationers entering the Borough Road learned the system by being monitors themselves in the school established on the site. "They had not come there to educate themselves, nor even to learn the art of teaching in general, but had come to master the particular tricks devised by Lancaster to facilitate the drilling of a very large number of children in the mechanical rudiments of learning."⁽⁴²⁾ The duration of the probationers' course at Borough Road was a minimum of three months; however, in 1834 "the Secretary of the British and Foreign Society ... noticed that of late we have found it exceeding difficult to retain them so long, on account of the number of applications we receive for teachers but we do the best we can under the circumstances"⁽⁴³⁾. The probationer could learn very little during his three month course with regard to the skills of teaching, for he had to concentrate all his energies on learning the monitorial system. It should also be noted, probationers could not afford to stay at Borough Road for longer than a short period because they had to finance themselves. Probationers at the National Society's central school - Westminster - in 1834, stayed on average for only five months, because they had to pay for their bed and breakfast, although training was free. The British and Foreign Society expected probationers to have undergone some education; they had to "read well, ... write a tolerable hand, be acquainted with the four first rules of arithmetic, and be generally intelligent and energetic"⁽⁴⁴⁾. Both the National Society and the British and Foreign Society paid attention to applicant's religious and moral character. To attend

Westminster the applicant had to be a member of the Established Church; the British and Foreign Society expected applicants to produce satisfactory testimonials from a clergyman or a dissenting minister.

In March 1812, the York National Society was formed to provide schools in York and promote and assist educational effort throughout that diocese. The outcome of a meeting of clergy and gentry in Beverley in June 1812 was the formation of the East Riding District Society with the Rev. Joseph Coltman, Vicar of the Beverley Minster, as Secretary. "By 1816, the East Riding Society was giving advice and help to schoolmasters at Hull, Hunmanby, Keyingham and at Bridlington and Driffield."⁽⁴⁵⁾ During the 1820's several national schools were constructed in the East Riding, such as the Minster Girls School and other schools were built at Etton, Holme-upon-Spalding-Moor, Welton, Howden, Sutton-upon-Derwent, Londesborough, North Ferriby and Hessle.

The National school founded in Hessle in 1823 catered for boys only; girls had the option of attending a school of industry or the parish school. On the 30th September 1823, a meeting took place in Hessle, with Francis Hall in the chair. It was moved by Robert Earnshaw and seconded by the Rev. G.S. Bull "that this meeting contemplates, with great concern, the state of morals in the village (of Hessle) and particularly the unruly habits of the boys, and that one of the most probable means of improvement appears to be the establishment of a Day School for Boys, upon the National System", - the motion was passed. The Minutes of the meeting state that the gathering was held in the school room, which suggests a school had at some time previous flourished. The school room was located in the belfry of All Saints Church; and at the meeting it was moved that the school room should be adapted for the needs of the new national school by "restoring a room that has been taken from it, by raising the ceiling and supporting

and repairing the floor". It was also decided that a committee should be formed "for the purpose of forwarding and directing the Establishment of the school, and that any three (members of the committee) shall be a quorum". To get on to the committee a subscriber had to give an annual subscription of at least 'one guinea'. The members of the first committee of the Hessle National School are as follows:-

Rev. E. Garwood (Vicar)	Rev. G.S. Bull, Secretary to the Committee
Mr. R. Earnshaw	Mr. S. Burstall
Mr. F. Hall	Mr. Spicer
Mr. Pease	Mr. T. Hall Junior
Mr. Watson	Mr. J. Wilson
Mr. Riplingham	Mr. J. Todd
	Mr. Garwood

At a meeting held on 23rd October, the committee passed the following rules and regulations concerning the running of the proposed school:-

- (A) the school was to be "conducted upon Dr. Bell's or the National System as far as circumstances will admit";
- (B) monitors were to be employed, and payment was to be five new pence per quarter "if they are faithful", and a further two and a half pence was allocated for regular attendance;
- (C) no boy was to be admitted younger than six years of age and scholars were expected to be regular in attendance and to be neat and clean;
- (D) parents who could afford it would become subscribers;
- (E) scholars who were found in the streets at unreasonable hours, or who were found gambling or who made use of indecent, or profane language would be punished at school;
- (F) scholars were required to attend "Divine Service at Church on the Sunday morning, and in the afternoon will be either expected to attend a Sunday School or place of Christian worship";
- (G) the teacher was to be informed prior to a child leaving school to go to work.

The rules and regulations of Hessle National School reveal that it was to be run according to the monitorial system. Benjamin Webb was appointed schoolmaster. Webb's successor, George Burton, had no experience of the monitorial system. The committee sent Burton to one of the national schools in Hull "to receive instruction ... in the practical details of the system pursued generally in National schools". The regulations state that each scholar on Sunday mornings had to attend divine service, and during the afternoon to attend Sunday school or a place of Christian worship. This regulation was strictly enforced, the committee for example, on the 12th July 1825, agreed to "the expulsion of W. Wesencraft in consequence of the refusal of his parents to allow him to attend ... on Sunday mornings". The rules and regulations do not make any reference to the payment of school fees - it seems that at first no school fee was charged, but parents were expected to contribute as subscribers if they could afford it. At a meeting of the committee on the 5th February 1827, it was resolved that as a result of financial problems school fees would be charged:- five new pence per quarter for those boys who 'learn't to write' and ten new pence for those who 'learn't to write and set down accounts'. The committee again voiced the view that parents and other inhabitants of Hessle who were not already subscribers should contribute financially towards the upkeep of the school.

It was resolved at a meeting of the committee of the Hessle National school on 23rd October 1823, that scholars should sit an annual examination "as near to harvest as possible". Two boys from each class, who succeeded in achieving the best results in the examinations were to be given a specified monetary reward:

<u>Class</u>	<u>1st Boy</u>	<u>2nd Boy</u>
First	50 new pence	25 new pence
Second	30 new pence	20 new pence
Third or Lower	15 new pence	10 new pence

The objective behind the examination and the rewards was to encourage scholarly industry. The rewards however, were only to be given to scholars if they had also been "orderly, regular (in attendance) and diligent".

The committee applied to the National Society for a grant with which to purchase books but the application was unsuccessful. At a meeting of the subscribers on the 5th December 1825, it was resolved that a new school room had to be sought and with this aim in mind it was decided the committee should "investigate the suitability of two cottages owned by the Rev. Richard Sykes, for the purpose of using them as a school"^(A) No reason is given in the Minutes of the committee as to why a new school house was required. Sykes gave his permission for the National school to use his two cottages, but before this could take place the occupants had to leave. A Mr. W. Booth who lived in one of the cottages demanded five pounds compensation for being forced to leave his home. The committee agreed to Booth's demand provided he left the cottage immediately and the Minutes of the committee state "that five pounds the Demand of W. Booth ... an occupier of the cottages, in quitting the Premises immediately be given to Him". The committee of the Hessle National school decided to erect a building on the site of the two cottages "according to the plans approved" and resolved that "subscriptions be solicited to defray the expense of erection which with the internal fittings ... amounts to the sum of £124"^(B) The building was erected as the Minutes of a meeting of the committee on July 7th, record.

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- (A) The quotations relating to the first Hessle National School are taken from the Minutes of the meetings of the Committee and Subscribers. The Minutes are at Hessle Church of England School.
- (B) It is probable that the building was to house the school, but this cannot be proved, for the Minutes do not refer to the new building as a school.

Hessle girls had the option of attending either the parish school or the school of industry. The Girls' School of Industry opened its doors to scholars in September 1819. It was controlled by a committee of five local women, a Mrs. Watson, Mrs. Cooper, Mrs. Burstall, Mrs. Westoby and Mrs. Riplingham. The Vicar, Rev. E. Garwood, was also on the committee. The committee was initially elected annually, but it was later decided to elect a new one every six months, because some of the women who wanted to serve on it only resided in Hessle for half the year. To get a place at the school a girl had to be recommended by a member of the committee. Mrs. Wesencraft was appointed mistress of the school at a monthly salary of £1.6s.8d. and an occasional 'Chaldron of Coal'. The school was supported financially by subscription, the girls' fees, and by selling products of the girls to parents and subscribers. Each girl paid a fee of a penny a week; the Minutes of the School give only one instance whereby a scholar was exempted from paying the fee. It was resolved at a meeting of the committee held on September 7th that henceforth Mary Usher be "exempt from the payment of weekly pennies - in consideration of her being dependant upon the Parish"^(A). The punishment for non-payment of fees was expulsion. It was resolved at a committee on November 3rd 1821 that a scholar, Waudby, "be expelled from the school, if the arrears of weekly pennies now due be not immediately paid by her parents". In September 1822 the school was financially sound because at a meeting of the subscribers it was resolved that school fees should be discontinued.

The punishment for non-attendance was expulsion; the Minutes of the committee give several instances of girls being expelled, or being

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(A) The Minutes of the committee of the Girls' School of Industry are located at the Church of England School, Hessle.

threatened with expulsion for playing truant. The committee resolved at a meeting on April 1st, 1820 that Mary Nicholson "be excluded from the school in consideration of her non-attendance". There is only one example in the Minutes of a scholar being threatened with expulsion as a consequence of bad behaviour. At a Committee meeting held on August 3rd 1822 it was resolved that the mother of Martha Steel be informed "her daughter will be expelled from the school unless she conducts herself with greater propriety - she having been duly remonstrated with and still continuing refractory".

The ladies of the committee took it upon themselves to visit the school; at a meeting held on 6th November 1819, they decided who was going to attend the school during the next four weeks and a rota was agreed upon.

School Visits: November 1819

<u>Week One</u>	<u>Week Two</u>	<u>Week Three</u>	<u>Week Four</u>
Mrs. Cooper	Mrs. Burstall	Mrs. Watson	Mrs. Riplingham
Mrs. Westoby	Miss Haworth	Miss Bailey	Miss Priestley

The school flourished, at one stage girls being turned away as the school was full, even though they had been recommended by a member of the committee. At a meeting on November 4th 1820, the committee decided that a reward, one pound in value, should be awarded to the children on New Year's day. The reward was financed out of money obtained from selling children's work. The committee on November 10th 1823 reached the decision that those children who did well in the annual examination, were well behaved and punctual in attendance, would be awarded a monetary prize according to the following scale.

Monetary Prizes

<u>Class</u>	<u>Reading</u>			<u>Spelling</u>			<u>Sewing</u>				<u>Total</u>
	Pupils			Pupils			Pupils				
	Best	2nd	3rd	Best	2nd	3rd	Best	2nd	3rd	4th	
1	8s.	5s.	2s.	4s.	2/6	1/6	8s.	5s.	2s.	1/6	£1.19s.6d.
2	6s.	4s.	1/6	3s.	2s.	1s.	6s.	4s.	1/6	1s.	£1.10s.0d.
3				4s.	2/6	1/6	4s.	2/6	1/6	1s.	17s.0d.

The last recorded meeting of the committee was on July 8th 1824 when the resignation of Mrs. Wesencraft was accepted and her later offer to continue as school mistress rejected. Miss Lydia Levett was then appointed school mistress of the Girls' School of Industry. Mr. F.W. Bramley writing in the Hessle Parish magazine called "Spire" remarked that the Girls' School of Industry in Hessle was forced to close in 1827 as a result of financial problems. But J. Pigot writing in 1834⁽⁴⁶⁾ declared that Lydia Levett, then known as Mrs. Stather, was mistress of a subscription school, hence it is possible that the Girls' School of Industry - it being a subscription school - was still functioning. In 1840 Mrs. Stather became mistress of a newly-constructed girls' school in Swinegate, Hessle. The school was founded and maintained by a Mrs. Locke. Wakefield⁽⁴⁷⁾ writing in 1885 gave the following description of the school:-

"The House in Swinegate built in Gothic style was erected about forty-five years ago ... as a school for a certain number of girls who were educated for domestic service."

The house in Swinegate still stands.

The Girls' School of Industry and the Boys' National School competed with the Parish school, it being established during the commonwealth by the Rev. Joseph Wilson, the incumbent at Hessle from 1651 to 1661. Wilson had built a two storey building in Cow Lane - now part of Hessle Square - the ground floor of which consisted of "three low

rooms for three poor people"⁽⁴⁸⁾. The upper floor served as a school room. In 1716 Leonard Chamberlain endowed the school with five pounds per annum "for teaching 20 boys a year to read"⁽⁴⁹⁾. Verification of Chamberlain's gift to the Parish school is to be found in Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns of 1743. Concerning Hessele it declares:-

"There is £5 yearly paid to the schoolmaster for teaching Twenty poor children to read well English; which five pounds was given by a Mr. Chamberlain of Hull deceas'd and charged out of a farme (sic) at Stoneferry and Sutton."⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Parish school outlived both the Girls' Industrial school and the Boys' National school. The Boys' National school was forced to close in 1832 as a result of financial problems. The Parish school survived, in fact, until 1902, when it closed because of a lack of scholars; most children attended the National school established in the Hourne in 1855. In 1858, the building containing the Parish school was enlarged and John Clark was elected to the position of schoolmaster by the rate payers of Hessele. Upon Clark's retirement in 1876, a Thomas Banks was elected his successor. The salary of the master of the Parish school in 1892 was £27.10s.0d., and he was also provided with a house adjoining the school. "The Parish School buildings were demolished about 1921, preparatory to the formation of Hessele Square. The local governing body at that time, Hessele Urban District Council, had bought the property and site in readiness for the above improvement."⁽⁵¹⁾

From 1824 onwards the Boys' National school was in debt, and as noted earlier, financial problems resulted in its closure in 1832. The committee on the 7th July 1828, examined the school's accounts and found it owed £35. The Minutes declare "upon examination of the accounts it appears to the committee that the Funds of the Institution have been insufficient to defray the expense incurred by the erection

'of the building together with the current charge (for) the conduct of the school, and that since the year 1824 the debt has accumulated to the amount of £35". The committee applied to the National Society for financial assistance to enable the school to continue and it received a grant of twenty pounds, but this sum did not enable the school to overcome its serious financial problems. At a meeting of the committee held on the 14th February 1832 members realised the school would have to close unless new financial support was forthcoming. The latter was unlikely; the Minutes state:-

"it appears to the Committee from the present state of the funds that owing to the diminution in the Annual Subscriptions and the want of support from the inhabitants generally it will be impossible to continue the National School beyond another Quarter."

Thirteen days later on the 27th February 1832, a meeting of the subscribers took place to discuss the plight of the school. The meeting gave rise to two reasons as to why the school was in financial difficulties, firstly the collapse in the value of subscriptions and secondly unwillingness of parents to pay school fees:-

"Funds of the Institution (school) are further impaired by the irregularity and of late by the total (or nearly so) refontion (sic) of the small weekly payments required from the Boys.... it shews (sic) the little value set by the Parents on the Education and orderly conduct of their children."

The meeting of subscribers reached the conclusion that the school was not going to get the funds it needed to enable it to continue, thus, we are told, they were "convinced of the necessity of discontinuing the school, and the Chairman is therefore requested to signify to Mr. Burton, that his services as schoolmaster ... will not be required after the expiration of the present Quarter - the 16th day of May next". George Burton decided to open a private school and to rent the schoolroom from the committee for £2.50 new pence per annum.

It seems probable that Burton subsequently moved his school to what previously was a private asylum in Eastgate. Wakefield writing in 1885 declares:-

"About 40 years ago (1845) there was a Private Asylum in Eastgate; it was afterwards converted into a young Gentlemen's Boarding School, and kept by the before named Mr. Burton."(52)

In 1835 a Mr. Martin Norman with the blessing of several ex-members of the Hessle National School Committee established another private school in Hessle. It seems probable that this school was short-lived, for it is not mentioned in William White's (1840) Directory of the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire. It was to be fourteen years before an attempt was made to give Hessle a new National school.

On July 13th 1854, the Rev. Henry Newmarch, Vicar of All Saints Church, Hessle, arranged a meeting of the inhabitants to discuss the establishment of a National school in the village. The meeting resolved "a Committee be appointed to take the necessary (steps) to obtain a National School at Hessle, to look out for a site, obtain subscriptions and then to report to another meeting". The committee to undertake the aforementioned tasks was comprised of the Vicar and Church wardens, Mr. West, Mr. G. Hayes, Mr. J.W. Pease of Hesslewood and Mr. Isaac Whittaker of Cliff House. The committee on the afternoon of the 26th February 1855 decided that on account of the limitation of funds, the subscriptions having amounted only to £352, they would recommend to subscribers "the erection of a school for Boys only ... and a Girls School might be added thereto when the committee were in fund for such a purpose".

Following the meeting of the committee there was a meeting of the subscribers during the evening of the 26th February. Rev. Newmarch in the chair, informed the subscribers that the committee

had been offered only one site for the proposed school, and this was located in the Hourne. The offered site consisted of a cottage and garden, the property of the Church and occupied by a Mr. Dennis Porter. The asking price for the cottage and garden was two hundred pounds. The committee thought it wise to accept the offer, for there was no other site available. The committee also informed the subscribers that the funds were insufficient for the construction of both a girls and boys school and it hoped the subscribers would recommend "your future Committee to erect one (school) to accommodate 100 to 120 Boys as a commencement", and to add a girls school when funds became available. It was decided however, to build both a girls school and a boys school. The Minutes give no reason why this course of action was taken.

The architect, a Mr. Foale, drew up plans for a school to accommodate 120 boys and a girls school to accommodate 80 scholars. He submitted six designs for the proposed school, the committee favouring design number four, its estimated cost being between £400 and £450. The plan was sent to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. It was not satisfied with the plan and asked that several alterations be made, for example they wanted it to include a site for an infants school which could be built at a later date. The architect was informed by the school committee, to draw up a plan to meet the requirements of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. This Foale did and it was approved by the latter. The ground plan of the proposed school is shown in Figure One. It shows that both the girls and boys schools were housed in the same building. The plan also shows the proposed site for the infants school. The school committee invited tenders for the erection of the school from local tradesmen. The following were accepted by the committee as they were the cheapest:-

GROUND PLAN

West

Iron gate

Stone gate

NORTH

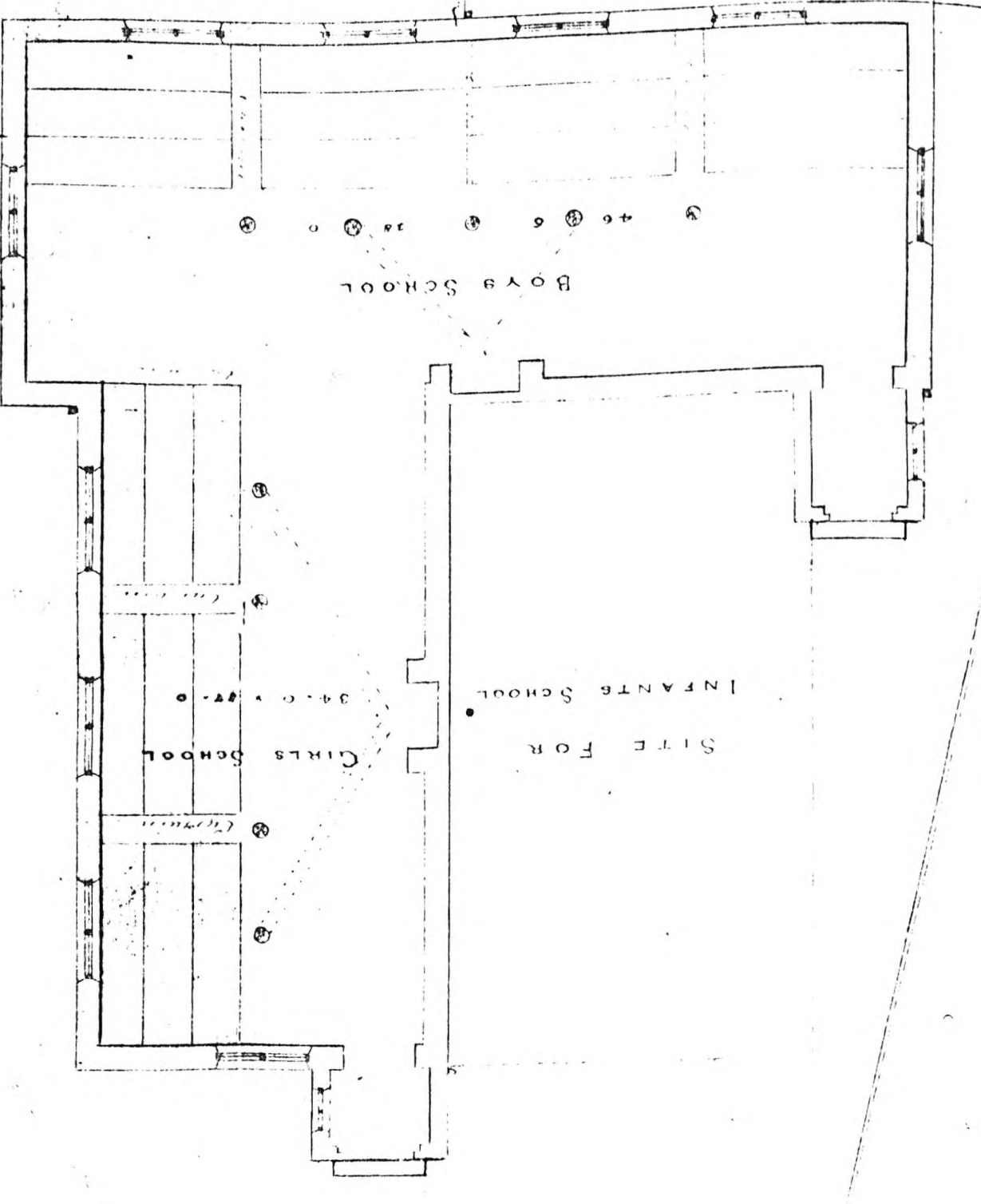
BOYS SCHOOL

GIRLS SCHOOL

INFANTS SCHOOL

SITE FOR

Fig One



<u>Job</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Price</u>
Bricklaying, Plastering and Excavation work	David Gardner	£183
Joiner and Carpenter	William Hardy	£168
Painting	William Wardle	£ 9
Plumber and Glazier	Mr. Appleyard	£ 27
Stonemason	Richard Wilson	£ 21. 50p.
Slating	Mr. Thornton	£ 46. 75p.
Architect	Mr. Foale	£ 25

William Hardy - joiner and carpenter - informed the school committee he had made an error in his estimate for he had not taken into account the iron gate and railings that he had to provide, thus his bill would be increased to £188.25p. from £183. The committee agreed to this. It received a building grant, £283 in value, from the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.^(A) The school committee's income was comprised of £360 in subscriptions and the building grant of £283, a total of £643, but the estimated cost of the school was £740. The committee thus had to find £97 to balance the books. It resolved to write to the Privy Council asking for the building grant to be increased - "a letter be written to the Lords of Council stating that every exertion has been used to get the subscription list as full as possible and that very little prospect exists of obtaining any more money and requesting a further grant". No extra grant was given, however, and the committee was forced to look for another solution to their financial problem. This came from the architect, Mr. Foale, who informed the committee on July 11th 1855, "that he had made a reduction in the joiners and bricklayer contracts to the probable extent of £50". William Hardy (Joiner) agreed to £24 reduction in the value of his contract, similarly David Gardner (Bricklayer) agreed to a £20 reduction in the value of his contract.

.....

(A) From 1833, the Government was prepared to contribute towards the cost of erecting schools, but only if the local contribution was equal to half the cost of building the school. For more details see the chapter entitled 'State Intervention: Whitbread to Newcastle'.

The school committee attempted to close a rival school, the Parish school - remembering that it had outlived the first National school in Hessle - by persuading the master, a Mr. William Wallis, to retire from teaching. Two members of the school committee, Rev. Newmarch and J.W. Pease contacted Wallis and he agreed to give up teaching if he received compensation of £30 per annum and the use of the school house for the rest of his life. The committee agreed to offer Wallis compensation of £25 per annum, but only if the £15 per annum he received from the Trustees of Chamberlain's Charity^(A) was donated to the committee of the Hessle National school. Wallis rejected the committee's offer, so the committee resolved to see if Chamberlain's endowment could be switched from the Parish school to the National. The committee on 4th January 1856, decided to "prepare a memorial to the Charity Board in London asking their advice and assistance for the removal of Chamberlain's grant of £15 per annum to this school".

The committee was unsuccessful in its efforts to secure Chamberlain's endowment for the National school. But in 1857 Wallis died, which meant the ratepayers of Hessle would have to elect a new schoolmaster for the Parish school. This they were to do on the 16th November at 10 a.m. The committee of the Hessle National school decided to enter their own candidate for the position of schoolmaster at the Parish school. The candidate put forward by the committee was Mr. Betson, master of the National school. Presumably the objective of the committee in wanting Betson to be elected schoolmaster of the Parish school was that he would remain at the National school, and the scholars at the Parish school would attend the National school.

.....

(A) In 1716 Leonard Chamberlain endowed the Parish school with five pounds per annum, which the schoolmaster received for teaching 20 children to read; by 1855 the annual payment to the school had increased to £15.

The end result of this procedure would be the closure of the Parish school with the National school getting Chamberlain's endowment. As a result, however, of objections as to the committee's choice of candidate for the post of schoolmaster at the Parish school, the committee decided to drop Betson and give their support to another candidate, Charles Voyseys.

By November 1855, the new National school was nearly completed and the committee decided to advertise for a master and mistress for it. The persons appointed had to meet the following requirements: "the Master to be certificated, and to be capable of playing the organ and teaching singing, combined salary for master and his wife if she is capable of teaching the girls to be £80 per annum with house and garden. In case the master can teach navigation a probable sum of £7 to £10 per annum may in the course of a year or two be paid to him." No person appeared who could meet the aforementioned requirements, and initially the committee was unable to get a mistress for the girls school. James Betson was appointed master of the boys school at a salary of £70 per annum and, although he was required by the committee to reside in Hessle, he had to find his own lodgings, a house not being provided for him. In consequence of having not appointed a mistress the committee decided that it was not practical to run both a girls and boys school. They resolved that the school would open as a mixed school and would remain so until a mistress was appointed. In 1856, a Mrs. Bootle was engaged as mistress and became responsible for the running of the girls school.

The fee paid by a scholar depended upon his father's occupation. As Table Two shows, the child of a labourer paid less than the child of a tradesman.

Table Two: Scholars Fees

<u>Class</u>	<u>Labourer's Child</u>	<u>Tradesman's Child</u>
1st and 2nd	2d. per week	6d. per week
3rd and 4th	2d. per week	4d. per week
5th and 6th	2d. per week	3d. per week

In February 1858, the fee became 2d. per week for all scholars. This action was taken by the committee in the hope that it might reverse the decline that had taken place in school attendance. In 1856 when the school opened it had one hundred and ten scholars on its books, by 1858 the number had dropped to ninety and the average daily attendance was only seventy. Eight years later, in 1866, the school fee was increased, children under the age of eight were charged 3d. per week and those above the age of eight paid 4d. per week. Twenty children were exempted as a result of poverty from paying the fee. Financial problems plagued the school, so in 1871, to make the school more financially sound, the committee introduced a number of measures, one of which was "that the free list" (those who were exempted from the paying of the school fee) "be entirely suspended except in cases of absolute necessity". In May 1882, the school fee was adjusted in order that scholars below standard two paid 2d. per week, and those in standard two and above 4d. In 1891, the school fee was reduced to 1d. per week and the school fee continued to be charged in the 1890's even though the fee grant was available from 1891. At a meeting of the Hessle National school committee on November 7th 1896, the question of school fees was raised and it was noted "the bulk of parents refuse to pay them because they have found that they need not do so".

The National school in Hessle was opened in 1856 and Table Three contains a breakdown of the expenses involved in the founding of the

school. The total cost of the school was £725.13s.2d., but the income of the committee was only £694.6s.0d; in other words, it was in debt to the amount of £32.7s.2d.

Table Three: School Expenditure - a breakdown

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Bricklayers	155	7	9	Denis Porter (cottage)	7	3	4
Joiner	185	10	3	Garden digging	2	5	0
Slater	55	1	0	School stove	6	17	9
Painter	9	0	0	Coal	7	1	0
Mason	27	10	0	Architect - Foale	25	0	0
Advertising	4	9	9	Books, Maps	10	15	6
Cost of land	200	0	0	Plumber Glazier	28	10	4
Fencing		9	0	Land conveyance charge	13	12	6
					<u>726</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>

The school hours of the new National school in Hessle were from nine until twelve in the morning, and two until four-thirty in the afternoon. During the winter months afternoon school was held from one-thirty until four. The new National school, unlike its predecessor - the Boys' National school - did not compel its scholars to attend divine service on a Sunday at the All Saints Church. The school committee held the view that it was the right of parents to send their children to a religious service that coincided with their beliefs. The school did, however, expect every scholar to attend a place of worship on Sunday. At Harvest time the scholars were given a month's holiday, a week was given at Christmas. The committee agreed all scholars would be provided with pens, slates and "such books as are only noted in the school (with the exception of copy and arithmetic and books in use in the higher classes)".

To secure a place on the committee of Hessle National School, a person had to give an annual subscription of at least one pound and be a householder or a freeholder. The requirements prevented members of the lower classes from becoming members of the school committee, even

though it was their children who were in large measure attending the school. All committee members had to belong to the Church of England.

In response to the passing of the 1870 Education Act, a meeting of the subscribers of Hessle National school was called for the 16th September 1871, to discuss "the necessity of a school Board in the parish". It was decided a school board was not required for Hessle, but three years later on the 14th March 1874, the question of establishing one was again raised. The subscribers "after some conversation ... decided that in consideration of the promising state of the school the question of closing the school and applying for a school board be postponed for the present". Lord Sandon's Education Act of 1876, set up School Attendance Committees in areas not covered by a School Board. Hessle came under the jurisdiction of the Sculcoates Attendance Committee.

The shortage of school accommodation in Hessle during the early 1880's, nearly resulted in a school board being established. On the 6th December 1879, Mr. Woodford, the schoolmaster at Hessle National school, informed the school committee the school building was "insufficient for the accommodation of all the pupils which at times attend". Nearly three years later, July 1882, the school committee asked Messrs. Smith and Broderick to prepare plans for a school to accommodate two hundred scholars. On the grounds of cost, the Managers later decided to extend the present school as this was cheaper than building a new one. The estimated cost of a new school was about £700, the cost of extending the existing school £570. The plan to extend the school was scrapped in November 1882; the committee had not received sufficient funds to enable it to carry out the project. Thus it seemed that the formation of a School Board was inevitable unless some other way of ending the deficiency in school accommodation could be found. A poll of the ratepayers took place to ascertain if a

majority of them were in favour of establishing a school board. Most of the rate payers ignored the voting paper, for it was noticed "that by far the greater number were returned unsigned". This suggests that many of the rate payers were not interested as to whether the children in Hessle were educated by a School Board or by the voluntary effort.

Table Four: Poll of the Hessle Rate Payers to see if a School Board was required

<u>Signed in Favour of a School Board</u>	<u>Signed in Favour of the Voluntary Effort</u>	<u>Unsigned</u>
10	90	295

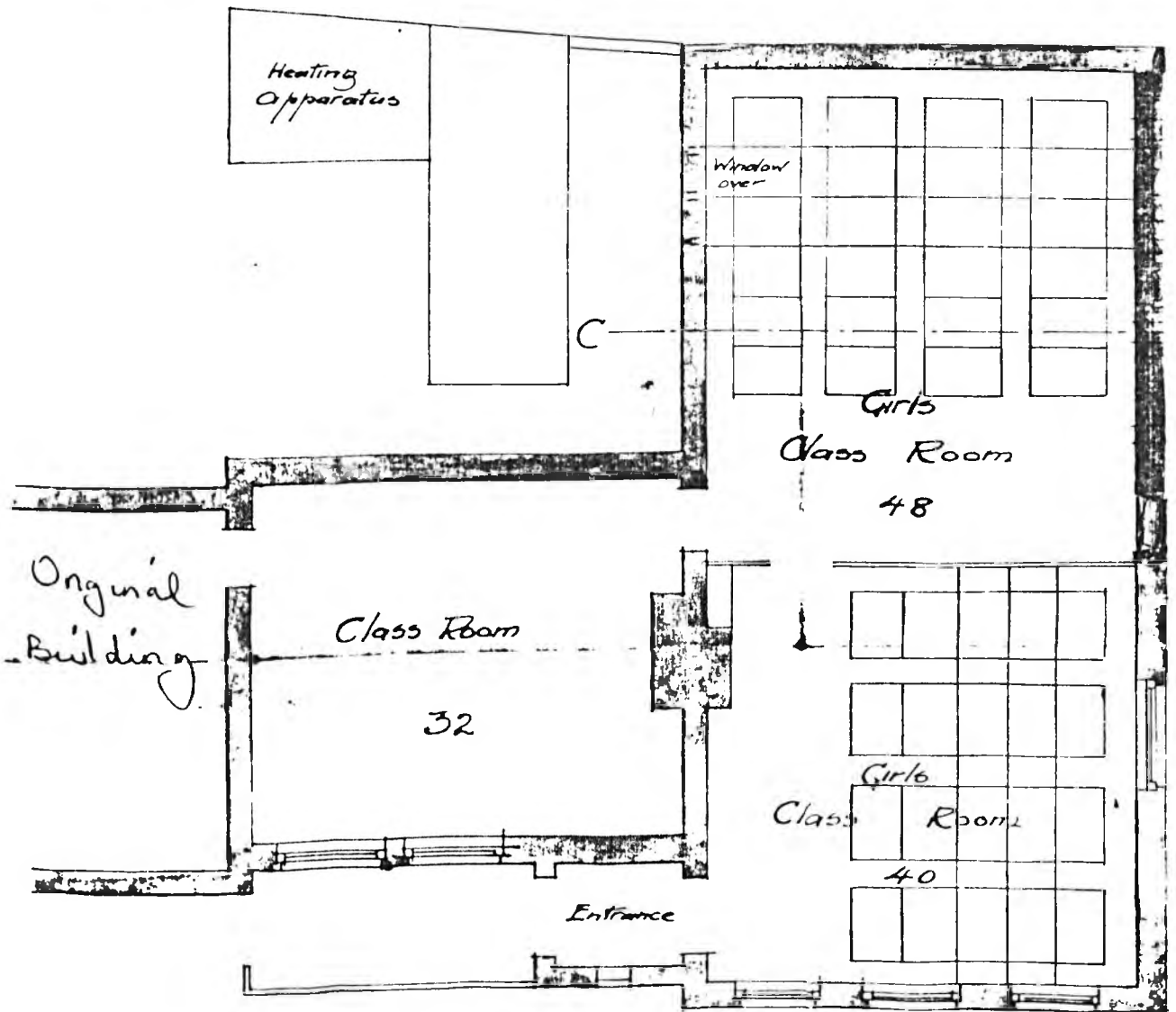
Of the rate payers who did sign the voting paper, a majority were in favour of the continuance of voluntary school effort in Hessle.

The problem of overcrowding at the Hessle National school remained. The committee decided that infants would no longer be taught at the school. The infants could attend a private school which was to be opened by a Mr. Lacey, but the Education Department informed the school committee that Lacey's school was too small to accommodate all infants:-

"My Lords understand that the premises now proposed for school purposes by Mr. Lacey are not such as could provide all the Infants that have recently been in attendance at the National school."

The problem was eased when a school for girls and infants was established in 1883 "in premises belonging to the Primitive Methodists in Southgate"⁽⁵³⁾. The opening of this school did not, however, end the deficiency in school accommodation in Hessle, and with this in mind the Hessle National School committee in 1886 attempted to extend its school. The school committee resolved to "apply to Messrs. Smith and Broderick for a new estimate on their old enlargement plans, or else for a new set of plans, such that the estimated expenditure should not exceed £450". The committee was promised £599, from local people to pay for the extension. Three months later, July 1886, the committee invited tenders

Figure Two: The Ground Plan of the 1886 Extension to the Hessle National School



for the extension of the school. The committee received six tenders for the work, Colley and Levett's tender was accepted as the cheapest at £461.9s.3d. The extension was to house the girls school while the existing building was to cater for boys and infants.

One important source of income for the school committee was the money earned by scholars at the annual standard examinations. To get the teachers to concentrate attention on preparing scholars for the standard examinations the school committee in 1872 decided the master would no longer get a share of the school pence but instead would receive twelve and a half new pence for each scholar who passed the annual inspection. The result was that the schoolmaster, Mr. Lord, resigned in December 1872. Lord's successor was a Mr. Beck, but he only taught at the Hessle National school for three months before being sacked. Beck lost his position because "the Inspector ... recommended the managers to get rid of him" - but no reason is given as to why H.M.I. recommended Beck to be dismissed. The position of schoolmaster went to a Mr. Woodford; he remained at the school for ten years until the summer of 1883. For three years, 1881, 1882 and 1883, the H.M.I. gave the school an unsatisfactory report concerning the annual inspection. "Mr. Woodford was ... called in and asked to explain" to the committee "the cause of the unsatisfactory reports. He was also questioned with reference to a letter of complaint as to his conduct from the Diocesan Inspector". At the next meeting of the school committee Woodford's resignation was accepted.

Woodford's successor as schoolmaster at Hessle National school was a Mr. Burt, who made a good first impression by getting a favourable report from the Diocesan Inspector. In 1890, the committee introduced a 'bonus' scheme; the master or mistress was to be given a financial bonus if they received a favourable report from the H.M.I.

The school committee on April 29th 1891, for example, declared that a "most satisfactory Report was read; proposed by Mr. Agre, seconded by Mr. Clark, that Mr. Vaughan (schoolmaster) receive a bonus of £20". The objective behind giving the bonus was to encourage the staff of the school to obtain the best results possible at the annual inspection - remembering that for the Hessle National school the standard examinations were a vital source of income.

In July 1892, the school committee resolved "to see Mr. Bilson, architect, for his advice (at a cost of not more than two guineas) as to the expense of providing for 150 infants, either by adding a storey to the present building or by erecting an independent school room". It was the opinion of Bilson that "the cost of adding a storey to the boys school or building an extra room and classroom in the playground of the same size would be equal in cost". Extra school accommodation was required because of the rapid increase in the number of scholars attending the school. The committee's minutes reveal that during the period 1884 to 1894, "the average attendance ... increased from 136 to 300". The plan to provide extra school accommodation for the infants was dropped, probably on the grounds of expense.

In 1896, the H.M.I.'s report noted the school accommodation was inadequate for the number of scholars attending the school. A local, Mrs. Whitaker, promised to give the committee £250 towards the cost of constructing a new boys school. At a meeting of the school committee on November 13th 1896, "the proposals for a new school were again discussed at length", and it was agreed the cost of providing a new school should not exceed £1,500. The next task for the committee was to find a site for the proposed school. "The Committee made an offer to the Church wardens to rent 1,500 square yards of their property in School Lane for twenty-one years at a rent of £10 per annum". The

offer was initially accepted by the Church wardens and the school committee instructed Bilson "to draw up plans for a school on the Church warden's land for two hundred children". In February 1898, H.M.I. "complained that the number of children in the Infants room were seriously in excess of the numbers allowed". The school committee wrote to the Education Department asking them to allow the inadequate school accommodation to continue until the new boys school was completed. For several reasons the school committee was unable to build a school on the Church warden's land and therefore had to find another site for the proposed school. Firstly, the school on the Church warden's land would be next to the Vicarage garden wall and the scholars would probably damage the wall "which would entail a serious expense to the Vicar". Secondly, if the school was built next to the Vicarage it would lead to the vicarage property depreciating in value. Thirdly, the school committee thought it best to purchase instead of lease land on which the school was to be constructed.

Lady Walker offered the school committee land and a cottage in the Hourne next to the National school for £400. The school committee accepted the offer. Bilson altered the plan of the new school to fit the new site and the school committee invited tenders for the construction. Messrs. Liggins and Hockney's tender was accepted, the cost of erecting the school being £1,581.10s.0d. The school was to be supplied with water from Hull Corporation. The committee's minutes state "the managers agreed that the Vicar sign the contract of the Corporation of Hull to supply water". As a result of insufficient funds to pay for the construction of the school, the school committee was forced to borrow money. On March 12th, 1898, it resolved to enquire from the Yorkshire Insurance Company at what rate they would be willing to lend not less than £300 and not more

than £500, to be repaid over a period of thirty or forty years". Mr. Burwell, a member of the school committee, "promised to make enquiries of the Yorkshire Penny Bank as to their loan terms". The enquiries of the school committee and Burwell, concerning respectively the Yorkshire Insurance Company and the Yorkshire Penny Bank came to nothing. Burwell informed the rest of the committee on March 15th 1899, that because "of heavy payments falling due shortly on account of the new school he had seen the manager of the York Union Bank and he was prepared to lend £400 at four per cent" on the understanding that the school committee paid off the debt at one hundred pounds per year and the deeds of the school were deposited with the Bank. The York Union Bank manager's offer was rejected by the school committee. A month later, however, in April 1899, the York Union Bank agreed "to advance £350, upon the guarantee of the Vicar, Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Burwell, G. Hearfield, E. Dykes and A.S. Agre - their individual liability being limited to their equal share in the above amount. Further extensions to the Church of England school took place in 1905 and 1911. In about 1956 a new school was built in Northolme Road, but the original buildings were still kept in use.

CHAPTER ONE: NOTES

- (1) Mary Sturt, 'The Education of the People' R.K.P., page 38.
- (2) *ibid.*, page 38.
- (3) *ibid.*, page 38.
- (4) *ibid.*, page 40.
- (5) D.J. O'Donoghue 'The Birth and Early History of the Hull School Board', page 2.
- (6) *ibid.*, page 2.
- (7) *ibid.*, page 2.
- (8) *ibid.*, page 2.
- (9) *ibid.*, page 3.
- (10) *ibid.*, page 3.
- (11) *ibid.*, page 4.
- (12) *ibid.*, page 4.
- (13) Mary Sturt does not name the district. 'The Education of the People', page 40.
- (14) Pamela Horn 'Education in Rural England 1800-1914', page 17.
- (15) Henry Richardson 'A History of Richard Fewson', 1924.
- (16) *ibid.*
- (17) *ibid.*
- (18) *ibid.*
- (19) The information comes from an arithmetic exercise book which belonged to one of Fewson's scholars - Appendix A contains a photocopy of it.
- (20) Henry Richardson 'A History of Richard Fewson', 1924.
- (21) Pamela Horn, *ibid.*, page 20.
- (22) *ibid.*, page 21.
- (23) Concerning the Charity School Movement, see M.G. Jones 'The Charity School Movement' Cambridge 1938. Joan Simon 'Was there a Charity School Movement? The Leicestershire Evidence' in B. Simon edit: 'Education in Leicestershire 1540-1940', D.H. Webster 'A Charity School Movement? The Lincolnshire Evidence' Lincolnshire History and Archaeology Vol.15, 1980.

- (24) J. Lawson 'Primary Education in the East Yorkshire 1560-1902, page 23.
- (25) *ibid.*, page 12.
- (26) D. Wardle 'Education and Society in 19th Century Nottingham', page 46.
- (27) M. Sturt 'The Education of the People', page 22.
- (28) *ibid.*, page 23.
- (29) Pamela Horn 'Education in Rural England 1800-1914', page 35.
- (30) *ibid.*, page 35.
- (31) *ibid.*, page 35.
- (32) Phillip McCann, ed., 'Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century', page 20.
- (33) Pamela Horn, *ibid.*, page 41/42.
- (34) Mary Sturt, *ibid.*, page 24.
- (35) Pamela Horn, *ibid.*, page 44.
- (36) *ibid.*, page 45/46.
- (37) Phillip McCann, ed., 'Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century', page 12.
- (38) Reports of the Commissioners concerning Charities and the Education of the Poor 1815-1839.
- (39) R.W. Rich, 'The training of teachers', page 7.
- (40) R. and C.C. Southney, 'The Life of Dr. Bell, 1844, Vol.II, page 344/345.
- (41) British and Foreign School Society, Annual Report, 1814, page 3.
- (42) R.W. Rich, *ibid.*, page 7.
- (43) Pamela Horn, *ibid.*, page 37.
- (44) *ibid.*, page 39.
- (45) J. Lawson, Primary Education in East Yorkshire, 1560-1902, page 15.
- (46) J. Pigot, Hull and National Directory 1834, page 12.
- (47) Henry Wakefield, ed., 'Hessle its History, Curiosities and Antiquities', page 12.
- (48) William White, East and North Riding of Yorkshire Directory, 1840, page 190.
- (49) Henry Wakefield, ed., *ibid.*, page 12.

- (50) Archbishop Herrings Visitation Returns, Vol.2, page 72.
- (51) F.W. Bramley, 'Spire', January 1979.
- (52) Henry Wakefield, ed., *ibid.*, page 14.
- (53) L. Stromberg 'Historical Notes on Church of England and Other Elementary Schools in Hessle'.

CHAPTER TWO

STATE INTERVENTION: WHITBREAD TO NEWCASTLE

From the beginning of the nineteenth century up to the 1870 Elementary Education Act, several Education Bills had been unsuccessful before Parliament. Their objective had been to end the deficiency that then existed in the provision and maintenance of elementary schooling for the 'lower orders'. The aim of this chapter is firstly to outline the proposals contained in four of the rejected Education Bills - Samuel Whitbread's Bill of 1807, the Parochial Schools Bill; Henry Brougham's, 1820, Parish Schools Bill; J.A. Roebuck's, 1833 resolution, that "the House would, with the smallest possible delay, consider the means of establishing a system of National Education";⁽¹⁾ W.J. Fox's, 1850, Education Bill, 'to Promote the Secular Education of the People, in England and Wales' - and secondly, to reveal the major objections raised against and the support given to the measures proposed by them when debated by Parliament.

Samuel Whitbread in 1807, introduced a Parochial Schools Bill into the House of Commons. It proposed "that in every Parish throughout England and Wales, there shall, within One Year, after the passing of this Act, be established and for ever thereafter continued, a Sufficient Number of Schools for the Instruction of the Children of the Poor of each such Parish, ..."⁽²⁾ The Bill empowered the Minister, Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor, of every parish, to prepare and forward proposals, concerning the building of a school, or the hiring of rooms suitable for use as a school, to the inhabitants of the parish at a meeting held in the vestry. If the inhabitants of the parish agreed to the proposals they were then to "be presented to the Justices acting for the Hundred within which each such parish is situated, at their Special Session".⁽³⁾ If the Justices did not approve of a particular section within the proposals, they would be sent back to the relevant parish. A second meeting of the inhabitants of the

parish would occur to alter the section of the proposals rejected by the Justices; having done this, the proposals were then returned to the Justices. If the revised proposals were then acceptable to the Justices, they "ordered the Execution of the Proposals".⁽⁴⁾ If the proposals from any parish were found to be totally unacceptable, then the Justices were to have the power and duty to establish and implement their own proposals. Article four, of the Bill, declares that if no proposals concerning the erection of a school, or the hiring of a building suitable for use as a school, came from the Minister, Churchwardens, Overseers of the poor, of a Parish, then the Justices were empowered "to make and issue their own proposals, ..."⁽⁵⁾

The rate payers of each parish were to meet the cost of establishing and maintaining the schools constructed in response to the Bill. The Bill stated:-

"That the Justices shall not be authorized, for any of the purpose aforesaid, to order the Payment or Expenditure within One Year, of a sum that can be raised by a Rate or Assessment of One Shilling in the pound upon the true annual Value and Produce of the rateable Property within the Parish, unless the Inhabitants of such Parish ... shall have consented thereto,"⁽⁶⁾

The Minister, Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor, were empowered by the Bill to find "proper Person(s) of good moral character and sufficient Qualification to be Masters and Mistresses of such schools, and shall state in writing the names of Persons approved by them to the Inhabitants of the Parish in Vestry, with the Salaries or Rewards proposed to be paid to such school masters and school mistresses".⁽⁷⁾ The names of the candidate(s) deemed suitable, by the parish meeting, for the position of school master and/or school mistress, had next to be "laid before the Justices at their next Special Session, ... and if the Justices shall approve of the Persons ...,"

the Justices, by writing under their Hands, shall appoint the Person(s) so by them approved to be master or mistress of such schools and shall also appoint the Salaries and Rewards to be paid to them respectively".⁽⁸⁾ If the Minister, Churchwardens, Overseers of the poor, of a parish did not lay before the Justices the name of a person or persons suitable for the position of school master and/or school mistress, then the "Justices are ... empowered to appoint a sufficient number of proper Persons of their own nomination, to be masters and mistresses of such schools,"⁽⁹⁾

The Minister, Churchwardens and the Overseers of the poor, were also empowered by the Bill, to visit every school within their parish and enquire into the conduct and management of the school and the behaviour of the master and mistress. They had the power "to suspend any such school master or school mistress, and to exclude him or her from the school", and to appoint some other suitable person to act in his or her place, "until he or she be restored or until some other Person shall have been appointed".⁽¹⁰⁾ The Bill stated:-

".... and it shall be lawful for the Minister, or any Two of the Churchwardens and Overseer, or any three of the Inhabitants of any Parish, to exhibit in Writing under his or their Hand or Hands to any Two Justices any charge of Misbehaviour, Neglect or Insufficiency of any such School master or School mistress; and in every case where the Minister, Churchwardens, Overseers, shall have suspended any school master or school mistress, such Ministers, Churchwardens, Overseers are hereby required forthwith to exhibit to Two such Justices their complaint against the school master or school mistress so suspended by them."⁽¹¹⁾

The Justices would then examine, on oath, those involved in the dispute, and determine if the complaint was 'just or not just'. If the case against the teacher was proved he would either lose his position at the school, or be suspended from duty for a period of time without salary - the punishment imposed by the Justices depending on the nature and scale

of the misdemeanour in question. If children at a school established by the Bill were disobedient they were to receive 'moderate correction' - the Bill does not explain what punishments were suitable when a child was in need of such treatment - or expulsion. The children of the poor were to be taught free of charge for a period of two years, between the ages of seven and fourteen. The Bill defined the children of the poor as:-

"the children of all Persons not having nor being able, by due Diligence, to obtain more than the ordinary Price of Labour in the Parish, such Price to be regulated by the wages of agricultural Labour in Parishes or Places to which the same can be applied, and by the lowest Price usually paid for the work of an able-bodied labourer in cities and towns, in which the Price of agricultural labour cannot be applied:- The Children of all Persons having respectfully more than four children supported by them, and not having nor being able by due Diligence, to obtain above one-fourth more than such respective Rates of labour:- All Children supported wholly or in part by the Parish:- And all Orphan and deserted Children, who shall not have nor be entitled to some property producing more than 3 shillings weekly for subsistence of each such Child."⁽¹²⁾

The schools established by the Bill were to have a very narrow curriculum, namely, reading, writing and arithmetic, the girls were also to be instructed in plain needlework, knitting "and such other useful employment".⁽¹³⁾ Noticeable by its absence is religious instruction; Whitbread appreciated that because of the differences existing between dissentors and the established Church, it would be salutary to exclude religious instruction from mention.

"The House" (of Commons) on July 21st, 1807, "went into a committee on the Parochial School Bill."⁽¹⁴⁾ William Sturges-Bourne, member for Christchurch, rose for the purpose of proposing that a clause of the Bill should be altered. His main objection to the Bill was that it enjoined compulsion, in that it stated, "in every Parish throughout England and Wales, there shall within One Year, after the passing of

this Act, be established ... sufficient number of schools ... (for) the children of the poor of each such Parish".⁽¹⁵⁾ Sturges-Bourne

proposed it be lawful but not compulsory for a parish to erect and maintain a school or schools and thus the Bill should read "it be lawful for the Churchwardens, Parish Officers" at a meeting of the local inhabitants held in the vestry, "in their respective parishes, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of establishing a school or schools ... for the better education and instruction of the poor of the said parish".⁽¹⁶⁾

William Wilberforce, member for York County, disagreed with the proposal, "he could not approve of the amendment proposed by the hon.gent., because if the voluntary measure which he recommended should be unsuccessful, it would be very difficult afterwards to carry the compulsory one into execution".⁽¹⁷⁾

Wilberforce was of the opinion schools should be established only where voluntary effort was inadequate. Whitbread attempted to refute Sturges-Bourne's claim that the Bill enjoined compulsion but his comments reveal he had misunderstood the criticism. Whitbread stated "the measure had been opposed without having been even read, for if it had been read, it could never have been asserted that it was compulsory. It did not compel a single child to attend; ..."⁽¹⁸⁾ Sturges-Bourne had not stated the Bill would make education for the children of the poor compulsory. He had argued that the Bill in its present form, had made it compulsory for every parish to provide schooling for the poor within one year of the Act being passed.

John Simeon, member for Reading, on the question of whether it were better "to adopt a voluntary or compulsory mode of education", reached the conclusion that a voluntary provision was best because if education became compulsory, families in rural areas would be deprived of a source of income, as their children would not be able to work in

the fields. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, professed "by adopting the amendment of his hon. friend (Sturges-Bourne) the House would part with the measure for this session in a state infinitely preferable to that in which it would otherwise be".⁽¹⁹⁾ The amendment was passed - 33 votes for, 12 votes against.

Pole Carew, member for Fowey, spoke against the Bill. He believed it was unfair to place the cost of educating the poor on the rate payers of each and every parish. He said, "he could never admit the justice of laying such an impost as two millions a year, the amount of the charge according to his own calculation, upon one class of the community, namely, the landed interest of the country, to educate another class".⁽²⁰⁾ After further discussion, the Bill was ordered to be printed as amended, and to be taken in further consideration later. In fact it was not until August the 4th that the Bill was again debated. Pole Carew again complained about the cost of implementing it, being of the opinion it would raise the poor rate. He declared "he had been told that the poor's rates were ultimately to be lowered, by enlightening the lower orders of the people; but he was convinced it would have quite the contrary effect, and tend to do nothing more than raising the poor's rate, and affording them an education beyond what their situations in life required".⁽²¹⁾ As the voluntary effort was growing daily, he proposed to leave out of the Bill the words "empowering magistrates to purchase or hire any buildings or lands whereupon to erect buildings for the purpose of schools".⁽²²⁾ Whitbread declared if the House supported Pole Carew's amendment, which in his opinion was 'totally destitute of foundation', it would render the Bill ineffectual. He also doubted whether the education supplied by the schools to be established by the Bill would, as Pole Carew suggested, educate the poor beyond their station in life. Whitbread reiterated his view that the education of the poor would in turn reduce the poor rate.

"... it was his opinion (that) it would be better to exalt the character of the Labourer (through education) so as to make him independent of his fellow-creatures for his livelihood, and this was the mode ultimately to reduce the poor's rate".⁽²³⁾ Pole Carew's amendment was rejected.

Pole Carew declared he would like to see some of the passages in the preamble altered. The preamble was as follows:-

"Whereas the Instruction of Youth tends most materially to the Promotion of Morality and Virtue and to the formation of good Members of Society, whereof we have the most convincing proof by long Experience in that Part of the United Kingdom called Scotland; and it is expedient that Provision should be made for the Instruction of the Children of the Poor of England and Wales,"

Pole Carew did not approve of the following two passages:- "whereas, the Instruction of Youth tends most materially to the promoting of morality and virtue" and "whereof we had a most convincing proof, by long Experience, in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland". He argued Whitbread had not produced to the House, evidence to support firstly his claim that the education of youth leads to the promotion of virtue and morality, and secondly that Scotland provided convincing proof that the education of the poor did lead to the promotion of morality and virtue. Therefore he moved, that the said preamble be amended by striking out the two offending passages. William Windham, member for Romney, supported Pole Carew. He remarked, Scotland had been referred to as proof of the great advantages resulting from instruction, but he thought it had no bearing on England and Wales because "... the character of the Scotch contributed more to obtain reading and writing, than reading and writing to form the character of the Scotch".⁽²⁴⁾ He was also of the opinion teaching the lower orders to read and write as proposed by the Bill, would not prove beneficial to the community at large. Whitbread refused to alter the preamble, which according to him "was the foundation of the Bill".⁽²⁵⁾

Referring to Windham, he commented he "was surprised and grieved that he should lend his great talents to those who seemed to think education an improper thing for the lower orders He was astonished that, in a mind so enlightened, there should be a speck so dark".⁽²⁶⁾

Whitbread in attempting to counter the arguments put forward in support of Pole Carew's proposal to alter the preamble of the Bill, ignored the objection that he had not produced evidence to the House showing the education of the lower orders in Scotland had led to the promotion of morality and virtue. The issue was raised again. Sir Thomas Turton remarked, "as to Scotland ... had the House any proof to ascertain that such was the fact, as alleged in the preamble?"⁽²⁷⁾ He asked "was the day labourer ... happier, for being instructed in reading and writing?" It was his opinion he was not. Turton used the mutiny at the Howe in an attempt to substantiate his contention:-

"Did the House not recollect the mutiny at the Howe. He might venture to state, from the information of an Hon. Admiral, that upon that occasion the mutineers had daily and nightly meetings on board of the ships, at which meetings they employed themselves in reading the newspapers and other publications; and that this tended much to the consequences which ensued."⁽²⁸⁾

Wilberforce came to the support of the Bill; he was totally against the amendment proposed by Pole Carew, remarking that the improvement of the character of the people of Scotland was most apparent as a result of their receiving an education. The amendment was rejected, 28 votes for, 33 against.

The House of Lords debated the Parochial Schools Bill on August the 11th. Like the Commons it objected to the preamble. Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary of State for the Home Department, declared "he thought the preamble of the Bill absolute nonsense".⁽²⁹⁾ Hawkesbury could not agree "that education, blended with morality, was more extended amongst the Lower Classes of the Scotch population, than

amongst those of this country ..."⁽³⁰⁾ He objected to the Bill, too, because the curriculum did not provide for religious instruction. He was pleased to note that in the Commons, the amendment which made it lawful but not compulsory for the parish to establish a school or schools for the poor, was passed. To his regret, however, "it placed the adoption of such schools at the sole discretion of the majority of parishioners in number, without any reasonable discrimination of rank and property, in the parish, which certainly ought, in such a matter, to have their proportionate weight, and the want of which would be a subject of constant dispute and division".⁽³¹⁾

Lord Holland, a firm supporter of the Bill, held the view that the Bill should not be altered in any way, because it "was so totally devoid of all possible ground for objections".⁽³²⁾ He was surprised by the hostility Lord Hawkesbury had demonstrated. Holland further argued the preamble was far from nonsense. Lord Redesdale could not approve of the Bill in its present shape, though he was not against a national system of education. His principal objection to the Bill, was that it had "little reference ... to the religious establishments of the country" and that, "almost all its provisions were likely to be productive of much practical mischief", therefore "he must agree with the noble Secretary of State (Lord Hawkesbury) who moved that the consideration of it (the Bill) be postponed".⁽³³⁾ The Chancellor, Lord Eldon, like Lord Redesdale, was concerned about the lack of religious control over the proposed parish schools - "Besides it (the Bill) tended to be a departure from the great principle of instruction in this country, by taking it in a great measure out of the superintendance and control of the clergy".⁽³⁴⁾ The Lord Chancellor gave further support to the views expressed by Lord Redesdale by his condemnation of the clause that stated the establishment of a school would be under the control of the inhabitants of the parish:-

"... in whatever shape any Bill of this kind might appear, he never would agree to any that left matters of this nature to be judged on and decided by the majority of the inhabitants of a parish. To what confusion might not such a mode of decision open a door? Would it not give rise to all the mischiefs of an election, among the majority of the inhabitants of every parish, of whatever description of people they might be composed."⁽³⁵⁾

The Archbishop of Canterbury was in agreement with the Lord Chancellor and Lord Redesdale, in that if the Bill became law, it would result in the established Church having little control over the schools established in response to the Act, and this "would go to subvert the first principles of education in this country, which had hitherto been, and he trusted would continue to be under the control and auspices of the Establishment".⁽³⁶⁾ Earl Stanhope disagreed with the Archbishop of Canterbury that the established Church had the right to a monopoly of education in England and Wales.

(He) "was sorry to differ from the right reverend prelate ... on what he must call the abominable principle, that no part of the population of the country ought to receive education unless in the tenets of the established Church. Was it reasonable or just to say that the children of catholics, presbyterians, quakers, and all the other innumerable sects of dissenters from the established Church in this country, were to be debarred all sources of public education, supported by public benevolence, unless they were to become converts to our established religion?"⁽³⁷⁾

Stanhope asked the Archbishop of Canterbury, would he be content with the following situation, that the catholic faith became the established religion of a country, and "that no poor protestants should be educated there unless he was allowed to be brought up a catholic?"⁽³⁸⁾ Stanhope thought the teaching of reading and writing to the lower orders as proposed by the Bill was an excellent idea, especially as a manufacturing country such as England depended "on a clear understanding and some degree of mathematical and mechanical knowledge, which it was impossible to attain without first receiving the rudiments and foundation this Bill

proposed,"⁽³⁹⁾ Lord Hawkesbury's motion to postpone the second reading of the Bill for a period of three months was carried and this marked its demise. The failure of this attempt to impose a system of education for the poor by law did not halt the spread of schools, primarily because voluntary effort was given a new stimulus by the founding of the Royal Lancasterian Society in 1808, and that of its rival the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales, in 1811.

Joseph Lancaster, the son of a shopkeeper, developed the monitorial system of education, which he practised in his school in the Borough Road, London, opened in 1798. Lancaster soon became a figure of national interest, and in 1805, met George III at Weymouth. At this meeting the King pledged to give him support, for it was His Majesty's declared wish that every poor child be taught to read the Bible. In 1814, the Royal Lancasterian Society changed its name to the British and Foreign School Society, its objective being to propagate a non-sectarian system of education throughout the country. The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (from now on referred to as the National Society) "was both a continuation of the work of the S.P.C.K.^(A) and an indication of the Church of England's continuing determination to keep mass education within its own ambience".⁽⁴⁰⁾ The National Society, according to the first annual report issued in 1812, had as its aim "to communicate to the poor generally, by means of a summary mode of education lately brought into practice, such knowledge and habits as are sufficient to guide them through life in their proper station, especially to teach them the doctrine of Religion according to the Established Church, ..."⁽⁴¹⁾

.....

(A) S.P.C.K. stands for the Society for the Promoting Christian Knowledge. It was founded in 1698, one of the principle founders being the Rev. Dr. Bray.

In addition to the activities of the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society, there were other voluntary movements in the early years of the nineteenth century, the objective of which was to educate the lower orders. Robert Owen was born in 1771, at Newtown in Montgomeryshire. In the late 1780's he moved to Manchester. "His first job in Manchester was with a draper", we are told, "but before long, on borrowed capital, he was in partnership on a small scale making machinery for spinning cotton and in 1792 he became manager over some five hundred workpeople at the new mill of Peter Drinkwater".⁽⁴²⁾ In 1800, Owen moved to New Lanark, becoming director of the New Lanark Cotton Mills. He gave financial support to both Bell and Lancaster. "... man is entirely the creature of circumstance" he declared, and "by judicious training the infants of any one class in the world may be readily transformed into men of another class".⁽⁴³⁾ Thus Owen took little account of hereditary, "and therefore for him education is all powerful".⁽⁴⁴⁾ Owen criticised both the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society in that their "matter of instruction ... (is) almost as wretched as any which can be devised".⁽⁴⁵⁾ He singled out Bell's system of "initiating the children of the poor in all the tenets of the Church of England" as an "attempt to ward off a little longer the yet dreaded period of a change from ignorance to reason, from misery to happiness".⁽⁴⁶⁾ He criticised both systems:-

"... children may be taught, by either Dr. Bell's or Mr. Lancaster's system, to read, write, account and sew, and yet acquire the worst habits, and have their minds rendered irrational for life. Reading and writing are merely instruments by which knowledge, either true or false, may be imparted."⁽⁴⁷⁾

The New Lanark Mills had been founded in 1788 by David Dale in partnership with Richard Arkwright. A distinguishing feature of Dale's management was the running of a school; there were eleven and a half

working hours daily and the children had their supper at seven. From about seven-thirty to nine o'clock in the evening classes were also held:-

"The schools at present are attended by 507 scholars, in instructing whom there are 16 teachers employed; 13 in teaching to read, two to write, and one to figure."⁽⁴⁸⁾

Owen replaced Dale, in 1800, but it was not until 1816 that he was able to open the 'Institution for the Formation of Character', which was to house the schools, "although, of course, the development of the educational facilities at New Lanark had been going ahead on a limited basis right from the beginning".⁽⁴⁹⁾ Owen opened an Infant school at New Lanark, and children were admitted from the age of about two. Commenting about the Infant school, Owen emphasised in 1816, that the pupils were taught "by example and practice ... whatever may be supposed useful, that they can understand: and this instruction is combined with as much amusement as is found to be requisite for their health, and to render them active, cheerful, and happy, fond of the school and of their instructors".⁽⁵⁰⁾ The pupils moved up from the Infant school after a stay of two or three years, their schooling continued to be "instructed in healthy and useful amusements for an hour or two every day".⁽⁵¹⁾ By amusements Owen meant dancing, music - both vocal and instrumental, and singing. Lessons were given in the three 'R's' and in history, geography and natural history. The happy cheerful atmosphere of the New Lanark schools ran counter to the theories of education being commonly practised in the monitorial schools. No one was being hoisted up to the ceiling in a basket or shackled to someone else or to a desk. There was no elaborate system of punishments and rewards - Owen was opposed to both on principle. "Punishment", he wrote, "in a rationally conducted infant school will never be required No mark of merit or demerit should be given to any; no partiality shown to anyone".⁽⁵²⁾

Owen's work at New Lanark gave rise to the Infant-School Movement. In 1818, a school on the New Lanark principle was founded in Westminster, and a similar one in Spitalfields in 1820. The latter was put under the control of Samuel Wilderspin. In 1823 Wilderspin published a treatise 'On the Importance of Educating the Infant Children of the Poor', and this led in 1824 to the creation of the London Infant School Society. It aimed to provide schools for children aged two to six, "whose only source of education up to that time had been the very inefficient dame schools".⁽⁵³⁾ A Glasgow merchant, David Stow, founded in 1826, the Glasgow Infant School Society; "Dr. Charles Mayo and his daughter took up the cause in the late 1820's and in 1836 set up the Home and Colonial Infant School Society."⁽⁵⁴⁾

In 1815 Samuel Whitbread died and Henry Brougham, who was later to become Lord Brougham and Vaux, took on the role of protagonist of the cause of popular education in the House of Commons. His efforts led in 1816 to a select committee being appointed to enquire into the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis (London). It reported, "a very large number of poor children are wholly without the means of Instruction, although their parents appear to be generally very desirous of obtaining that advantage for them".⁽⁵⁵⁾ The committee reached the conclusion "that the greatest advantages would result to the Country from Parliament taking proper measures, ... for supplying the deficiency of the means of Instruction which exists at present, and for extending this blessing to the Poor of all descriptions".⁽⁵⁶⁾ The work of the Parliamentary Committee was extended to take in the whole of the country. It reported in 1818, that "the means of educating the Poor are steadily increasing in all considerable towns as well as in the metropolis".⁽⁵⁷⁾ On the other hand the evidence given to the committee revealed "a very great deficiency exists in

the means of educating the Poor, wherever the population is thin and scattered over country districts".⁽⁵⁸⁾ The outcome of the two reports of the Parliamentary committee on the education of the lower orders in the metropolis and the country as a whole, 1816 and 1818 respectively, was Brougham's Parish School Bill of 1820, 'for the better Education of the Poor in England and Wales'. The Bill aimed to fill gaps that then existed in the voluntary system, thus foreshadowing the 1870 Education Act. Brougham's Bill envisaged, however, that existing schools, if willing, be taken over by the State. The Bill proposed:-

"that from and after this Act, it shall and may be lawful for the Grand Jury assembled at the General Quarter Session of the Peace, in any County or Riding, where any Parish or Chapelry, or any part of any Parish or Chapelry may be, for any two Justices acting with the County or Riding, ... Or Rector, Vicar, perpetual Curate, or Ministry of any Parish ... or any five Households within any Parish or Chapelry to make a complaint in writing to the Justices assembled in General Quarters Session for the County or Riding, where such Parish or Chapelry, or any part thereof lies, setting forth that there is no school, within such Parish or Chapelry, where reading, writing and accounts may be conveniently learnt; and that there is no such school within a convenient distance of such Parish or Chapelry, or that there is only one such school within such Parish or Chapelry, or two or more such schools ... and that the same is or are insufficient for the use of the inhabitants thereof."⁽⁵⁹⁾

Before the complaint stating that the parish or chapelry did not have a school that taught reading, writing and accounts, or that the school which already existed was insufficient to meet the requirements of the parish or chapelry could be sent to the Grand Jury assembled at the General Quarter Session of the Peace in the respective County or Riding, it had to be read out in the Chapel or Church on four successive Sundays, and a written copy of the complaint to be fixed to the door. The Church or Chapel wardens had the right to defend the Parish or Chapel against the complaint. They had to put their case in writing and send it, after it had been signed by five householders, to the Justices at the General Quarter Session of the Peace, in the respective

County or Riding, "provided that it reached the Session one week before the first day of the Session whereat the matter of such complaint shall be tried".⁽⁶⁰⁾

If the Justices at the Quarter Session reached the conclusion that the complaint was correct, then a school would be constructed in the respective Parish or Chapel. The Justices were empowered by the Bill, "to issue their warrant, ... to the Receiver or Receivers of the Land Tax for the County or Riding, where the said school or schools are respectively to be provided ... (the) warrant shall state the sum to be advanced by the said receiver or receivers out of the monies in his or their hands".⁽⁶¹⁾ The money, a sum not exceeding £200 for each school, was to be paid to the 'officiating Minister' and Church or Chapel wardens of the Parish or Chapel concerned. The receiver or receivers of the Land Tax had the right to claim the amount they had issued to Ministers and Church or Chapel wardens from the Treasury. Thus the Central Government was funding the erection of the schools, unlike Whitbread's Bill of 1807 where the cost of providing the schools for the poor was to fall upon the rate payers of each Parish. The 1820 Bill proposed "the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury shall, and they are hereby empowered and required to order to be repaid out of the consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, to the receiver or receivers, such sums as may be advanced by them as aforesaid, provided the same do not exceed the sum of £200, for providing any one school, and if it does exceed the sum of £200,"⁽⁶²⁾ the receiver or receivers were to be compensated out of the county rates.

Concerning the erection of the schools, the Bill forbade the Church or Chapel wardens of any Parish or Chapel to be employed, or in any way concerned in building, or otherwise helping to provide, for 'a valuable consideration', any school house or master's house, or in

laying out any schoolmaster's garden. The 1820 Education Bill proposed if a Parish or Chapelry required a school master and/or mistress, the vacancy had to be stated during the Sunday service in the Church or Chapel, immediately after "that part at which the banns of marriage are used (sic) to be published".⁽⁶³⁾ At a meeting, held four to six weeks after the statement made during Sunday service, informing the inhabitants a vacancy existed for a school master and/or mistress, the inhabitants of the Parish/Chapel who contributed towards the salary of the school master/mistress, had read to them, by a Church or Chapel warden, the names of the candidates for the aforementioned position. The Church warden, after commenting on each candidate's qualifications - moral and academic - would proceed to "call upon the meeting to decide by a majority of voices, which of the said candidates shall be elected to fill the said office".⁽⁶⁴⁾ Unlike Whitbread's Education Bill of 1807, which gave the Justices of the Peace the final word in deciding which candidate - if any - was to become the school master/mistress, Brougham's Bill gave the local Vicar or Rector the task of deciding which candidate was to be appointed to fill the vacancy. The Vicar or Rector would not appoint a candidate unless he was satisfied that he was a member of the Church of England, of good moral character, and could teach satisfactorily. If the Vicar or Rector found that none of the candidates were suitable for appointment to the stated position, then the whole procedure of finding a suitable person for the position had to be undertaken again, and this would continue until the Vicar or Rector had put before him the name of a candidate he deemed suitable for the position.

The money to pay the salary of the school master was to be obtained "by an equal assessment upon the inhabitants of the Parish or Chapelry where the said school or schools are to be provided, which said levy to

be called the school rate, shall be made in respect of the same property, and in the same manner as the poor rates are now levied therein".⁽⁶⁵⁾ The school master/mistress had to be over twenty-four years of age but under forty. He/she was required to have a certificate of "character and abilities"; the local Curate, Minister, Rector, could not be considered for the position of school master.

A Bishop of a diocese where a school or schools had been provided as a result of the Act, had the right to visit the institutions, or he could direct a member of the clergy to undertake such a visit. The local Minister or Rector had the power to examine the scholars to see if they were progressing in their work. The school fee a child paid depended on the socio-economic status of his parents. If a child's parents were paupers, then the child was to be educated free of charge. If they were not receiving parochial relief, then the weekly fee could not be more than 4d., or less than 1d.

Brougham's 1820 Education Bill specified the number of hours of teaching per day must not exceed eight, nor be less than six during the working week - Monday to Friday inclusive. On Saturday at least three hours of schooling had to take place; it was the duty of the local clergyman to make sure the aforementioned was carried out in his parish. The curriculum, Brougham envisaged for the schools established in response to his Bill, was in one respect similar to that proposed by Whitbread in 1807, in that the children were to learn to read and write; Brougham, unlike Whitbread^(A), proposed religious instruction as the backbone of the curriculum. Passages from the scriptures were to be used in the teaching of reading and writing. The Bill states:-

.....

(A) The curriculum proposed by Whitbread in his 1807 Education Bill did not include religious instruction.

"in every School to be provided under this Act, the master thereof shall teach the Holy Scripture in the version authorised and appointed by law to be used in Churches, and shall use selected passages thereof for lessons, whereby to teach reading and writing."(66)

Each school was to be provided with the Catechism of the established Church, together with "such portion of the Liturgy thereof, as the resident officiating Minister of the Parish or Chapelry, where such school is situated may appoint, shall be taught during the half of the school hours of one day in the week".(67) The Act had a built-in safeguard for those whose religious beliefs were not in accord with the Established Church. This conscience clause - a later version being successfully embodied in the 1870 Education Act - declared:-

"Provided always, that if any parent or guardian, of any scholar attending such school, shall notify to the master thereof, that he or she desires such a scholar may not attend on the days and at the hours when such Catechism or portion of the Liturgy are taught such scholars shall not in any manner of way be obliged to attend at such days and hours, nor punished, rebuked, or otherwise chastised or molested for not attending."(68)

On Sundays the scholars were expected to attend a service of the Established Church; this proposal also contained a conscience clause.

Brougham on April 28th, 1820, informed the House he intended "at an early period after the Whitsuntide holydays", to "submit a motion relative to the education of the poor".(69) He was of the opinion the consideration of such an important matter should not be delayed, but he could not at that moment press forward on the issue in question because, "the Education Digest, on which the measure he should have to propose would be founded, could not be sooner prepared; and it was desirable that it should be in the hands of Members before the question was brought under discussion".(70) On Wednesday, June 28th, Brougham informed the House "he had at length determined to bring forward a motion, which in his estimation was second to none in its magnitude

or its importance".⁽⁷¹⁾ He "moved that leave be given to bring in a Bill, for the better Education of the Poor in England and Wales".⁽⁷²⁾ Leave was given. In his speech Brougham revealed that a large number of children were receiving no education at all. This fact had been highlighted by the 1816 and 1818 Parliamentary Committees' enquiring into the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis and generally in England and Wales. Brougham maintained children between the ages of seven and thirteen in England and Wales represented between one-ninth to one-tenth of the total population, yet only between one-fourteenth and one-fifteenth of the population was receiving some form of education - "... the proportion of those actually receiving education was only one-fourteenth or one-fifteenth, so that there appeared to be a considerable deficiency".⁽⁷³⁾ Brougham further remarked children who attended a dame school were not really being educated, therefore it was really one-sixteenth of the population who were receiving an education:-

"Another deduction ought also to be made for the dame schools, where 53,000 were educated, or rather not educated, for it amounted to no education at all, since the children were generally sent too young, and taken away just when they were competent to learn The average means of mere education, therefore, was only in fact one-sixteenth in England;"⁽⁷⁴⁾

Scotland, he believed, with its Parish schools showed what could be achieved; "the education there was in the proportion of 1 - 9th or between 1 - 9th and 1 - 10th".⁽⁷⁵⁾ Elementary education in Wales, according to Brougham, was in a worse state than in England; in Wales only one-twentieth of the population was receiving an elementary education.

Having illustrated the deficiency that existed in the provision of elementary schooling in England and Wales, Brougham put forward proposals for ending it. An outline of the proposal contained within the Bill was noted earlier. He asked the House for leave to bring in the Bill for the better Education of the Poor of England and Wales, and

leave was granted. The House, seemingly, was in favour of dealing with the deficiency that existed. Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declared, ".... he should best discharge his duty by giving his consent to the bringing in of the Bill, reserving to some future occasion the discussion of its principles".⁽⁷⁶⁾ Mr. V. Fitzgerald remarked he had listened to Brougham's speech, "with the utmost attention, and expressed his opinion that the details presented in it rendered it more incumbent than ever upon the House to take the state of education throughout the country into their immediate consideration".⁽⁷⁷⁾ No dissenting voice was heard against any part of Brougham's speech.

Brougham, in his original proposals for the better education of the poor in England and Wales, declared every school master/mistress, "must be a member of the established Church, and have taken the sacrament, in testimony of that fact",⁽⁷⁸⁾ one month before his/her election to the said position. This forcing of a candidate to take the sacrament caused a great deal of alarm among dissenters. On July 11th, Brougham's Bill, entitled 'for better providing the means of Education for His Majesty's Subjects', was given its first reading. Brougham, moving that the Bill be read a second time on July 12th said "he wished to notice, and to allay an alarm which, he understood, his Bill had excited amongst the Protestant Dissenters and the Roman Catholics".⁽⁷⁹⁾ He further added "certain dissenters seemed to consider this as a Bill introduced for the purpose of 'rooting out the last remains of religious liberty in this country'".⁽⁸⁰⁾ He informed the House the offending proposal, the Sacramental test for school teachers, had been omitted in the present Bill, but the school teacher still had to be a member of the Established Church:-

"He (Brougham) would now state, that he had omitted in the present Bill the sacramental test to schoolmasters, He made this alteration, as he knew persons who were averse from taking the sacrament (not from any objection to it, but

on the contrary, from a reverence for the ceremony), because they did not think it was fitting to receive it as the passport to a civil office."⁽⁸¹⁾

William Smith, Member for Norwich, declared, "with respect to the Protestant dissenters, he was well aware that much alarm prevailed amongst them as to the general structure and bearing of the Bill. But that alarm had not, as far as he knew, induced them to go so far as to use the expression which his learned friend (Brougham) had quoted, or anything like it. He knew of no Protestant dissenters who spoke of this Bill as introduced for the purpose of rooting out the last remains of religious liberty in this country".⁽⁸²⁾ Smith was pleased that the necessity for a school master to take a sacramental test had been abandoned. Brougham's Bill did not receive a second reading, both Houses being preoccupied with the Bill of Pains and Penalties against Her Majesty.

The Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1832, resulted in the industrial centres being represented in the House. "The Reformed Parliament met early in 1833 and by the summer the reforming part were ready to try their strength. The preliminary trial of opinion was made by Roebuck, the radical Member for Bath".⁽⁸³⁾ On the 30th July, 1833, he moved a resolution that "the House would, with the smallest possible delay, consider the means of establishing a system of National Education".⁽⁸⁴⁾ John Arthur Roebuck was of the opinion education was not solely the process by which a child learnt to read, write and do arithmetic:-

"At the outset, to prevent misconception, I may be permitted to describe what I mean by education Education is usually supposed to signify merely learning to read and write But this is not education it is simply some means of education."⁽⁸⁵⁾

Roebuck added further "education means not merely the conferring of these necessary means or instruments (the ability to read and write) for the acquiring of knowledge, but it means also the training or

fashioning of the intellectual and moral qualities of the individual, that he may be able and willing to acquire knowledge, and to turn it to its right use. It means framing the mind of the individual, (so) that he may become a useful and virtuous member of society in the various relations of life."⁽⁸⁶⁾ Roebuck maintained the result of such an education would be the recipient would have a thorough understanding of his/her position in society, and that this in turn would lead to a decline in social discontent. He declared, "they would learn what a government could, and what a government could not do to relieve their distress - they would learn what depended on themselves, what on others, Of all the knowledge that can be conferred on a people, this is most essential; let them once understand thoroughly their social condition, and we shall have no more unmeaning discontents - no wild and futile schemes of reform,"⁽⁸⁷⁾

The government, Roebuck declared, was guilty of inflicting misery upon a large slice of the population by allowing them to exist in a state of ignorance. Roebuck remarked that the government "by fostering and perpetuating ignorance among the people, inflicts more injury than by any or all of its direct oppressions - all its immense taxation, considered as a burthen (sic), is a feather in the scale when compared with the ills produced by the ignorance it has engendered."⁽⁸⁸⁾

Roebuck attempted to support his resolution, by stating that a system of national education would directly lead to a reduction in crime because education could be employed as an instrument of social control. "It should be remembered", he declared, "that no system of police or of punishment, and no system for the regulation of the poor can be complete without embracing education as a part of the means to be employed."⁽⁸⁹⁾ He further added, "I think that among the most

potent means of such prevention" - of crime - "it is a good education of the mass of the people. If as a mere matter of police, the education of the people ought to be considered as a part of the duties of the government."⁽⁹⁰⁾ He concluded if the role of the government was not solely to prevent evil but also to "directly promote good - to increase, by all the means which its powers confer on it, the happiness and well-being of its subjects - then the mode in which the people are educated ought to be one of its first and most important objects of consideration."⁽⁹¹⁾ Roebuck was of the opinion there was one very important reason why the government should provide a national system of education, that being the failure of the voluntary effort to provide an education for all the lower orders and that this had therefore hindered the development of the happiness of the whole community.

Roebuck proposed education had to be compulsory, and not left to the individual parent or guardian as to whether a child should attend a school. He declared, "I would say, that I would oblige, by law, every child in Great Britain and Ireland from perhaps, six years of age to twelve years of age to be a regular attendant at a school".⁽⁹²⁾

Roebuck also argued for the establishment of a national system of education on the grounds he could see the growing political importance of the mass of the population, and it was vital they used this power properly. They had to be educated. This view was later put forward by Robert Lowe, after the passing of the Parliamentary Reform Bill of 1867 which increased the franchise. Lowe commented "we cannot suffer any large number of our citizens, now that they have obtained the right of influencing the destinies of the country to remain uneducated. It was a great evil that we did so before But now it is a matter of self preservation"⁽⁹³⁾

Roebuck declared the following should be established, infant schools, schools of Industry, Normal schools (teacher training) and that evening classes should be held. Each Parish, without exception, was to have an infant school and a school of Industry. Children of all classes could attend the infant school, but in the case of children from the middle class and above, the law enforcing compulsion did not apply. This mixing of children from the various social classes would, as Roebuck saw it, result in "much benefit", for the children of the poor. "The more educated mothers", he declared, "would anxiously watch after their own offspring, and thus, in reality preside over the well-being of the others."⁽⁹⁴⁾

The schools of industry were to attempt to fulfil the following objectives. Firstly, "the imparting of what may be termed scholarship" and secondly, "the knowledge of some trade".⁽⁹⁵⁾ By scholarship he did not solely mean the children should learn only to read, write and do simple arithmetic. He stated, "I would give such knowledge as would create a taste for art, music and singing should be made, as in Germany, an invaluable portion of instruction. Added to this, such portions of natural history, and of the nature of our own physical system, as would enable the people generally to understand the phenomena of nature, and to preserve their health. This, with the careful watching of their moral character, and the communicating (of) a general knowledge of our Government and other institutions, with such portion of Political Economy, as regarded their condition (the lower orders) would be the object of the schools of Industry."⁽⁹⁶⁾ The age of the pupils attending the schools of Industry would be between seven and fourteen inclusive. In the towns, he proposed evening classes should be run, for those over the age of fourteen. Such classes, he believed, would be of immense service to the community in that they would prevent

"idle habits, and low and debauching pleasures from arising among the youths in the towns".⁽⁹⁷⁾

A national system of elementary education was doomed from the outset, unless sufficient teachers were available. Thus Roebuck proposed the establishment of Normal Schools, the function of which was to train teachers. Pupils at the schools of Industry, who did well, were to be given the option of going on to a Normal School. The training at the Normal School "would occupy their time till they reached the age of twenty"; if a scholar was successful, he/she "would receive a certificate constituting them teachers of National^(A) schools".⁽⁹⁸⁾ To get a place at a Normal School, a candidate had to pass an entrance examination, which was open to all. To pay for the construction and maintenance of the Infant Schools, Normal Schools and Schools of Industry, assuming that private funds were insufficient, taxation was to be increased:-

".... if indeed the private contributions, and existing funds dedicated to instruction be sufficient, I shall feel happy, but if they should not, then there should be no hesitation to lay on a tax for the purpose."⁽⁹⁹⁾

Roebuck next tackled the question of who should be the governing authority over the new schools. This was a delicate area because "the claim was sometimes made that the Established Church had the sole right to supply and supervise the elementary education of the people of Britain".⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Roebuck proposed the country be divided into school districts, and the people who contributed towards the construction and/or maintenance of a school(s) in a district, should elect every year, five persons who would be called the 'School Committee'. Its function was to select and if necessary dismiss the master, "to supervise the school, and, in the last resort to determine on the instruction that

.....

(A) The words 'national schools' in the statement made by Roebuck, do not refer to the schools established by the National Society, but to the schools that would have been built as part of the national system of education, if Roebuck's proposals had become law.

should be then afforded".⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Roebuck further declared a member of the Cabinet should become the Minister for Education, or as he put it "the Minister for Public Instruction". The state schools were to be under the supervision of the Minister for Public Instruction, "He would have to determine, on the application of the School Committees, what extra schools should be built. He would apportion the sum of money, to be given to each district, for Masters, for books, and repairs (sic), and a hundred other things".⁽¹⁰²⁾ The Normal Schools were to be directly under the control of the Minister for Public Instruction. The Minister, in his capacity as general supervisor of the Schools of Industry and Infant Schools, had the power to make suggestions on how to improve the standard of teaching, and the contents of curriculum. Roebuck stated, "it would be a very important part of his duty (Minister for Public Instruction) to watch over the composition of books of instruction"⁽¹⁰³⁾ to be used in the aforementioned institutions. Roebuck concluded his speech with the following resolution:-

"That this House, deeply impressed with the necessity of providing for a due education of the people at large; and believing that to this end the aid and care of the State are absolutely needed, will, early during the next session of Parliament, proceed to devise a means for the universal and national education of the whole people."⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

The motion was seconded by George Grote, a member for the City of London, because he was of the opinion "the present system of education was defective" and "the defects of the system would not be remedied till the Government bestowed upon this important subject a greater degree of care than was now done".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Lord Althorp feared if the motion was passed, and the state created a national system of elementary education, it would lead to the end of voluntary effort, and "if that should be the case here, nothing could be more fatal to the cause of

education".⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ He thought Roebuck's proposals were not practicable, but if they were Roebuck should "have moved at once for leave to bring in a Bill as have merely introduced this Resolution, for, if the Government was to take up the matter, they could do as well without the Resolution as with it", and indeed "the Resolution would then be disadvantageous rather than beneficial, for it was not desirable to pledge to the House as to what it should do next session".⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

O'Connell was in agreement with Lord Althorp, for he thought it pointless to debate the Resolution put forward by Roebuck until a Parliamentary Committee had looked into the provision of education for the lower orders.

Joseph Hume, the member for Middlesex, declared himself in favour of the Resolution, especially that if any schools were established in response to the House passing the motion and instigating a national system of elementary education, they should be under the control of the State and not a religious sect. He hoped the House would pass the Resolution for "it pledged the House to nothing further than to the opinion, that education ought to be bestowed on the people; and he would give it his support".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Sir Robert Peel agreed with Lord Althorp in that the House should not spend time on the issue in question during the next session. "He objected also to its entering into the consideration of a mere abstract Resolution Resolutions establishing abstract principles were just the very opposite to the course which the House ought to pursue..."⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Peel held the view that the practical questions raised in attempting to establish a national system of elementary education should be thoroughly debated before any abstract resolutions, such as Roebuck's, be put before the House, otherwise, if passed, it might be found to be impracticable when executed. Peel, further remarked, if the State was to provide a national system of education, the necessity for which he did not fully

see, then "a Bill should be brought in to show how it was practicable instead of a vague Resolution like the present".⁽¹¹⁰⁾ A criticism, voiced by Peel against Roebuck's proposals was that, in giving the Minister for Public Instruction the task of judging the composition of educational texts, a confrontation might occur with a religious sect which could not agree with a decision made by the Minister regarding the composition of a book.

Roebuck agreed no final decision could be made regarding the establishment of a national system of education until the House had before it the results of a Parliamentary enquiry into the state of elementary education within the country. He, therefore, with the consent of the House withdrew the motion. Eighteen days later, a thinly populated House read the Report of the Committee of Supply. It included the sum of £20,000 for education. Some members of the House were against the state contributing the stated sum for the education of the people. Joseph Hume thought the amount offered was enough to discourage private benevolence, and not enough to do any good of itself. The Report was passed, 56 votes for, 29 against, and it was thus decided "that a sum not exceeding twenty thousand pounds, be granted to His Majesty, to be issued in aid of Private Subscriptions for the Erection of School Houses, for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes in Great Britain,"⁽¹¹¹⁾ The Treasury compiled a set of regulations governing the distribution of the grant. Firstly, no portion of the grant was to be applied to any purpose whatever except for the erection of new school houses, and that in the definition of a school house the residence of the master be not included. Secondly, that no application be entertained unless a sum be received by private contribution equal at the least to half of the total estimated expenditure. The regulations also stated that "no application be

complied with unless upon the consideration of such a report, either from the National School Society, or the British and Foreign School Society, as shall satisfy this Board that the case is one deserving of attention, and there is a reasonable expectation that the school may be permanently supplied".⁽¹¹²⁾ A preference was to be given to applications from large cities and towns, "in which the necessity of assisting in the erection of schools is most pressing,"⁽¹¹³⁾ The government had the power to demand an audit of the accounts, as well as to seek reports respecting the condition of schools, that it had granted money to. However, no machinery existed to put such powers into practice. "If (Parliament) had no experts to guide; and no inspector to supervise the founders of schools, many of the buildings put up with the help of public money were quite unsuitable for their purpose ..."⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The education grant of 1833, set a precedent, in that a sum henceforth was awarded annually and by 1861 the grant exceeded £800,000.

In 1839, the Committee of the Privy Council on Education was established. Lord John Russell, in a letter to Lord Lansdowne (dated 4.2.1839) declared:- "I am directed by Her Majesty to desire in the first place, that your Lordship with four other of the Queen's Servants should form a board or committee, for the consideration of all matters affecting the Education of the People".⁽¹¹⁵⁾ On the 10th April, 1839, "the most Noble Henry Marquis of Lansdowne, the Right Honourable John William Viscount Duncannon, Lord Privy Seal; the Right Honourable Lord John Russell, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and the Right Honourable Thomas Spring-Rice, Chancellor of Her Majesty's Exchequer, be and they are hereby appointed a Committee to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting Public Education".⁽¹¹⁶⁾

The Committee of the Privy Council on Education decided to "appoint inspectors not exceeding at first two in number, to carry on an inspection of schools which have been or may be hereafter aided by grants"⁽¹¹⁷⁾ from the State. On June 3rd, 1839, the committee reiterated its stance on the inspection of schools, stating, "no further grant be made, now or hereafter for the establishment or support of Normal Schools, or of any other schools, unless the right of inspection be retained, in order to secure a conformity to the regulation and discipline established in the several schools, with such improvements as may from time to time be suggested by the committee".⁽¹¹⁸⁾ The Church of England was hostile to the idea that it should have its schools inspected by the State and therefore rejected the Committee of the Privy Council on Education proposals. The resulting confrontation between the Established Church and the Committee of the Privy Council on Education lasted until July 1st, 1840, when a solution was agreed. The agreement was termed the Concordat; it was a victory for the Church of England, in that no person could be appointed an inspector of Church schools without the approval of the Archbishop of York or Canterbury. Furthermore, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury could withdraw their approval of an inspector of Church schools at any time, the result being that the inspector would have his position terminated. The Concordat declared:-

"that before we recommend any person to be appointed to inspect schools, receiving aid from the public, the promoters of which state themselves to be in connexion with the National Society or the Church of England, we should be authorized to consult the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, each with regard to his own province, and that the Archbishops should be at liberty to suggest to us any person or persons for the office of Inspector, and that without their concurrence we should recommend no person to Your Majesty for such appointment We further beg leave to recommend to your Majesty that if either of the Archbishops should at any time, withdraw his concurrence in our recommendation of such appointment your Majesty would be graciously pleased to permit us to advise your Majesty to issue your Order in Council, revoking the appointment of the said Inspector,"⁽¹¹⁹⁾

Directions to the inspectors of Church of England schools, regarding religious instruction were to be framed by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, and form part of the general instructions given to each inspector by the Committee of Privy Council on Education. The general instructions, before being issued by the Committee to the inspectors, had to be examined and approved by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury. The British and Foreign School Society had not been against inspection but it was not until 1843 that it received the right to consultation regarding the appointing of inspectors for its schools.

The Report of the Select Committee on the Education of the Poorer Classes 1838, reached the conclusion "in the metropolis and the great towns of England and Wales, there exists a great want of education among the children of the Working Classes",⁽¹²⁰⁾ even though the Treasury guidance regulations governing the distribution of the 1833 Education grant had declared a preference was to be given to applications from large cities and towns. In London and other large cities, the education of the poor became the concern of the Ragged School movement, its founder being John Pounds, a Portsmouth cobbler. E.A.G. Clark, commenting on the Ragged School movement, declares Pounds "had little influence except as a pious exemplar in the folklore of the schools", and "there was not one Ragged School movement but several".⁽¹²¹⁾ The London movement was founded in 1844 when free schools for the destitute poor, which had been established in the 1830's by the City Mission, formed the Ragged School Union. "The Scottish movement stemmed from Sherrif Watson's industrial feeding schools, set up in Aberdeen between 1841 and 1847, and from Dr. Gutheries' Edinburgh Ragged school founded in 1847".⁽¹²²⁾ In the provinces the movement spread rapidly, by 1852 forty towns had Ragged schools; both Liverpool and Manchester had Ragged school unions. There was not, however, a nationwide union - "the metropolitan and provincial movement developed on different lines".⁽¹²³⁾

A major obstacle in preventing the State from providing elementary education for the poor was the 'religious difficulty', "... religious bickerings and jealousies" writes Pamela Horn, "were to overshadow the growth of elementary education in England and Wales for much of the nineteenth century and were to lead to considerable sectarian bitterness".⁽¹²⁴⁾

G.A. Denison, Archdeacon of Taunton from 1851 onwards, held the view that the National Society had been founded to educate "the children of the poor, without any exception, in the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church".⁽¹²⁵⁾ The evidence of the Rev. J.C. Wigram, secretary to the National School Society, given to the 1834, *select* Committee on the State of Education, reveals the National School Society against state intervention, if the latter involved the State developing its own system of elementary education for the poor. Wigram remarked, "I think that wherever there is a population requiring it, (schooling) there are the means of establishing additional schools of the same kind which now exist," Towards the end of the 1840's it had become clear voluntary effort was by itself insufficient to meet educational need. In 1846, Rev. W.F. Hook published a pamphlet entitled, 'On the means of rendering more efficient the Education of the People'. The pamphlet expressed the need for a combined system of elementary education where the state would take over complete responsibility for secular education in schools, but on two afternoons per week Ministers of various religious denominations would have "right of entry and give doctrinal instructions".⁽¹²⁶⁾ In 1850, "the advocates of a 'secular' system (of elementary education) founded the National Public Schools Association. Among its supporters it included men of various opinions united by their common impatience with the "religious difficulty and their belief in the importance of education".⁽¹²⁷⁾

Their efforts were responsible for the 1850 Education Bill, sponsored by W.J. Fox to 'Promote the Secular Education of the People in England and Wales'.

The 1850 Education Bill proposed that inspectors of schools make full and detailed reports to the Committee of Privy Council on Education, concerning the state of secular education in every parish in England and Wales. If a report revealed existing provisions for secular education in any parish insufficient for the wants of the area, "the Committee of the Privy Council on Education shall by a letter signed by their secretary, addressed and sent to the Overseers of such Parish, direct the Overseers to summon a meeting of the Inhabitants, within a time to be named in such letter, who shall elect not less than five nor more than fifteen, of the Inhabitants of such Parish to form the Education Committee".⁽¹²⁸⁾ The Education Committee was a forerunner of the School Board, established twenty years later, in that it had to end the deficiency of supply in the provision of secular education in the parish, if such a deficiency existed. The Education Committee had the duty to devise a plan for the ending of deficiency of secular education in a parish, which had then to be sent to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education for approval.

To meet the cost of erecting schools and their maintenance, "the Education Committee of each Parish shall direct the Overseers of such Parish to levy an annual School Rate, and such School Rate shall be made, raised, levied, and collected by the Overseers".⁽¹²⁹⁾ If a parish failed to form an education committee, or the education committee of a parish failed to put forward a plan to the Committee of Privy Council on Education for the ending of the deficiency in secular education in the area, then "it shall be lawful for the said Committee of Privy Council, to undertake to supply the deficiency of provision for Secular Education by the establishment of a free school or schools"⁽¹³⁰⁾ The schools to be established by the Bill were to have a secular curriculum, religious instruction was not to be

given. Instruction was to be provided free to children between the ages of seven and thirteen. The Bill proposed a system of 'payment by results', which was later advocated by the Newcastle Commission and put into practice by Robert Lowe in 1862. The school master was to receive, "a yearly sum of money not exceeding ten shillings as the said Committee of Council may deem fit, in respect of each pupil who may have been gratuitously taught at school for one year and who shall be reported by the Inspector of Schools, to have received sufficient secular education".⁽¹³¹⁾ It was the duty of the parish education committee to appoint the school masters or mistresses required, the Bill guaranteed the appointees a salary of "not less than one hundred pounds for every fifty pupils who shall attend the free school of such master or mistress for one year. Provided always, that the same course of secular education shall be afforded to all pupils attending any such free school as aforesaid; and all such pupils shall be free from all charges and payments whatever".⁽¹³²⁾ In an attempt to get over the 'religious difficulty', the Bill proposed the school master and/or mistress was to allow "each pupil sufficient time for receiving religious instruction, under the direction of their Parents"⁽¹³³⁾ - assuming of course that their parents were available to give the said instruction.

The 1850 Education Bill proposed that when a child completed its education at a free school it was to be awarded a Certificate of Approval. The Certificate of Approval was to be given on the basis of a child's attendance and conduct throughout his/her school life. When a child achieved a Certificate of Approval, he/she was automatically entitled to books worth fifty shillings (250p) and a copy of the Holy Scriptures. The Bill further proposed that an education committee, if it so wished, could forward plans to the Committee of

the Privy Council on Education, concerning the construction of a school for the Deaf and Dumb or the Blind, and an Infant School for children under seven, and to run evening classes for inhabitants over the age of thirteen.

Augustus O'Brien Stafford, member for Northamptonshire, a severe critic of the 1850 Education Bill, held the view that further centralisation would be regressive. He declared there was "the danger of too great an interference by the State, thus involving the evils of centralisation". He was against the education bill "because it directly led to the worst evils of the centralising system".⁽¹³⁴⁾ Stafford voiced disapproval against the clause of the Bill that would give the Committee of the Privy Council on Education absolute power over every parish concerning the provision of schools, leaving the parish education committees powerless:- "... under the guide of local self-government and local machinery it (the Bill) just transferred the whole power to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education".⁽¹³⁵⁾ On educational matters, Stafford gave the following example to illustrate the absolute power the Privy Council on Education would have, assuming the Bill became law:-

"Take the case of two parishes, supposing the Bill to have passed, one of them anxious to be put under the operation of the measure, and the other unwilling to be so placed. The willing parish applied to the Privy Council to be put under the Bill, and the Council (Privy) had the entire power of refusing the application, without any appeal. The inspector of schools was sent round, and with him alone rested the power of deciding whether or not the school should be placed under the arrangements of the Bill, and the parish had no power. Then take the case of the unwilling parish when one morning the Overseers would be startled by a letter from the Committee of the Privy Council desiring them to elect a committee, which committee was to submit a plan of secular education to the Privy Council."⁽¹³⁶⁾

But before the parish education committee had time to put forward to the Committee of the Privy Council a plan for the provision of secular education in their area, remarked Stafford, another letter might arrive

from the Privy Council, saying, "You have not been sufficiently active therefore we send a plan to you, which you must adopt under the 13th Clause".⁽¹³⁷⁾ The parish education committee would have no choice in the matter, it would have to accept the plan laid down by the Privy Council on Education. Stafford did not realise it was essential for the Privy Council on Education to be able to force a plan for the secular education of the people upon a parish which refused to put forward a plan to end the deficiency in the provision of secular education within its boundary, otherwise the deficiency that existed in the provision of secular education would not be ended and the objective of the Bill would be defeated.

Stafford attacked Fox's education bill, because the proposed curriculum did not include religious instruction. He doubted if the conscience of many would accept an education devoid of religious instruction. "He (Stafford) would refer to a book which had been sent to him in common he believed with every member of the House, purporting to represent the views and opinions of a large and active part of the community."⁽¹³⁸⁾ From the book he read the following extracts, firstly:- "Every true lover of education raises his standard high Everything true is in harmony with all other truth. No knowledge can we acquire of nature, of history, or of art, but if we will trace it either to its roots or to its end, we find it in God."; and secondly:- "Man is something more than matter: he is a spiritual being. Any attempt to educate him, save religiously, is a mockery and an insult. We cannot, indeed, conceive of an education of man's nature without a constant appeal to his relations towards the Deity"⁽¹³⁹⁾ Later in his speech he returned to the Bill's proposal that the curriculum in the schools established in response to it, was to be exclusively secular. He thought the people would never accept secular education

because it was "at war with Christianity, he was sure that (the) House would not, and dare not say to it 'God speed!!!' The more the people of England felt their conduct on this occasion would be watched throughout all Christendom, the more necessary was it that their representatives in that House should do justice to their constituents, by utterly rejecting the project now laid before them".⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

The Earl of Arundel and Surrey rose and voiced support in favour of Stafford's comments. The Bill, as it appeared to him, was founded upon one of two principles:- that secular education was certain to lead to religion, or that secular education "was more valuable than religious education".⁽¹⁴¹⁾ He could not accept the principle that secular education was more important than religious education and he thought that was true of the House in general. He declared, "he was not aware of there being in that House any professed infidels; and none but an infidel would contend that an education fitting for this life alone was more valuable than an education for eternity".⁽¹⁴²⁾ He also believed a secular education did not lead to religion, in fact, "all experience proved the contrary".⁽¹⁴³⁾ He attempted to show what would be the "natural results of a merely secular education of all the people",⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ by quoting from various publications on the subject. He used an extract from a book entitled 'Notes of a traveller', written by a Mr. Lang. The book commented upon the Prussian system of secular education. Surrey read the following passage:-

"If the ultimate object of all education and knowledge be to raise men to the feeling of his own moral worth, to a sense of his responsibility to his creator and to his conscience, for every act to the dignity of a reflecting, self-guiding, virtuous religious member of society, then the Prussian educational system is a failure."⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

The debate of Fox's Education Bill, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey contended, was a skirmish that would develop into a battle between

irreligion and religion:-

"The two armies were drawing up their forces, and the battle was now between religion and irreligion - the Church and infidelity - God and the devil."(146)

John Arthur Roebuck, Liberal member for Sheffield, severely criticised both Stafford and Surrey for misrepresenting Fox's Bill. Roebuck declared Fox had realised the 'religious difficulty' stood "in the way of the general education of the people,"(147) therefore to overcome the said problem he had proposed a system of secular education, which was non-religious but not irreligious or leading to atheism as critics had suggested. He reached the conclusion the extracts given by the Earl of Arundel and Surrey from various books commenting on the results of secular education on the continent, "have no more to do with this question than if he had brought before me the separate peculiar doctrines of every Saint in the calendar".(148) Roebuck was for the State to provide a national system of elementary schooling because the voluntary effort was not "able to cope with the growing multiplied ignorance which is daily increasing in this country".(149) He was of the opinion that in the future the views expressed by J.W. Fox, on the question of popular education, "would become common to all, and that they would learn to get rid of that narrow spirit which had rendered inefficient and hopeless every attempt which had yet been made to instruct the people of this country by the means which they possessed"(150) He could not see how a secular education would close a child's mind to religion, for the child would only spend a few hours of the day at school, "all the other hours of the twenty-four he would pass at home and would go to Church or Chapel as his parents pleased".(151) Roebuck, in fact, believed a secular education would open a child's mind to religion:-

"How then, in dealing with the child in this way, did he (Fox's proposals) pervert his mind - for that was the imputation? How did he shut it up, and close it against

all religious teaching? why, there never was an imputation so utterly unsupported by argument and fact as that. He did not close the child's mind he opened it. He gave him the means of learning, and when the child went home to his natural instructors in religion - his parents - why could he not learn the doctrines of his religion from them."(152)

Roebuck argued the only way to educate the poor was by the adoption of a system such as that being proposed by Fox. There could not be, he thought, a national system of elementary education under the control and guidance of religious sects. "That", he declared, "was just the impossibility".(153) Thus he declared "there was only one other alternative" to Fox's proposals, "which was this, was the hon. Gentlemen (the House) prepared to vote money and have a school for every denomination? Could they do that? Why upon the face of it, it was an utter impossibility. There might be in the same parish - a little parish - a hundred different denominations. Were they to have a hundred schools? No, it was impossible."(154) Roebuck in giving support to the Bill argued - as he had done in defence of his 1833 Resolution concerning the education of the poor - that the education of the people was a way of preventing crime:-

".... your religious bigotry (the House) precludes the chance or the hope of your being able to teach the people so as to prevent the crime which you send round this army to punish. It was because he believed prevention to be better than cure, that it was the business of Government to prevent crime in every possible way, rather than after its commission to punish it that he asked the House to divest itself of the prejudice and bigotry which was at the bottom of the opposition on this occasion."(155)

Lord Ashley, member for Bath, contested the figures given by Fox to show that in England and Wales, one person in thirteen was receiving education, while in Prussia the figure was one in six. He thought any proposal to remedy the deficiency that existed in the provision of elementary schooling could only be a success if attendance was made compulsory. Otherwise, many of the children the Bill aimed at providing schools for, would not in fact enter a classroom; they would be

employed either in agriculture or industry. Disagreeing with Roebuck, Ashley remarked a schooling, "without religious education, would be utterly useless, and that religion must be the alpha and omega of all the education they would give to the poor classes".⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ He verbally attacked Roebuck's assumption that there was a positive link between education and crime:-

"The hon. and learned member (Roebuck) seemed to think that crime was to be traced in almost all instances to want of education: no doubt, that was in many cases a source of crime, but it was not the only, nor the chief source. Want of employment was the source of a vast proportion of crime."⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

Because of "the sunken and immoral state of a vast number of parents", Ashley remarked, it was next to impossible "to produce any permanent improvement in many brought into our schools and the education you could give nearly fruitless".⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ He was appalled by the clause that gave the Committee of the Privy Council on Education absolute power over each and every parish concerning the provision of schooling. Ashley's major objection to the Bill was it did not make religion the cornerstone of the curriculum of the proposed new schools:-

"No reason was assigned for dissevering religious from secular education but here the state was to declare that having undertaken to educate the people it would withhold the one thing needful, and refuse to give that which alone conferred force and efficiency upon all the rest. In what age or nation had it been attempted to impart the principles of self-control except by the guides and restraints of religion?"⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

Richard Monckton Milnes, member for Pontefract, noted that of those who had been quick to attack the proposals contained in the Bill, none had put forward positive ideas of their own. He further added "he felt himself obliged to give up the hope that the education of the people of this country could be accomplished completely by the Church and the other religious bodies,"⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ Thus, he believed it was necessary for the State to intervene to end the deficiency that existed

in the provision of elementary schooling. He supported the Bill. Lord John Russell declared there was a "lamentable want of education for the poorer classes in this country",⁽¹⁶¹⁾ but he could not support the proposals before the House. He held the view, as did other critics of the Bill, that leaving out religious instruction from the school curriculum "would be a grievous falling off in our own duty, both to our religion and to our fellow countrymen".⁽¹⁶²⁾ He later added:-

"I cannot but think that it would be a great fault in instruction, when we are providing by Bill or Law for the education of the people of this country, not to inform them of the great and leading truths of religion."⁽¹⁶³⁾

Another criticism voiced against the Bill by Lord Russell concerned the work of the Inspectorate. The Bill empowered the Inspectorate of Schools to comment on "the adequacy of the existing provision of each parish to afford secular education for the wants of the entire population thereof,"⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ "The House will observe", Russell declared, "that it is not stated (referring to the duties of the Inspectorate as proposed in Fox's Bill) that the inspector is to go by any rule in framing his report. He is not obliged to say, for instance, that there are, suppose five hundred children in the parish, of whom one hundred do not go to any school. His discretion is very much wider, he is to state whether the education is adequate. But it would depend entirely upon his opinion to say whether taking all the circumstances into account, the instruction offered was adequate".⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ He firmly rejected Fox's Bill, although he deemed it desirable the House should ascertain in which areas of the country a deficiency in elementary education existed and whether the deficiency was a result of there being too few schools, "or from a state of poverty in the district, or from the employment of children so continuously and at so early an age, as to hinder them from receiving education".⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ When such

information had been collected and presented to the House, he declared, the matter could be debated.

Joseph Hume, member for Montrose, a supporter of the Bill, seeing the extent of ignorance within the country, and how it was increasing, regretted the House had not seized on "this opportunity of applying a remedy. He was truly sorry that any part of the British nation should wish to withhold from their fellow country-men that education which would enable them to study the truths of scripture".⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ He stated education was the birthright of every Englishman. He agreed with Roebuck that the volume of crime resulting from ignorance justified the imposition of a tax to pay for the instruction of the people. The final contribution to the debate was made by the Marquess of Blandford, who rejected the Bill, as others had before him, because the school curriculum did not include religious instruction. The debate of the Bill was adjourned till Thursday, May 2nd; in fact, the House did not discuss it until June 5th, and the arguments put forward had earlier been voiced during the previous debate. Mr. William Page Wood, member for the City of Oxford, remarked the established Church and non-conformist religious sects with the aid of the annual education grant from Parliament, but with no other state intervention in the provision of schooling, would soon meet the needs of the country regarding the provision and maintenance of schools:-

"... thirdly, that with the existing system, which combined the efforts made upon religious principles with the aid of the State, they were now in a position to overtake the educational wants of society."⁽¹⁶⁸⁾

Thomas Milner Gibson, Liberal member for Manchester, attempted to put an end to the argument that the Bill if passed would put an end to religious instruction. The Bill, he declared, "left religious teaching where it then was, and did not interfere with the existing

machinery for dispensing religious instruction to the community
The Bill of the hon. member for Oldham (Fox) only called on them (the House) to super.add to the religious instruction already provided, ..."(169)
He reached the conclusion that those members of the House who did not support the Bill were in fact lessening the chances of a religious training for the population in general. He further declared the established Church should "deal with the moral and religious training of her own members", but ratepayers should have the right to establish, "at their own pleasure, by an equalised rate on property, schools to which their children might repair to obtain secular knowledge and instruction".(170)

Joseph Napier, member for the University of Dublin, argued the House had supported and should continue to support the view that education of the poor was to be based upon religious principles, and in doing so it had given grants to various religious bodies who were involved in educating the lower orders. Fox's Bill, if passed, he believed changed the House's view to one of supporting secular education and washed its hands of a system of elementary education based upon religious principles:-

"(State) assistance was given to the several denominations who acknowledged the duty of making religion the basis of their educational system ... but another sect it appeared was now to be added, those who required the exclusion of religion altogether; and it was by this small section of the community that they were now asked to adopt a principle antagonistic to that on which they had hitherto acted it would be impossible for them, (Parliament) consistently with the principles which had guided them up to this time, to accede to his (Fox's) proposition."(171)

Napier voiced the opinion that the House was correct in supporting the voluntary bodies involved in educating the poor, and that this support should continue, because such bodies based education upon religious principles:-

"They (the members of the House) were prepared to assist all denominations who acknowledge the duty of imparting religious instruction; but there they must stop - there they must put

a limit to their exertions - beyond that, if they were asked to act in opposition to their principles, they must take their stand; for that was the true ground on which the Bill ought to be opposed,"(172)

He had reached the decision that even if the whole country were for it he would "still feel it his duty as a Christian legislator to oppose the Bill".(173) Napier attempted to contest the argument used in support of the Bill, that a secular education did not in any way prevent a child from learning religious principles, for its parents if they so wished could teach the child in such matters. He saw it as Parliament's duty to educate the children of the poor in the scriptures, because some parents were "unable or unwilling" to perform this "duty":- (174)

"He (Napier) took a far different view of the matter, for if the parent was unable or unwilling to perform the duty which they all acknowledged he ought to perform to his child, the State stepped in and gave such an education as it conceived a Christian parent ought to give. Was the state, with reference to the most important part of education, (religious instruction) to accommodate itself to any opinions which the parent might happen to entertain, however false and however dangerous? Was it (Parliament) to give a child such an education as an infidel might approve of, and put a compulsory tax on the community for such a purpose? Parental authority derived all its force from God, and no parent could call on the state to be his accomplice in violating God's law."(175)

Napier totally dismissed the contention that secular education would result in a decrease in the crime rate, because "it was wholly unequal to accomplish that end".(176) In giving evidence to support his claim, he quoted from a work by Quetelet, entitled 'Sur l'Homme'. It declared it was an error to assume education would definitely lead to less crime in a country. Quetelet implicitly suggested moral instruction would be more effective than secular education in preventing crime:-

"It seems to me that a common error pervades the whole of that which expects to find less crime in a country because it appears that more children are at school, or because more of the people know how to read and write. It is rather the moral instruction which must be taken into account, for very often the instruction received at schools only affords greater facility for the commission of crime."(177)

Napier stated he was not against secular subjects being included in the curriculum, "but what they had now to discuss and to decide was whether the State is either bound or at liberty to sanction the avowed and explicit exclusion of religion from the education of the people, and to compel a rate on rateable property for this purpose? Such a proposition he considered to be directly opposed to the public national duty of a Christian state". (178)

W.J. Fox in defence of his Bill stated it was not an attempt to exclude religion from a child's education, indeed "the hon. and Gentleman's speech (Napier) was directed against a phantom of his own creation". (179) The Bill, he remarked, was to fill in the gaps that existed in the voluntary effort and its purpose was no more than that. To those who believed religious instruction was more effective than secular education in preventing crime, he pointed out that "during the twelve years that had just elapsed - twelve years, he admitted, of magnificent exertions in the cause of education" by various religious bodies - "this deplorable fact stared them in the face; that, whilst during these years the percentage of children who received instruction had increased, the proportion of offenders was considerably larger". (180) He blamed the present education system for not preventing the rise in crime, the major defect being the teaching of religious instruction:-

"They found a religious education as it was called, in existence; theological dogmas were inculcated, but it was evident that in the absence of the due training of the mind and character they had borne no fruit, and did not produce any deep impression with respect to the distinction between right and wrong." (181)

Fox reiterated the view that secular and religious education could not be united under one national system of schooling, because in Britain, "there was such a variety of religious opinion". (182) The Established Church, he believed, could never have a monopoly of elementary education in Britain, because it set limits to its influence by its own

religious formulae. Any national system of elementary education "required an outlay of public money, and the Dissenters would not submit to be taxed even for secular purposes if the money was to be handed over to the Established Church".⁽¹⁸³⁾ He reached the conclusion it was necessary for the State to provide a secular education in those areas where the voluntary effort was inadequate. He believed the proposals in the Bill regarding the type of education the schools were to provide would not in any way damage religion. To support his stance he quoted from two works - Hampden's lecture delivered at Oxford University in 1835; and a pamphlet by the Rev. Dalton, Rector of Warebone, Kent, on National Education. Dalton declared "the great fallacy of the day is 'the danger of separating religious from secular instruction'. A little reflection ought to have shown that this is one of the most fanciful contingencies that could be imagined. Religious and secular instruction are already separate;"⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ Fox further remarked the Archbishop of Canterbury had on one occasion made comments which revealed that he considered secular education "could be imparted separate from religious education, without any detriment to religion."⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ The demise of the Bill resulted from Stafford successfully proposing that its second reading be postponed for six months.

Lord John Russell's Borough Bill of 1853 proposed school committees be established in Boroughs in order "to assist schools which were already in receipt - or eligible for receipt - of grants from the Committee of Council"⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ on Education. His scheme was rejected and in 1855 three more education bills were unsuccessful before the House. Sir John Pakington, "asked for a Commission to survey the state of education, and he suggested that the report, when it came, might be followed by radical legislation".⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ In 1858, he saw his wish granted, with the creation of a Royal Commission, under the Chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle, "to enquire into the Present State of Popular

Education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the Extension of Sound and Cheap Elementary Instruction to all Classes of the People".⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

The Newcastle Commission had at its disposal the reports the Inspectorate had produced on a large number of schools. The Commission preferred, however, to undertake its own investigation of schools, and to that accord ten districts^(A) were selected and examined by assistant commissioners. The Commission took evidence from Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth,^(B) "but on the whole they tried, at least in their public sittings, to approach the matter without being too closely engaged by the past".⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ The Commission produced its report in 1861. It was critical of teachers:-

"...., it is equally clear that they fail, to a considerable extent, in some of the most important of the duties of elementary teachers, and that a large proportion of the children are not satisfactorily taught that which they come to school to learn."

The Commission further added:-

".... (pupils) do attend long enough to afford an opportunity of teaching them to read, write and cypher. A large proportion of them, however, in some districts do not learn even to read; at least, their power of reading is so slight, so little connected with any intelligent perception of its importance, and so much a matter of mere mechanical routine, as to be of little value to them in after-life, The children do not generally obtain the mastery over elementary subjects which the school ought to give. They neither read well nor write well."

Newcastle Commission Report, Chapter 2, pp.168/9.

The Commission believed a way of ensuring elementary subjects were properly taught in schools, was by making each child sit an examination in them. A teacher's income would depend to a considerable extent upon

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- (A) The Commission arranged to sample different types of district, such as areas which were heavily industrialised, and others where the domestic system flourished. They arranged to visit districts, "where the farms were big and those where they were small."⁽¹⁹⁰⁾
- (B) Dr. James Kay became the Secretary of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education on its establishment in 1839. He assumed the additional name (Shuttleworth) on his marriage in 1842 and was created a baronet in 1849.

how well the pupils responded to the examinations. In other words, a system of payment by results was being advocated:-

"There is only one way of securing this result, which is to institute a searching examination by competent authority of every child in every school to which grants are paid, with a view to ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge are thoroughly acquired, and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent, to a considerable extent, on the results of this examination. There can be no sort of doubt that if one teacher finds that his income depends on the condition that his scholars do learn to read, whilst another is paid equally well whether they do so or not, the first will teach more children to read than the second."

Newcastle Commission Report, p.157.

The Newcastle Commission's proposal for a system of payment by results was put into practice by Robert Lowe - the revised Code of 1862 - and this is examined in detail in the following chapter. The Newcastle Report proposed changes in the methods of paying grants to schools. The commissioners believed that part of the cost of education should be met by county rates:-

"All assistance given to the annual maintenance of schools shall be simplified and reduced to grants of two kinds. The first of these grants shall be paid out of the general taxation of the country, The second shall be paid out of the county rates."

Newcastle Commission Report, p.328.

The Government grant was to be given on the average attendance of children: 4s.6d. to 6s. per child, "according to the size of the school, provided a certificated teacher is employed, with additional sums according to the number of pupil-teachers and assistant teachers".⁽¹⁹¹⁾ As regards the proposed local grant from the county rates, then "the managers of schools shall be entitled to be paid out of the county rate of sums varying from 22s.6d. to 21s. for every child who has attended the school during 140 days in the year preceding the day of examination, and who passes an examination before the county examiner in reading, writing, arithmetic and who, if a girl, also passes an examination in plain work".⁽¹⁹²⁾

The Newcastle Commission noted that in the summer of 1858, 2,655,767 children should have been attending schools, whereas they found that 2,535,462 were receiving some form of an education, leaving 120,305 children without any school instruction whatever. "The proportion, therefore, of scholars in week-day schools of all kinds to the entire population was 1 in 7.7"; ⁽¹⁹³⁾ forty years earlier it had been 1 in 14 to 15. What concerned the Commission was the irregular attendance of scholars and the early leaving age. It found only 29% of the scholars in inspected schools were over the age of ten, and 19% over eleven. In an attempt to reduce irregular attendance, the Commission proposed that the local grant depend not solely on children passing the examination but on making the necessary number of attendances as well. It was against making attendance compulsory by law:-

".... Any universal compulsory system appears to us neither attainable nor desirable."

CHAPTER TWO: NOTES

- (1) Mary Sturt Education of the People, page 66.
- (2) Samuel Whitbread's, 1807 Parochial Schools Bill, Hull University microfiche.
- (3) *ibid.*
- (4) *ibid.*
- (5) *ibid.*
- (6) *ibid.*
- (7) *ibid.*
- (8) *ibid.*
- (9) *ibid.*
- (10) *ibid.*
- (11) *ibid.*
- (12) *ibid.*
- (13) *ibid.*
- (14) Cobbe tt's Parliamentary Debates, 1807, Vol.IX, page 853.
- (15) *ibid.*, page 853. See also S. Whitbread's 1807 Parochial Schools Bill.
- (16) *ibid.*, page 853.
- (17) *ibid.*, page 854.
- (18) *ibid.*, page 855/56.
- (19) *ibid.*, page 858.
- (20) *ibid.*, page 858/59
- (21) *ibid.*, page 1050.
- (22) *ibid.*, page 1051.
- (23) *ibid.*, page 1051.
- (24) *ibid.*, page 1052.
- (25) *ibid.*, page 1052.
- (26) *ibid.*, page 1052.
- (27) *ibid.*, page 1053.
- (28) *ibid.*, page 1053.

- (29) *ibid.*, page 1174.
- (30) *ibid.*, page 1174.
- (31) *ibid.*, page 1174/5.
- (32) Cobbe tt's Parliamentary Debates, 1807, Vol.IX., page 1175.
- (33) *ibid.*, page 1175/6.
- (34) *ibid.*, page 1176.
- (35) *ibid.*, page 1176.
- (36) *ibid.*, page 1177.
- (37) *ibid.*, page 1177.
- (38) *ibid.*, page 1177/8.
- (39) *ibid.*, page 1178.
- (40) J. Lawson 'Primary Education in East Yorkshire 1560-1902', page 14.
- (41) *ibid.*, page 14.
- (42) Harold Silver 'The Concept of Popular Education; a study of ideas and social movements in the early nineteenth century', MacGibbon & Kee London 1965, page 70.
- (43) H.C. Barnard 'A history of English education from 1760', page 58.
- (44) *ibid.*, page 58.
- (45) H. Silver, *ibid.*, page 99.
- (46) *ibid.*, page 99.
- (47) *ibid.*, page 99/100.
- (48) *ibid.*, page 111.
- (49) *ibid.*, page 116.
- (50) *ibid.*, page 119.
- (51) *ibid.*, page 120.
- (52) *ibid.*, page 124.
- (53) H.C. Barnard, *ibid.*, page 59/60.
- (54) J. Lawson and H. Silver 'A Social History of Education in England' page 248.
- (55) J.S. Maclure 'Educational Documents' England and Wales 1816 to the present day, page 18.
- (56) *ibid.*, page 18/19.

- (57) *ibid.*, page 19.
- (58) *ibid.*, page 19.
- (59) Henry Brougham's 1820 Parish Schools Bill. Hull University microfiche.
- (60) *ibid.*
- (61) Henry Brougham's 1820 Parish Schools Bill, Hull University microfiche.
- (62) *ibid.*
- (63) *ibid.*
- (64) *ibid.*
- (65) *ibid.*
- (66) *ibid.*
- (67) *ibid.*
- (68) *ibid.*
- (69) Hansard. New Series Vol.I. 1820, page 39.
- (70) *ibid.*, page 39.
- (71) Hansard. New Series Vol.II 1820, page 49.
- (72) *ibid.*, page 89.
- (73) *ibid.*, page 61.
- (74) *ibid.*, page 61.
- (75) *ibid.*, page 61.
- (76) *ibid.*, page 89.
- (77) *ibid.*, page 89.
- (78) *ibid.*, page 72.
- (79) *ibid.*, page 365.
- (80) *ibid.*, page 365.
- (81) *ibid.*, page 366.
- (82) *ibid.*, page 366/7.
- (83) M. Sturt, *op.cit.*, page 66.
- (84) *op.cit.*, page 66.
- (85) Hansard. 3rd Series Vol.XX, 1833, page 141.
- (86) *ibid.*, page 142.

- (87) *ibid.*, page 143.
- (88) *ibid.*, page 145.
- (89) *ibid.*, page 146.
- (90) *ibid.*, page 148.
- (91) *ibid.*, page 148.
- (92) *ibid.*, page 153.
- (93) John Hurt 'Education in Evolution 1800-1870', Rupert Hart-Davis London 1971, page 220/221.
- (94) Hansard. 3rd Series Vol.XX 1833, page 160.
- (95) *ibid.*, page 160.
- (96) *ibid.*, page 161.
- (97) *ibid.*, page 161.
- (98) *ibid.*, page 162.
- (99) *ibid.*, page 162.
- (100) James Murphy 'The Education Act'. Text and Commentary. David & Charles Newton Abbot 1972, page 12.
- (101) Hansard. 3rd Series Vol.XX 1833, page 163.
- (102) *ibid.*, page 164.
- (103) *ibid.*, page 164.
- (104) *ibid.*, page 166.
- (105) *ibid.*, page 166.
- (106) *ibid.*, page 168.
- (107) *ibid.*, page 168.
- (108) *ibid.*, page 172.
- (109) *ibid.*, page 172.
- (110) *ibid.*, page 172.
- (111) M. Sturt *op.cit.* page 69. See also D.G. Paz 'The politics of working-class education in Britain 1830-50', Chapters II and III.
- (112) Sturt *op.cit.*, page 70.
- (113) *op.cit.*, page 70.
- (114) *op.cit.*, page 70.
- (115) J.S. Maclure, *op.cit.*, page 43.

- (116) J. Hurt, op.cit., pages 31/32.
- (117) op.cit., page 32.
- (118) op.cit., pages 32/33.
- (119) J.S. Maclure op.cit., pages 46/47.
- (120) J. Hurt op.cit., page 30.
- (121) E.A.G. Clark 'The Early Ragged School and the Foundation of the Ragged School Union'. Journal of Educational Administration and History. Vol.I, No.2. June 1969. Page 9.
- (122) ibid., page 9.
- (123) ibid., page 9.
- (124) Pamela Horn 'Education in Rural England 1800-1914', page 52.
- (125) H.C. Barnard, op.cit., page 103.
- (126) op.cit., page 105.
- (127) op.cit., page 107.
- (128) W.J. Fox's 1850 Education Bill, Hull University microfiche.
- (129) ibid.
- (130) ibid.
- (131) ibid.
- (132) ibid.
- (133) ibid.
- (134) Hansard. 3rd Series Vol.CX, 1850. Page 438.
- (135) ibid., page 440.
- (136) ibid., page 440/41.
- (137) ibid., page 441.
- (138) ibid., page 439.
- (139) ibid., page 439/40.
- (140) ibid., page 444.
- (141) ibid., page 445.
- (142) ibid., page 445.
- (143) ibid., page 445.
- (144) ibid., page 445.
- (145) ibid., page 446.

- (146) *ibid.*, page 450.
- (147) *ibid.*, page 452.
- (148) *ibid.*, page 452.
- (149) *ibid.*, page 455.
- (150) *ibid.*, page 455.
- (151) *ibid.*, page 456.
- (152) *ibid.*, page 456.
- (153) *ibid.*, page 457.
- (154) *ibid.*, page 457.
- (155) *ibid.*, page 457.
- (156) *ibid.*, page 464.
- (157) *ibid.*, page 464.
- (158) Hansard. 3rd Series Vol.CX, 1850. Page 464/5.
- (159) *ibid.*, page 466.
- (160) *ibid.*, page 470.
- (161) *ibid.*, page 471.
- (162) *ibid.*, page 472.
- (163) *ibid.*, page 475.
- (164) *ibid.*, page 473.
- (165) *ibid.*, page 473.
- (166) *ibid.*, page 477.
- (167) *ibid.*, page 478.
- (168) Hansard. 3rd Series Vol.CXI, 1850. Page 767.
- (169) *ibid.*, page 776.
- (170) *ibid.*, page 777.
- (171) *ibid.*, page 779.
- (172) *ibid.*, page 779/80.
- (173) *ibid.*, page 780.
- (174) *ibid.*, page 780.
- (175) *ibid.*, page 780.

- (176) *ibid.*, page 781.
- (177) *ibid.*, page 782.
- (178) *ibid.*, page 782.
- (179) *ibid.*, page 783.
- (180) *ibid.*, page 784.
- (181) *ibid.*, page 784.
- (182) *ibid.*, page 786.
- (183) *ibid.*, page 786.
- (184) *ibid.*, page 788.
- (185) *ibid.*, page 789.
- (186) H.C. Barnard *op.cit.*, page 108.
- (187) M. Sturt *op.cit.*, page 241.
- (188) H.C. Barnard *op.cit.*, page 109.
- (189) M. Sturt *op.cit.*, page 242.
- (190) *op.cit.*, page 242.
- (191) J.S. Maclure *op.cit.*, page 72.
- (192) *op.cit.*, page 72.
- (193) *op.cit.*, page 73.

CHAPTER THREE

THE REVISED CODE OF 1862

The architect of the Revised Code was Robert Lowe, Vice-President of the Department of Education, which had been created in 1856. "The Code was greeted with strenuous protests on all sides and its introduction was twice postponed before coming into operation on August 1st, 1863".⁽¹⁾ Teachers protested in vain. "A deputation of schoolmasters who visited the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, in November 1861, when the Code was still under discussion, strongly emphasised the limitations of the system, claiming that it ignored the moral and religious teaching of their schools. By confining its aid to mechanical proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic, the State placed the temptation in the way of the teacher to neglect that training which all felt should form the very foundation of true education".⁽²⁾

In one respect the Revised Code of 1862 was the product of a reaction to the rapid increase in Government education expenditure that had taken place since the initial grant of £20,000 in 1833. For example, by 1861, Government education expenditure had reached the sum of £813,441. Harold Silver notes "Annual expenditure on education had, indeed, risen from £125,000 in 1848, to over £800,000 in 1861. The effect of the new Code was to reduce the figure to something over £600,000 in the mid-sixties,"⁽³⁾ Government expenditure on education began to rise again in the late 1860's "and after the 1870 Act, among other reasons because of improved attendance".⁽⁴⁾

The Revised Code of 1862 reversed, to a considerable extent, the work undertaken by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education since its foundation in 1839. The Revised Code brought to an end grants in augmentation of teachers' salaries and grants to pupil teachers. "Henceforth government grants for elementary schooling, other than building grants were to be calculated only on the attendance of pupils, under a certified teacher, plus the results of an annual

examination conducted by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors and based on the three 'r's'"⁽⁵⁾ - Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. Each child over the age of six could, yearly, earn for his school, on the basis of attendance four shillings, (20 pence) and eight shillings (40 pence) from examination. The eight shillings were earned only when a child passed in all three subjects - writing, reading and arithmetic - each subject being worth two shillings and eight old pence. Therefore if a scholar passed in two subjects he would only earn five shillings and four old pence. The scholars over six were presented for examination in six Standards, the annual Inspection becoming known as the Standard Examinations. Table One highlights what was expected of the scholars in the various Standards. No child could be presented twice for examination in the same Standard. Children under six were exempted from examination, they could each earn six shillings and six old pence (32½ new pence) in addition to their attendance grant, on the understanding that the Inspector was satisfied they were "instructed suitably to their age, and in a manner not to interfere with the instruction of the older children".⁽⁶⁾

The size of the grant awarded to a school at the annual examination was determined by the Inspector, for it was he who decided whether a scholar passed or failed. It was this financial power the Inspectors had over the schools which made them feared by many schoolmasters, a fact that was especially true in rural schools where the grant represented a large proportion of their income. An Inspector's financial power over a school is demonstrated in the following examples. The Inspector's Report, for the academic year 1874/5, for Blundell Street Infants School, which came under the jurisdiction of the Kingston-upon-Hull School Board, states: "I cannot recommend that my Lords should in the future allow a grant towards the maintenance of

TABLE 1

What children had to do in order to pass the
six Standard Examinations
(1882 Code)

48	Standard I	Standard II	Standard III
Reading . .	Narrative in monosyllables.	One of the Narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading book used in the school.	A short paragraph from an elementary reading book used in the school.
Writing . .	Form on black-board or slate, from dictation, letters, capital and small manuscript.	Copy in manuscript character a line of print.	A sentence from the same paragraph, slowly read once, and then dictated in single words.
Arithmetic .	Form on black-board or slate, from dictation, figures up to 20; name at sight figures up to 20; add and subtract figures up to 10, orally, from examples on black-board.	A sum in simple addition or subtraction, and the multiplication table.	A sum in any simple rule as far as short division (inclusive).
	IV	V	VI
Reading . .	A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book used in the school.	A few lines of poetry from a reading book used in the first class of the school.	A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative.
Writing . .	A sentence slowly dictated once by a few words at a time, from the same book, but not from the paragraph read.	A sentence slowly dictated once, by a few words at a time, from a reading book used in the first class of the school.	Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time.
Arithmetic .	A sum in compound rules (money).	A sum in compound rules (common weights and measures).	A sum in practice or bills of parcels.

this School in the present building at all events I am to state that unless more suitable accommodation is provided the entire grant will be endangered next year (Article 17(c)). The Grant now due has incurred a deduction of one-tenth under the ninth supplementary Rule."⁽⁷⁾ The Inspector's report for the following academic year, 1875/6, was a repeat of the 1874/5 Report, but the Inspector also commented about discipline: "Discipline seems very loosely maintained. The older girls are under no restraint Discipline must improve or the Grant under Article 19(A)3 will not be payable."⁽⁸⁾ Mr. R. Witty, Master of Swanland Congregationalist School, on April 19th, 1872, wrote in the School log: "The vacancies in the first class on account of field work have increased this week until the numbers are little more than half - in face of inspection it is a gloomy lookout."⁽⁹⁾ Gloomy indeed! The Inspection took place in June, and the Inspector declared "I am sorry to say that the children passed only a very moderate examination indeed in elementary subjects Unless the results are better on another occasion I cannot possibly recommend other than a very large deduction from the Grant".⁽¹⁰⁾

In the case of voluntary schools, the Government grant was paid to the School Managers. The Managers usually gave a proportion of the grant to the master of the school and this represented a significant part of his/her income. The Committee of Managers of Swanland Congregational School, at a meeting held on September 19th, 1883, decided to appoint a Mr. W. Beynon as the new schoolmaster and his wife as the sewing mistress, their income consisted of a "salary of £60 with the whole of the school pence and half of the Grant". If for various reasons the Grant awarded to a school by the Inspector was lower than that obtained in previous years then the outcome would probably be a fall in the schoolmaster's income. Professor H.C.

Barnard remarks "Their position (schoolmasters) in the eyes of the school and therefore their very livelihood might depend on the amount of grant earned by their pupils."⁽¹¹⁾ A fall in the Grant awarded to a school* by an Inspector also meant the amount the Managers kept would be less than in previous years, however it was very unlikely that school expenditure would fall. The Managers of Swanland Congregational School in June 1888 found themselves in the position of having a grant below what they had expected, but school expenditure was on the increase. The Managers came to the conclusion "that in as much as the last Government grant was below the anticipations of the committee and the increased expenditure on account of the teaching staff, the committee, with much regret feel compelled to acquaint Mr. Beynon that they reserve the liberty on the receipt of the next Grant to withhold an amount not exceeding £10 from the annuity officially promised him".⁽¹²⁾ For teachers in voluntary schools it was, as has been noted, very important for their pupils to perform well in the Standard Examinations and earn the highest grant possible. This point is clearly demonstrated later in this chapter, when commenting on the teaching of Mr. J.G.A. Owencroft, at North Ferriby National School during the period 1868-1878.

One major result of the Revised Code of 1862 was that teachers concentrated on the three 'r's, and plain needlework, in the case of the girls, because it was on these subjects the grant could be earned at the Annual Inspection. T.H. Huxley noted, "the revised Code did not compel any schoolmaster to leave off teaching anything; but, by the very simple process of refusing to pay for many kinds of teaching, it has practically put an end to them".⁽¹³⁾ The Revised Code, by confining its aid to mechanical proficiency in reading, writing and

* Excluding Board Schools

arithmetic, stifled creative teaching and hindered the development of the scholars' intellect. Mathew Arnold, a critic of the Revised Code, wrote in 1867, "The mode of teaching in the Primary Schools has certainly fallen off in intelligence, spirit and inventiveness during the four or five years which have elapsed since my last report. It could not well be otherwise. In a country where everyone is prone to rely too much on mechanical processes and too little on intelligence, a change in the Education Department's regulations, which, by making two-thirds of the Government grant depend upon a mechanical examination, inevitably gives a mechanical turn to the school teaching, a mechanical turn to the inspection, is and must be trying to the intellectual life of a school".⁽¹⁴⁾

In 1867, an attempt was made to widen the school curriculum by the creation of additional subjects, these later became termed specific subjects. The additional subjects were English grammar, history and elementary geography and were grant earning. Mathew Arnold realised that the creation of additional subjects did not solve the problem of mechanical teaching. He remarked, "In the game of mechanical contrivances the teacher will in the end beat us; and as it is now found possible by ingenious preparation, to get children through the Revised Code examination in reading, writing and ciphering, so it will with practice no doubt be possible to get the three-fourths of the one-fifth of the children over six through the examination in grammar, geography and history, without their really knowing any one of these three matters."⁽¹⁵⁾ Lord Sandon's view of the creation of the additional subjects in 1867, was one of optimism. He remarked, "by working into the mere mechanical reading, a little grammar, physical Geography of England, and a certain amount of history, it was thought that the mind of the child would not be over-burdened, and that the teaching would be rendered more lively".⁽¹⁶⁾

In 1871, the range of specific-subjects was extended, in fact a specific subject was defined as "any definite subject of instruction taught according to a graduated scheme."⁽¹⁷⁾ Specific subjects could be offered to children in standards IV to VI, the said subjects only broadened the education of just over three per cent of those on the school registers, 89,186 out of 2,943,774. "From time to time the (Education) Department changed the regulations but the highest proportion of children tested in these subjects (specific) never rose above the 4.4 per cent of 1883; although there were 30 subjects to choose from in 1895 the proportion tested in them went down to 2.4 per cent."⁽¹⁸⁾ Of the specific subjects, English literature was most popular, particularly because it involved only a very small outlay, unlike elementary science where the apparatus had to be purchased. Latin attracted more entries than mechanics, mensuration physics, chemistry, and zoology put together. In 1872, singing became a grant earning subject.

The Code of 1875, created the Class Subject, by transferring history, elementary geography and grammar to the new category. "To earn a grant under this head a school had to offer two of these subjects above Standard I."⁽¹⁹⁾ Needlework for girls could be counted as a Class Subject. The grant awarded for Class Subjects was made to schools on the basis of the proficiency of classes, not the examination of individual children. The Code of 1882, created a Standard VII, it also introduced a Merit Grant. If an Inspector at the annual examination classified a school either 'fair', 'good' or 'excellent' it was awarded the corresponding Merit Grant. An Inspector, in theory, was to judge a school as 'fair', 'good' or 'excellent', "in respect of (1) the organisation and discipline; (2) the intelligence employed in instruction; and (3) the general quality of the work, especially in

the elementary subjects".⁽²⁰⁾ The bulk of the grant awarded by the Inspector at the annual inspection still depended on the pupils' examination results and in practice the 'Merit' Grant was often estimated largely on the scholars' examination performance.

In 1888, the Cross Commission reported and issued a majority and a minority report. However, on some points the Commissioners had a measure of agreement. "The Commissioners say that they are unanimously of (the) opinion that the present system of 'payment by results' is carried too far and is too rigidly applied, and that it ought to be modified and relaxed in the interests equally of the scholars, of the teachers and of education itself."⁽²¹⁾ The said view of the Commissioners did not go unheard, the Code of 1890 brought to an end the awarding of the grant for the children's performance in the three 'r's' and it was replaced by higher payments for attendance and an additional 'discipline and organisation item'. The then Secretary to the Education Department, Sir George Kekewich, remarked that the aim of the 1890 Code was "to substitute for the bald teaching of facts, and the cramming which was then necessary in order that the children might pass the annual examination, and earn the grant, the development of interest and intelligence, and the acquirement of real substantial knowledge".⁽²²⁾ In 1891, Drawing became obligatory, two years later the Education Department decided that one class subject had to be taught throughout the school. From 1895, Object lessons and suitable occupations had to be taught to Standards I to III. The Code of 1900, represented the final nail in the coffin of the Revised Code of 1862. The Code of 1900 established the system of capitation grants, 17 shillings (85 new pence) for each infant and 22 shillings (110 new pence) for older pupils. The Code also reduced the Inspectors financial power over schools, in that they were only able to reduce the grants to schools

by one shilling (5 new pence) and the only additional payments were for cooking and manual instruction.

At North Ferriby National School, the first Government Inspection took place on June 29th, 1871, from then on the major objective of the schoolmaster, a Mr. J.G.A. Owencroft, was to achieve the maximum grant at the annual inspection. In order to reach the said goal, Owencroft started teaching extra lessons after normal school hours in an attempt to bring the various standards up to a level of excellence in the three 'r's', additional subjects and later in class subjects. The extra tuition took place throughout the 'winter half of the school year', generally starting in either October or in early November and continuing up to the day of the annual inspection. The Inspectors report for the academic year 1877/1878, declares "With an increased number presented, results are as high as ever and a marked improvement is observed in Spelling, Handwriting and the great majority of the answers in Arithmetic deserve especial mention for accuracy and neatness. This is due to the supervision of exercises examined out of school by the Master and Pupil teacher,"

Some parents were not very keen to send their children to the school and in some instances to the Master's house, for the extra tuition which usually took place on three evenings a week. The duration of the extra tuition varied between one and two hours each session and it was given free of charge. Owencroft's entry in the school log, for the 29th December, 1871, states "Parents refuse to let their children attend in the Evening - altho' the instruction is gratis".⁽²³⁾ In 1871, no Christmas holiday was given, the reason behind this decision was that it would "give some children the opportunity to make their Attendances";⁽²⁴⁾ in other words, those children who for various reasons, seem unlikely by the day of the inspection to have made the

required number of attendances to earn the attendance grant, were given the opportunity of coming to school over the Christmas holiday period, even though according to Owencroft a "fortnight's holiday is due", to increase their number of attendances.

Having no Christmas holidays meant also that the scholars were not distracted from their work in the Standards; this was very important as annual inspection was not far away. From 1871 to June 1878, when Owencroft left the school, it was rare for the school to have a Christmas vacation. During the school year 1877/78, no holiday was given at both Easter and Christmas. On March 1st, 1878, Owencroft wrote in the log, "The teachers have worked day and night and the school has been open 478 times".⁽²⁵⁾ He further added "There is every prospect of the Examⁿ. for Grant - being better than ever".⁽²⁶⁾

As previously noted, schools, from 1867, could earn a larger grant by teaching additional subjects. The teaching of additional subjects, later renamed specific subjects, was confined to children in Standards IV to VI. Owencroft taught geography and grammar as specific subjects until the creation of Class subjects. The Code of 1875, created the category of Class subject: transferred to this category were history, elementary geography and grammar. In 1871, a broader range of specific subjects was introduced. Therefore in teaching the three 'r's', specific subjects and Class subjects, in an effort to achieve a large grant, Owencroft's work-load had increased dramatically. He remained determined to get the best results possible in all the examination subjects, thus obtaining the maximum grant. Owencroft declared in the school log, on October 10th, 1876: "it is impossible to teach the requirements of the last New Code, during the present school hours - even when the Home lessons are perfectly satisfactory therefore, I shall keep the 2nd - 3rd - 4th - 5th and 6th Standards until 5 O'clock p.m. daily -

during the winter half year, to try and cram the Geography-Grammar-History and likewise the extra (specific) subjects - Poetry, Animal Physiology, Botany and Domestic Economy".⁽²⁷⁾ Owencroft realised that, even with the said extra tuition, his efforts to get the scholars up to a standard of excellence in their respective examination subjects was in some areas a failure. Owencroft wrote in the school log on December 1st, 1876, "Already, my Infants and Stand^{ds} I and II are behind in their work,"⁽²⁸⁾ Owencroft decided the only way to achieve the desired standard of excellence at the annual inspection was to ".... commence to keep school on Saturdays".⁽²⁹⁾ Owencroft seemed near to the point of obsession in attempting to render the best possible from the scholars at the annual inspection. The pressure on the pupils must have been considerable in the four months leading up to the Standard Examinations; they lost their Christmas holidays, had to contend with extra tuition in the evenings, and on Saturday mornings from 1876. On top of this they were regularly given home lessons and as the day of the inspections drew close the scholars were frequently examined in their respective subjects. It is no wonder the Inspector commented after the annual inspection in March 1878, "the scholars indeed seem so very anxious to do their teachers credit as to be quite nervous".⁽³⁰⁾

If a pupil died Owencroft's remorse was not solely motivated by the tragic loss of life but also by the loss of the grant the child would otherwise have earned the school. Henry Lawson, a scholar at North Ferriby National School died on January 3rd, 1872. In the school log, Owencroft noted: "Henry Lawson - died at 10.30 - fever - aged 7 years - he would have passed his Examination next month with credit - another loss to the school".⁽³¹⁾ On November 5th, 1875, the Bentley family left the village of North Ferriby, and in doing so the

four children left the school. Owencroft regarded the four children's departure from the school as a great loss because, "all of them have made their Attendances, and can earn the Whole of the Government Grant". (32)

On another occasion Owencroft complained to the Corresponding Manager, a Mr. Clark, about the actions of a Mr. Potter. Potter had removed his son from North Ferriby National School and sent him to Hull Grammar School. Owencroft regarded Potter's removal of his son from the said school as unjust especially as the child would have probably earned the full grant at the annual inspection. Owencroft declared: Arthur, (Potter's son) "has made 244 attendances and can do his next Examⁿ work - this is the second time the "Potter" has hindered the receipt of the Gov^t Grant". (33)

When a pupil absented himself from the annual inspection, although eligible to take part, and thereby losing the grant he could have earned for the school, he would be discharged from the school until an amount equal to the grant lost by the child's non-attendance at the annual inspection was paid to the school by his parents. William Coggan failed to arrive at the annual inspection in March, 1874, and Owencroft immediately discharged him from the school. He wrote the following in the school log on March 6th, 1874, "W^m Coggan - put in 315 attendances - he did not attend the Examination although cautioned 3 or 4 times by the Master - consequently he was this day discharged and will not be re-admitted unless he pays to the Master the sum of fifteen shillings" (34) - 75 new pence. On January 11th, 1875, William Coggan's father went to the school to meet Owencroft to discuss his son's discharge that had taken place ten months previous. Owencroft informed him that his son would only be re-admitted to the school when Coggan paid a sum of fifteen shillings or agreed to pay higher school fees. Mr. Coggan agreed to pay the higher school fees, 6d. a week;

formerly he had paid 2d. per week. The Coggan affair was not yet over. On January 14th, 1878, William Coggan's brother John, much to the annoyance of Owencroft, left the school and went to reside with his Grandfather at Epworth, in Lincolnshire. Owencroft commented in the school log, ".... he (John Coggan) has made 406 Attendances and was a sure pass for Grant, in all Subjects - this is the second time the Father has purposely lost the Grant and been a hindrance to the work of the school".⁽³⁵⁾ Owencroft related the said events to Mr. Clark, the Corresponding Manager and to Mr. Barrow, the Attendance Officer. On January 28th, 1878, Mr. Clark called at the school and informed Owencroft that "Coggan had promised to send for his boy, John - from Lincolnshire, and that he should attend the Examⁿ for Grant".⁽³⁶⁾

The previous comments illustrate Owencroft's determination to achieve a large grant at the annual inspection. The obtaining of a large grant was very important to him because it was a major part of his annual income, as he received a proportion of the grant from the School Managers. Another motive behind Owencroft's aim of obtaining excellent results at the annual inspection and thus achieving the maximum grant possible, was that he was attempting to show his worth as a teacher to the Managers, especially as he had requested a school house, and the Managers had decided to build it. Owencroft's dedication to the pupils' education, however, cannot be disputed, whatever the motive. This fact is most apparent when considering the number of hours he put in daily at the school. He wrote in the school log, on January 15th, 1878, "The teachers frequently work ten hours a day". In the evening, he walked to Hull to attend various Night classes. "Yesterday, - the Master walked to 'Hull', joined the class at the 'Young People Institute', at 7 o'clock for "Animal Physiology" and at 9 o'clock - joined the "Magnetism & Electricity Class" at the "Royal Institution",

then walked home. On Saturday mornings attend the "Advanced Chemistry Class for Teachers".⁽³⁸⁾ Owencroft achieved excellent results in the above subjects, as is illustrated in the following extract from the school log, dated October 17th, 1876, Volume two, page 69.

Sciences

The Certificates and Prizes from "South Kensington", will be distributed at "Jarratt St. Rooms" - Hull - tonight, at 8 o'clock. - The following have been obtained by the Teachers of this School.

Owencroft, J.G.A. (Double first Class, and two Queen's Prizes) -

I Chemistry & Mag^m & Electricity.

Parrish, G.H. (Pupil Teacher). (One First class and one Advanced Second) -

(I Chemistry)

Owencroft's ability as a teacher is demonstrated by the range of subjects taught at North Ferriby National School when he was Master. This is especially true during the last two years of his Mastership at the school, when Animal Physiology, English Literature, Botany and Domestic Economy were taught as Specific subjects and Grammar, Geography and Needlework were Class subjects. At Swanland Congregationalist School, - Swanland lies approximately just over a mile to the north of North Ferriby - the then Master, Witty, did not teach any Specific subjects and the Class subjects, Geography and Grammar were poorly taught. The Inspector after examining the pupils at Swanland Congregationalist School in March, 1878, commented, "Class subjects have been attempted but Geography is a failure. Grammar is only satisfactory in the lower Standards,"⁽³⁹⁾

During the 1870's, the pupils at North Ferriby National School under the mastership of Owencroft achieved excellent results in the various subjects at the annual inspection, unlike the pupils at Swanland Congregational School, where the results were unsatisfactory. The pupils at

North Ferriby National School, were examined by an H.M. Inspector for the first time in June, 1871, at Swanland Congregational School the first inspection took place on May 2nd, 1872. At Swanland Congregational School the Inspector was far from impressed at the pupils' performances in the examination. He wrote, "I am sorry to say that the children passed only a very moderate examination, indeed in elementary subjects. They have done so poorly especially in Writing and Arithmetic, that I cannot say that the Teaching is efficient".⁽⁴⁰⁾ The Inspector concluded, "... unless the results are better on another occasion I cannot possibly recommend other than a very large deduction from the Grant".⁽⁴¹⁾ Witty, the Master of Swanland School, thought one of the factors which caused the pupils' poor performance in the Standard Examinations held in May, 1872, was their irregular attendance prevalent from early April to the end of September. Prior to the examination, Witty wrote in the school log (16.2.1872): "Do not feel encouraged very much at present in estimating the progress of the children. Should be very thankful for a successful examination. It is to this school a loss in having it when several of the elder boys are wanted in the fields".⁽⁴²⁾ The School Managers committee, at a meeting on June 14th, 1872, resolved "to request that the School examinations by H.M. Inspectors be held in the month of February instead of May - the latter month being more suitable by consequence of many of the scholars being then employed in agricultural labour".⁽⁴³⁾ The date of the Inspection was moved to January and then March, but the results obtained in 1873 and 1874 show no improvement upon the results of 1872. The Inspector stated the following about the examination held in March, 1874, "I wish I could report more satisfactorily of the elementary attainments of the children".⁽⁴⁴⁾ He warned the Master, "very much better results will be looked for next year or the grant may be reduced".⁽⁴⁵⁾ In March, 1875, the results of the children's performance in the Standard Examination

had not improved, the Inspector stated "No improvement can be reported in the results of the Examination".⁽⁴⁶⁾ The Inspector noted two factors were particularly responsible for the children's weak performance in the Standard Examinations. Firstly the school room had become inadequate on account of the rapid increase in the number of scholars attending. Secondly, as a result of the increase in the number of pupils attending the school, it had become under-staffed. The said two points, declared the Inspector "may account partly for the poor state of the attainments and discipline".⁽⁴⁷⁾ He concluded, "My Lords have ordered a deduction of one-tenth from the grant for the faults of the instruction shown by the bad results of the examination (Article 32(b)). If decided improvement is not visible next year their Lordships may be compelled to make a more severe deduction".⁽⁴⁸⁾

The Inspector's Report from the first inspection of the scholars at North Ferriby National School indicates that, unlike Swanland Congregational School, the results achieved by the pupils were most satisfactory. The Inspector wrote "the Master seems to be most painstaking. The Children passed a very creditable examination. The singing is very cheerful and pleasant. The tone, order and discipline are satisfactory. The Needlework is good".⁽⁴⁹⁾ The Inspector's reports for the academic years 1871/72 and 1872/3 are almost identical to the aforementioned report. The Inspector commenting on the scholars performance in the March 1874 Standard Examination, declared "the School is still taught with most praiseworthy energy and creditable success by Mr. Owencroft. The results obtained will show how well the children have passed in the several subjects of Examination. The Singing and Sewing are both very good".⁽⁵⁰⁾

Table II shows the very high success rate achieved by the pupils of North Ferriby National School, in the Standard Examinations in

March 1873, 1874 and 1876. The column entitled 'overall success', shows the percentage success rate of the pupils in the Standard Examination as a whole. In other words, in 1873, 92.4 per cent of the pupils entered for the Standard Examination were successful. The table also shows that at the annual inspections of March 1873 and 1874, the percentage success rate achieved by the scholars was never lower than ninety in any of the three subjects. In 1874, the percentage success rate in Reading was 97.2, the failure rate being a mere 2.8. Regrettably the information required to construct the tables indicating the success rate of pupils at Swanland Congregational School in the Standard Examinations are not available until 1876, and then only up to 1881. In the case of North Ferriby National School, the necessary information is not available after 1876.

The Annual Inspection in March 1876, at Swanland Congregational School revealed a slight improvement had taken place in the children's performance in the examinations, but the result was still unsatisfactory. The Inspector declared "the result of the Examination though it shows a slight improvement upon that of last year is still unsatisfactory. A knowledge of Tables is wanting in the Lower Standards. Numeration is defective throughout the school. Still further improvement will be looked for as the condition of an unreduced Grant next year".⁽⁵¹⁾ Even with a slight improvement in the number of children passing the Standard Examination at Swanland Congregational School, the overall pass rate as shown on Table III, under the heading 'overall success' was, in 1876, only 47.5 per cent - remembering the overall success rate at North Ferriby National School was in the said year 85.7 per cent, and that being lower than achieved in previous years. In March 1877, the pupils' percentage success rate in the Standard Examinations at North Ferriby National School recovered from the low of the previous year.

TABLE II

North Ferriby National School,
Pupils, percentage Success Rate in the
Standard Examination

<u>Year</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Writing</u>	<u>Arithmetic</u>	<u>Overall Success</u>
1873	90.3%	96.7%	90.3%	92.4%
1874	97.2%	94.5%	91.8%	94.5%
1875	na	na	na	na
1876	na	na	na	85.7

TABLE III

Swanland Congregational School,
Pupils, percentage Success Rate in the
Standard Examinations

<u>Year</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Writing</u>	<u>Arithmetic</u>	<u>Overall Success</u>
1876	54.2%	48.5%	40%	47.5%
1877	60%	40%	40%	46.6%
1878	82.5%	47.5%	50%	60%
1879	na a	na	na	
1880	88.8%	64.4%	53.3%	68.8%
1881	91.1%	51.1%	51.1%	64.4%

The Inspector remarked, "there were fewer children to be examined, but the percentage of passes is better than that of last year, and it has now reached a very high point,"(52) In 1878, Owencroft's last year as Master of North Ferriby National School, the children's results in the Standard Examination were as good as ever. The Inspector wrote "with an increased number presented, results are as high as ever,"(53a)

Table III shows the performance of the scholars attending Swanland Congregational School, in the Standard Examinations, improved in 1878, 1880 and 1881. No figures are available for 1879. Taking into account the aforementioned improvement in the pupils' results in the Standard Examinations at Swanland Congregational School the results were still below those achieved by pupils attending North Ferriby National School. In various ways the North Ferriby National School and Swanland Congregational School were similar; for example, both served a rural community. Both schools suffered from the problem of irregular attendance of some of their respective scholars. Both moved into new school buildings at approximately the same time. Yet throughout the 1870's, the pupils attending North Ferriby National School, achieved a higher percentage pass rate in the Standard Examinations than the pupils of Swanland Congregational School. A probable explanation for the aforementioned is that Owencroft was more determined than Witty for his respective pupils to achieve high results in the Standard Examination and to this end he, unlike Witty, gave his scholars extra tuition after normal school hours. It is also necessary to take into account that Witty was probably not a trained teacher. Witty became the Clerk of the Congregational Chapel and Master of the Day School in 1843. At the first Government Inspection in 1871, the Inspector, the Reverend G. French, recommended Master Witty be awarded a Certificate of the Third Class. Owencroft on the other hand was a certificated teacher -

Class Two, division Two. Finally, Witty's frail physique in the 1870's on account of his age, meant he had difficulty controlling older boys. In 1883 he retired, having reached the age of seventy-three.

As commented upon previously in this chapter, Owencroft offered a wide range of subjects to pupils attending North Ferriby National School. This was not the case at Swanland Congregational School when Witty was Master. He had trouble enough attempting to satisfy the Inspector in regard to the children's performance in the three 'r's'. Needlework and Singing were taught sufficiently well in both schools. In respect to Class subjects, the results Witty's pupils achieved were very poor indeed. In the academic year 1877/78, Grammar and Geography were taught by Witty as Class subjects. In March 1878, the Inspector noted, "class subjects have been attempted but Geography is a failure, Grammar is only satisfactory in the lower Standards".⁽⁵³⁾ A similar comment was made by the Inspector at the annual Inspection in March 1879. He wrote: "I regret the Grant cannot be recommended for the Class subjects, although sewing deserves some praise".⁽⁵⁴⁾ In the following academic year no improvement took place, as the Inspector's Report indicates. He remarked "I cannot recommend any Grant under Article 19c, (Class subjects) the subjects not being sufficiently well known. Seeing that the Geography was perfectly worthless, it is clear that two subjects are too much to take together".⁽⁵⁵⁾ As a result of pupils' poor performance in Class subjects, it was resolved by the Committee of Managers of Swanland Congregational School, at a meeting held on April 15th, 1880, that, "Mr. Witty be requested to discontinue the teaching of Class subjects History(?), Geography, Grammar, and give his whole strength to the subjects imperatively required by the Education Code - The time-table will therefore require rearrangement".⁽⁵⁶⁾

At the Annual Inspection in February, 1872, Owencroft entered nine scholars to be examined in Geography. The summary of the Inspectors' Report given in the school log gives no indication as to how the nine pupils performed in the additional subject.

Table IV: Annual Inspection: Additional Subjects

North Ferriby National School

<u>Inspection</u>	<u>Additional Subject</u>	<u>No. Entered</u>	<u>No. Passed</u>	<u>% Pass Rate</u>
March, 1873	Geography	10	7	70%
March, 1874	Geography	10	10	100%
	Grammar	4	4	100%

Table IV, illustrates Owencroft's successful teaching as regards additional subjects, the pass rate at the Annual Inspection in March 1874, being one hundred per cent. After the Annual Inspection of March 1874, Owencroft decided to drop Grammar and replace it with Poetry. In the academic year 1874/75, Owencroft offered the following as additional subjects, Geography, Grammar and Poetry, as the following extract from the school log shows:

(1876) March 16th, Government Examination at 12 o'clock.
(Thursday) Assembled at 10.15 o'clock. - Dismissed at 4.30 p.m.

	<u>Boys</u>		<u>Girls</u>		<u>Total</u>
1st Class	6	+	8	=	14
2nd Class	7	+	6	=	13
3rd Class	7	+	12	=	19
4th Class	14	+	6	=	20
	34	+	32	=	66
<hr/>					
<u>Extra Subjects</u>	<u>Boys</u>		<u>Girls</u>		<u>Total</u>
Geography	5	+	2	=	7
Grammar	1	+	5	=	6
Poetry	6	+	8	=	14
	12	+	15	=	27

Source: School Log, North Ferriby National, Vol.2, Page 30.

In March 1876, Owencroft rearranged his timetable to take into account Class subjects. Geography and Grammar became the Class subjects, and English Literature, Animal Physiology, Botany and Domestic Economy were taught as Specific subjects as is shown in the following extract from the school log. Singing, Needlework and Scripture were also taught.

	<u>B</u>	<u>G</u>
27th Jan. 1877.		
In Subjects under Art.19.C, Gram ^r	15	12
" " " " Elementary Geog ^y	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>
In Specific Subjects Art.21, English Literature	5	3
Animal Physiology	5	3
Botany	1	-
Domestic Economy	-	1

Source: School Log, North Ferriby National, Vol.2, Page 90.

.....

At the Annual Inspection held in March 1877 at North Ferriby National School the scholars performed reasonably well when examined in Class subjects. The Inspector remarked, ".... the answering in Geography was extremely good and Grammar is very fairly known".⁽⁵⁷⁾ The scholars, with regard to Specific subjects, seemed "not to be far enough advanced" The Inspector's Report for the Inspection held in March 1878, commented, "answering in Geography and Grammar are satisfactory but more teaching and questioning in classes should be practised and the children should not answer together".⁽⁵⁸⁾ No comment was made about Specific subjects.

On June 28th, 1878, Owencroft concluded his duty as Master of North Ferriby National. Under Owencroft's Mastership, the school had achieved excellent results in the three 'r's' at the Annual Inspections, unlike Witty, at Swanland Congregational School. Owencroft's teaching of Class subjects was superior to that of Witty's in fact Witty was told

by the School Managers Committee to end the teaching of the said subjects. In the later stages of Owencroft's Mastership, he taught a very wide range of subjects which was exceptional in a village school. On July 5th, 1878, the new Master of North Ferriby National School, Mr. H. Whitley, promptly "introduced Drawing into the Upper division of the school".⁽⁵⁹⁾ He remarked, "some of the children seem to take great interest in the subject".

Whitley resigned from his post as Master of North Ferriby National School on March 24th, 1882, after holding the appointment for three years and nine months. Under Whitley's Mastership, the Inspector's reports reveal the quality of the scholars' performance in the three 'r's' had declined when compared with the results obtained under Owencroft's mastership. The Inspector's Report for the inspection held in March 1879, declares, "results in Elementary subjects are not quite maintained, but sometime is necessary for the Master to become acquainted with the scholars. Reading in the Upper Standards should be more intelligent, and the letters for composition should be original".⁽⁶⁰⁾ A year later the Inspector remarked on two faults in the pupils' work. "The children who form the lower standards should have attention in Spelling and Handwriting", he declared, "and a tendency to become careless in the latter respect is to be remarked throughout the paper work also".⁽⁶¹⁾ The Inspector's Report for the Annual Examination held in March 1881, documents that an improvement had taken place in the scholars' performance in the three 'r's', and that the fault in handwriting noted in the previous inspection had been rectified - "... the neatness of the written exercises are very creditable throughout".⁽⁶²⁾ The final Inspection under Whitley's Mastership took place in March 1882, but, because of sickness the results did not equal those of the previous year. The Inspector recorded "there has been a considerable amount

of sickness which has probably prevented the results of Examination equalling those of last year".⁽⁶³⁾

Whitley, like Owencroft before him and unlike Witty at Swanland Congregational School, achieved in Class subjects satisfactory results. The Inspector's Report for the Inspection held in March 1880, at North Ferriby National School, states "class answering in all subjects taken under Article 19(c) is most creditable and the girls sewing (is) satisfactory".⁽⁶⁴⁾ The Inspector's Report for March 1882, shows the high performance of the pupils in Class subjects had been maintained: "Needlework is well taught and the Grants for Class Subjects are earned with ease,"⁽⁶⁵⁾ In regard to Specific subjects, it is not possible to comment about them as the information required is not available. Whitley makes only one reference to Specific subjects in the school log. He wrote "the two children holding Honour Certificates have passed in the Specific subjects".⁽⁶⁶⁾ None of the summaries of the various Inspectors' Reports written in the school log, when Whitley was Master, comment about Specific subjects.

In an attempt to get children to attend regularly and work hard in the examination subjects, it became an unwritten law at North Ferriby National School to award prizes to the children who had completed the most attendances during an academic year and also to the children who achieved very good passes at the annual Government Inspection. The first prize to be awarded to a pupil of North Ferriby National, as recorded in the log, was given by a Mrs. Lambert. The entry to the school log dated 29th October, 1868, notes, "Mrs. Lambert, promised a Silver Thimble to be given at Xmas - to the girl who takes the most pains - Sewing i.e. Plain needlework".⁽⁶⁷⁾ On April 30th, 1872, the scholars were examined in the Scriptures by the Reverend G. Wyndham-Kennion. The pupils who did well in the examination received a prize,

each was given a book. In the following Scripture examinations, given annually, prizes were awarded to those who performed well.

In October, 1876, Owencroft reached the conclusion that, "Certificates of Merit and Prize Medals (from Allmans, London) will greatly assist to keep up the Attendance, and encourage the children to work hard both at School and at home".⁽⁶⁸⁾ Owencroft put his thoughts into practice on the evening of the 21st May, 1877. Medals and books were given to the children, "for passing "well" at the Gov^t Exam^t for Grant - (16th March last) - and Attendance".⁽⁶⁹⁾ The medals awarded were as follows: eight pupils received a medal each for passing well in Reading, two pupils received a medal each for passing well in Writing, two pupils received a medal each for passing well in Grammar. Four pupils for Geography and seven for Arithmetic received medals for passing well. Eight children received medals as a result of their good attendance records, and one child was awarded a medal in recognition of his punctuality. As well as the medals eleven books were awarded to scholars.

Under Whitley's mastership, the prize-giving ceremony became part of an evening's entertainment given by the pupils and staff for parents, school managers, and others who wished to come. This was especially important in that the parents saw by means of the prize-giving ceremony, the value the school attached to the regular attendance of pupils and to their hard work. The evening's entertainment in itself was important as it brought the school and a large slice of the local community into contact. Whitley wrote in the school log on May 2nd, 1879, "the children gave an entertainment in the School on Friday night, consisting of songs and recitations. At the close prizes were presented by the Managers to the children who passed at the recent examinations, and in addition, each child was presented with a bun and an orange. Nearly

all the parents were present, and a great many old Scholars".⁽⁷⁰⁾ The format of the pupils' evening of entertainment at North Ferriby National, which took place on April 22nd, 1881, is shown on Table V.

At a meeting of the committee of Managers at Swanland Congregationalist School, held on May 22nd, 1879, the question of awarding prizes to pupils was to be discussed, but it was decided at the meeting to postpone the matter. The minutes of the meeting state "consideration on the question of giving prizes of money or books to scholars who pass in the three subjects (at the Annual Inspection) - postponed".⁽⁷¹⁾ In fact, the topic of prizes was never discussed at a meeting of the school Managers. On July 3th, 1887, Mr. J. Reckitt, a member of the committee of School Managers, visited the school, and "to encourage better attendance, said that prizes would be given at Christmas to all regular attenders by Mrs. Reckitt".⁽⁷²⁾ This became a yearly event, with the occasional exception; however, it was very rare for the scholars to be awarded prizes for gaining good results at the Annual Inspection. On December 21st, 1888, the scholars were examined in the three 'r's', by the Reverend Whitehead, a member of the committee of School Managers. The pupils who obtained the highest marks in the examination were awarded a prize. The prizes being "useful books - ranging in value from 1s.6d. ($7\frac{1}{2}$ new pence) to 6s." (30 new pence).⁽⁷³⁾

In examining and comparing the performance of the pupils in the annual Government Inspection at North Ferriby National School and Swanland Congregational School, and also in commenting on the secular content of the curriculum of the two schools, it has not been possible to go beyond 1883, because the information that is available is inadequate and therefore prevents a thorough analysis from being undertaken. This is not the case for Bishop Burton National School; therefore the final section of this chapter will be devoted to a study

TABLE V

An evening's entertainment at North Ferriby School, April 22nd, 1881, given by the Pupils. It included the distribution of prizes to pupils for regular attendance and/or, achieving good results at the previous Government Inspection.

NORTH FERRIBY SCHOOL.

CHILDREN'S ENTERTAINMENT,

FRIDAY EVENING, April 22nd, 1881,
Commencing at Half-past Seven.

PROGRAMME.

SONG—"The Soldiers."

RECITATION... "John Maynard" E. BEEL

RECITATION... "The Well of St. Keyne" J. E. PARRISH

SONG—"Murmur, gentle Lyre."

RECITATION... "Meddlesome Matty" P. CUTHBERT

RECITATION... "The Farmer and the Lawyer" { G. W. EYRE, J. T. BELL,
F. EYRE, & S. A. GLEDSTONE }

SONG—"The Sign Post."

RECITATION... "The best of Wives" H. DUCKER

RECITATION... "Nellie" E. BRABBS

SONG—"The Gallant Comrade."

RECITATION... "The Pilgrims and the Peas" S. A. GLEDSTONE

FLUTE SOLO R. GLEDSTONE

SONG—"The Trades."

RECITATION... "The Sailor's Consolation" H. CUTHBERT

SONG—"The Farmer's Call."

RECITATION... "The Tinker and the Glazier" W. H. BRABBS

SONG—"See our Oars."

RECITATION... "The Industrious Boy" J. C. BRABBS

RECITATION... "Dean Swift" S. ANDREW & P. CUTHBERT

SONG—"The Country Life."

FLUTE SOLO J. E. PARRISH

RECITATION... "The Country Schoolmaster" { W. ANDREW, S. ANDREW,
T. S. RIBY, J. E. PARRISH,
J. T. BELL, A. ANDREWS,
AND E. BRAITHWAITE }

SONG—"Hark! the distant Clock."

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES.

FINALE—"God Save the Queen."

of the pupils' performance in the three 'r's' at the said school, in the period 1864 to 1888. It is not possible to go beyond 1888, as the information is not available. The Schoolmaster at Bishop Burton National School during the period under investigation was a Mr. Benjamin Swann. He was Master of the school from January 1864 to December 24th, 1902. The village of Bishop Burton is situated approximately three miles west of Beverley on the main Hull-York road.

Table VI: Scholars Percentage Success Rate in the three 'r's',
at Bishop Burton National School, 1864-1888

<u>Period</u>	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Writing</u>	<u>Arithmetic</u>	<u>Overall Success</u>
1864-1869	99.5	96.9	85.7	94
1870-1879	96.1	91.2	73.4	86.9
1880-1889	94.5	76.7	65.4	78.8

The period under investigation has in the above table, been divided into decades in an attempt to locate the main trends. It is clear from Table VI that the pupils of Bishop Burton School, were most successful in the annual Reading examination. In regard to the scholars percentage pass rate in Reading, Table VI indicates that a slight decline took place during the period under investigation. In the case of Writing, the scholars' performance nearly matched that achieved in Reading in the period 1864-69. Thereafter, the scholars' performance in the annual Writing examination showed a decline, this became pronounced in the 1880's. The lowest percentage pass rate in the Writing examination occurred in the following two academic years, 1885/6 and 1886/7, the respective pass rates being 67.9% and 63.4%. The scholars' performance in the annual Arithmetic examination proved to be their poorest and accordingly the percentage pass rate achieved in Arithmetic was lower than that obtained in Reading and Writing - see Table VI and VII. Table VII, bears witness to a decline in the actual percentage success rate achieved by the scholars in the Arithmetic examination in the

TABLE VII

Bishop Burton National School
Percentage Pass Rates in the
Standard Examination, 1864-1888

<u>Date of Inspection</u>	<u>% PASS RATE</u>			<u>Overall Success</u>
	<u>Reading</u>	<u>Writing</u>	<u>Arithmetic</u>	
12.4.1864	100	90.9	100	96.9
20.5.1865	97.2	97.2	88.8	94.4
19.2.1866	100	96.2	77.7	91.3
1.3.1867	100	100	88.3	94.4
14.2.1868	100	100	86.6	95.5
29.1.1869	100	97.2	77.7	91.6
11.2.1870	100	97.8	80.88	92.9
10.2.1871	100	87.5	80	89.7
13.2.1872	100	94.7	65.7	86.8
22.2.1873	95.1	90.2	70.7	85.3
28.2.1874	94.7	97.3	71	87.7
17.2.1875	97.9	93.8	79.5	90.4
17.2.1876	96.4	89.2	69.6	85.1
22.2.1878	93.7	83.3	79.1	85.4
28.2.1879	87.8	87.8	65.1	80.3
9.6.1880	92	79.3	71.4	80.9
14.2.1881	96.4	84.2	59.6	80.1
16.2.1882	90.7	88.8	61.1	80.2
24.2.1883	94.3	83.0	64.1	80.5
21.2.1884	94.2	75.0	63.4	77.5
18.2.1885	93.8	75.5	69.3	79.59
26.1.1886	98.1	67.9	60.3	75.4
24.2.1887	95.9	63.4	75.5	80.2
20.1.1888	95.5	73.3	64.4	77.7

period 1864-1888. In the latter half of the 1860's, for example, the pupils' success rate in Arithmetic was approximately 85 per cent, per annum, but in the 1830's the figure had fallen to 64.5 per cent per annum.

The Inspector's Reports for Bishop Burton National School, during the period 1864-1888, give a fairly detailed commentary on the performance of the scholars in the annual Standard Examination. In the case of Arithmetic the Inspectors' remarks tend on the whole to support the statistics, which revealed the decline in the pupils' percentage pass rate in Arithmetic in the period 1864-1889. The Inspector's Report from the Inspection held on 20th March 1865, comments, "the Arithmetic of all the pupils was satisfactory except that of the fifth".⁽⁷⁴⁾ Two years later the Inspector made a similar comment, ".... and many faults in the arithmetic of the elder children. The Master will do well to pay attention to these things". The Inspector at the Inspection held in January 1869, remarked, ".... the Arithmetic is the weakest subject".⁽⁷⁵⁾ In the period following the 1869 Inspection, up to and including 1875, no fault was found in the pupils' performance in Arithmetic at the Annual Inspection. The Inspector's Report for the Inspection held on 13th February, 1872, declares, "the School maintains its position as one of the best Village Schools in my District. The Master is working with his wonted energy, conscientiousness, and success. The children take great interest in all their work and have this year passed on the whole a very creditable examination in the elementary subjects".⁽⁷⁶⁾ However, Table VII, bears witness to the fact that in 1872, the pupils' percentage pass rate in Arithmetic was the lowest yet achieved. The Inspector in his report makes no comment about this, in fact he is full of praise about the pupils' performance in the Standard examination held on 13th February, 1872, as the previous quotation illustrates.

The Annual Inspection held on the 17th February, 1876, brought to light the fact that some pupils were still having difficulties in Arithmetic. The Inspector wrote "the first, fourth and fifth standards are however weak in Arithmetic; the first mentioned failed in Numeration".⁽⁷⁷⁾ The Inspector's comments about Arithmetic, in connection with the Inspection of the 17th February, 1878, suggest that improvement had taken place - "there is some weakness in notation in the first Standard, and in the paper work of the fourth Standard, but otherwise Arithmetic is most satisfactory".⁽⁷⁸⁾ A year later, at the Inspection on 28th March, 1879, the Inspector seemed satisfied with the pupils' performance in Arithmetic above Standard I. "The quality of the passes above the first Standard in Arithmetic and Writing is generally good".⁽⁷⁹⁾ Possibly the quality of the passes above Standard One, in Arithmetic were good, but the percentage pass rate in Arithmetic, which the Inspector fails to comment about, had reached a new low - 65.1 per cent.

In the 1880's, several of the Inspectors' Reports comment about faults in Arithmetic. The Inspector's Report from the Inspection held on the 14th February, 1881, notes "many of the passes in Arithmetic are extremely creditable, but on the other hand the failures show the grave defects of carelessness and inaccuracy".⁽⁸⁰⁾ The percentage failure rate in Arithmetic reached its nadir at the Inspection of February, 1881, 41.4 per cent failing in the subject. Between 1882 and 1886, Table VII reveals there was an improvement in the pupils' performance in the Arithmetic examination, but this is not to say that faults still did not occur. At the 1884 Inspection the Inspector declared "in the fourth and fifth Standard there is a weakness in Arithmetic, Mental Arithmetic and Spelling should be attended to throughout the School".⁽⁸¹⁾ The Inspection held on 26th January, 1886, revealed the pupils' performance in the Arithmetic examination had deteriorated, - "... and

Arithmetic is barely passable above the first Standard, although there are two or three striking exceptions".⁽⁸²⁾ The Inspector's Report of 1886, resulted in Swann giving more attention to Arithmetic, and this led to an improvement in the pupils' performance in the Arithmetic examination at the Inspection held in February 1887. The improvement in Arithmetic was short-lived, for the pupils' percentage pass rate in the Arithmetic examination fell at the next Inspection, as Table VIII shows.

Table VIII: Pupils' Percentage Pass Rate in the Annual Arithmetic Examination 1886-1888

<u>Inspection</u>	<u>% Pass Rate</u>
26.1.1886	60.3
24.2.1887	75.5
20.1.1888	64.4

At the Inspection held in 1890, the Inspector remarked "in Arithmetic the fourth and sixth Standards are decidedly weak".⁽⁸²⁾ Two years later the Inspector declared ".... but the Upper Standards are still very much at fault in Arithmetic and in no class is the examination in that subject quite satisfactory. It seems quite likely that from the mid-Nineties onwards to the end of the century, no major problems arise in Arithmetic, because not one of the Inspector's Report contain an unfavourable comment about the subject.

The column entitled 'overall success' on Table VI and VII, reveals the overall performance of the pupils in the three Standard examinations which throughout the period under investigation declined. In the period 1864-1869, 94 per cent of pupils were successful in passing all three Standard examinations, in the period 1880-1888, the figure had dropped to 78.8 per cent, per annum. The Inspectors' Reports for the 1860's and 1870's give little indication that a fall was taking place in the pupils' overall success rate in the Standard examinations.

In fact the school was very often praised by the Inspectors in regard to the pupils' performance at the Inspections, as Table IX illustrates. Table IX consists of comments made by Inspectors at the Annual Inspection in the period 1871 to 1880. The Standard work of the pupils at Bishop Burton School during the 1870's, - accepting the Inspectors' views - was of a high quality when compared with neighbouring schools. The Inspector's Report of 1872 states, "the School maintains its position as one of the best Village Schools in my District".⁽⁸⁴⁾ At the Inspection of 1878, the Inspector noted, "The rest of the Standard work is on the whole much above the average,"⁽⁸⁵⁾

In the 1880's, the pupils' overall success rate in the Standard Examination continued to deteriorate, and this decline is often reflected in the Inspectors' Reports. Gone is the glowing praise lavished upon the school by Inspectors in the first half of the 1870's. In the 1880's, the Inspectors increasingly comment on the weaknesses that prevailed at the Inspections. In 1886, the pupils' overall failure rate peaked at 24.6 per cent. The Inspector remarked "attainments show a slight decline and the results have reached the lowest limit for which a Good Merit Grant can be recommended. Reading is only satisfactory as regards fluency; its intelligence is disappointing in a school where one expects from the surroundings of the children more than ordinary brightness. Composition is very poor, in the fifth Standard especially, and Arithmetic is barely passable above the first Standard, although there are two or three striking exceptions".⁽⁸⁶⁾ Even with a decline in the overall success rate at the Inspection in 1886, the school managed, if only just, to earn a Good Merit Grant.

After the poor results obtained by the pupils at the 1886 Inspection, Swann worked hard in an effort to rectify the faults identified by the Inspector in his Report. He had some success, as the Inspector's Report

TABLE IX Comments from the Inspectors' Report, 1871-80, describing the performance of the scholars at Bishop Burton School, in the Standard Examination.

<u>Inspection Date</u>	<u>Inspectors Comment</u>
10.2.1871.	The examination both in Religious and Secular subjects was on the whole a very creditable one indeed.
13.2.1872.	The children take great interest in all their work and have this year passed on the whole a very creditable examination in the elementary subjects.
22.2.1873.	The examination this year was a very satisfactory one.
28.2.1874.	All the Elementary work is done thoroughly well and Mr. Swann's continued perserverance, energy and conscientiousness deserve special praise.
17.2.1875.	Each Standard seem to receive its proper share of attention and the result is a great success.
17.2.1876.	Both those examined in Standards and Infants have passed a very good Examination. The first, fourth and fifth Standards are however weak in Arithmetic.
22.2.1877.	The Master deserves great credit for the very efficient condition of the School. The only complaint about the pupils' performance in the Standard examination, being that, "Reading is good throughout the School, but meanings and allusions in the poetry repeated must be mastered.
20.2.1878.	The percentage of passes in Standards is rather higher and in some other respects the results of examination surpass those of last year, very good as they were. Reading is fluent and accurate but there is a distinct falling off in the general intelligence shown in answers to questions on the meaning of passages read and committed to memory. Arithmetic problems in the first and fourth Standard, "but otherwise Arithmetic is most satisfactory".
28.3.1879.	The first Standard require attention in tables and Arithmetic. The latter is inaccurate and faulty in Notation. The rest of the Standard work is on the whole much above the average, though intelligent Reading in the first class is not yet attained.
9.6.1880.	The school maintains about the same percentage of passes as last year, a falling off in Writing and Spelling being counter-balanced by an improvement in Reading.

for the 1887 Inspection shows:- "there is an improvement in the Standard work, especially in Arithmetic. Composition and intelligence in Reading are still below the mark; though the latter has had some attention".⁽⁸⁷⁾ The overall success rate in the three Standard Examinations rose from 75.4 per cent in 1886, to 80.2 per cent in 1887. But the increase in the overall success rate was short-lived, because at the Inspection in 1888, it fell to 77.7 per cent. In other words, by the late 1880's the overall percentage failure rate was approximately just above 22 per cent, per annum; in the latter half of the 1860's, it had been less than 10 per cent, per annum.

In the early 1890's, pupils' performance in Arithmetic was poor, the Inspector's report for 1892 noting, "... but the upper Standards are still very much at fault in Arithmetic and in no class is the examination in that subject quite satisfactory".⁽⁸⁸⁾ But "handwriting is well taught, Spelling and Composition (the fifth and sixth Standards) fair". The Inspector's Report for 1893, comments "reading is pretty fluent and fairly intelligent, though the answering on the meaning of what is read is confined to only a few of each class,"⁽⁸⁹⁾ - in other words, only a few of the pupils understood what they were reading. Inspectors made similar comments at North Ferriby National School and at Swanland Congregational School. The Report of 1893 further comments about the pupils' performance in the Standard examinations that "penmanship is a good point. Spelling and Composition are fair. Arithmetic is accurate in the lower Standards, but is again faulty in the upper Standards".⁽⁹⁰⁾ The Inspector's Report of 1895, reveals an improvement had taken place in Arithmetic, but does not comment about Reading or Writing. A year later the Inspector wrote "The improvement noticed last year in the general attainments is maintained and much of the work shows careful teaching".⁽⁹¹⁾ No individual comment is made

about any of the three 'r's'. The Reports for the remainder of the years up to the turn of the century are very brief and do not criticise the teaching of the three 'r's' or the pupils' attainments in the three subjects. The school continued to be highly thought of by the Inspectors, the Report of 1902 stating - "In many respects this is a Model Village School. The children evince interest in their work, and are kindly and skilfully trained".⁽⁹²⁾

CHAPTER THREE: NOTES

- (1) J.S. Maclure, Education Documents. England and Wales 1816 to the present day, page 79, Methuen, Fourth ed., 1979.
- (2) Pamela Horn, Education in Rural England 1800-1914, page 126, Gill and Macmillan, 1978.
- (3) John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England, page 290, Methuen, 1973.
- (4) *ibid.*, p.290.
- (5) Pamela Horn, Education in Rural England 1800-1914, page 125, Gill and Macmillan, 1978.
- (6) *ibid.*, page 125.
- (7) School Log, Blundell Street Infants, page 16.
- (8) *ibid.*, page 22.
- (9) School Log, Swanland Congregationalist School, page 6.
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- (24) *ibid.*, page 225.
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- (26) *ibid.*, page 168.
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- (28) *ibid.*, page 76.
- (29) *ibid.*, pages 76/77.
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- (33) *ibid.*, Volume I, page 501.
- (34) *ibid.*, page 391.
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- (39) Swanland Congregational School, School Log, page 83.
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- (45) *ibid.*, page 34.
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- (47) *ibid.*, page 45.
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- (50) *ibid.*, page 402.
- (51) Swanland Congregational School, School Log, page 63.
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- (89) *ibid.*, 21.1.1893.
- (90) *ibid.*, 21.1.1893.
- (91) *ibid.*, 25.1.1896.
- (92) *ibid.*, 8.2.1902.

CHAPTER FOUR

"I HAVE CALLED THE BILL A COMPROMISE": ⁽¹⁾
THE MAKING OF THE 1870 EDUCATION ACT

(1) William Ewart Gladstone, Hansard, 3rd Series, Vol.202, page 932

The 1870 ^{Elementary} Education Act was a compromise, for the Liberal Government attempted to appease, firstly, Members of Parliament - Conservatives - who to a varying degree supported the National Education Union, and secondly, a substantial group of their own party whose view on elementary education echoed that of the National Education League. The National Education League, which had been founded in 1869, demanded that a national system of elementary education should be established, and the schools should be non-denominational. Education was also to be given free and to be compulsory. The majority of its members advocated that unsectarian religious instruction should be taught in schools, but a minority favoured the 'secular' solution. The League's chairman was the Liberal Member of Parliament for Birmingham, George Dixon.

The National Education League's rival was the National Education Union, which favoured the continuance and extension of the denominational system. It had many supporters in the Conservative party. It was against any measure that would abolish school fees - school fees were a very important source of income for voluntary schools. It was also against the proposal to make school attendance compulsory, "unless indirectly as a result of the extension of the Factory Acts, making employment conditional upon some evidence of attendance at school".⁽¹⁾ The Government's attempt at a compromise concerning Forster's Education Bill was not a total success, in that several of its members did not support the Bill and were very critical of it. In fact some Liberal M.P's regarded it as "a sell out" to the opposition.

In 1868, the Liberals, under the leadership of Gladstone, were returned to power. W.E. Forster, was appointed Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. The following comment made in the Queen's speech of 1868 highlights the new administration's concern about elementary education:-

"The general question of the education of the people required your most serious attention, and I have no doubt you will approach the subject with a full appreciation both of its vital importance, and of its acknowledged difficulty".

In October 1869, Forster was asked to prepare a memorandum, giving information on the proposals put forward by various groups concerned with elementary education. The memorandum was discussed in Cabinet. Forster was instructed to prepare an Education Bill, its aim being to provide good schooling for the whole country and to get parents to send children to school. On February 17th, 1870, Forster asked the House "for leave to bring in a Bill to provide for public Elementary Education in England and Wales".⁽²⁾ Leave was granted and the Bill was read for the first time.

In his speech introducing the Education Bill, Forster declared in government aided schools, "more or less unperfectly about 1,500,000 children are educated that is, they are simply on the registers of the Government schools."⁽³⁾ Forster added that the Government had "left unhelped", one and a half million children between the ages of six and twelve; he does not, however, say what proportion of the "unhelped children" were educated in schools that did not receive financial support from the government. Thus in his introductory speech Forster gave no indication as to how many children were receiving no education, and he did not state how many children attended unaided schools. The 1869 Report of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, noted that 995,000 working class children, between the ages of six and twelve were being educated in government aided schools. The 1868 Report of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, "calculated that the number of children attending non-aided schools was seven-tenths of the total in aided ones".⁽⁴⁾ In other words, approximately, 697,000 children¹ between the ages of six and twelve were

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1 when referring to children, the figures concern only the children of the lower orders.

being educated in schools which received no financial support from the government. Therefore, 1,692,000 children, between the ages of six and twelve were being educated in schools - aided and non-aided. The 1869 Report of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, estimates there were 2,531,000 children, between the ages of six and twelve; by deducting the number of children within the stated age range who attended schools (1,692,000) from the total number of children within the age range (2,531,000) we arrive at the number of children who were not receiving education, namely, 839,000. Put in another way, thirty-nine per cent of children - from the Lower Orders - between the ages of six and twelve were not receiving education, assuming the estimate contained in the Reports of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education are reasonably accurate.

Forster next turned his attention to the quality of education given by schools which did not receive financial support from the government. He held the view that such schools "are, generally speaking, the worst schools, and those least fitted to give a good education to the children of the working classes".⁽⁵⁾ Inspectors' reports tend to confirm Forster's view that non-aided schools gave an inferior education. McCann has declared the non-aided schools "were almost universally condemned as inferior in every way" by the inspectors, and "in the majority of cases the inspectors were undoubtedly correct".⁽⁶⁾

Forster drew attention to the deficiency that existed in the provision of schooling by commenting on a recent survey that showed, that "in Liverpool the number of children who ought to receive an elementary education is 80,000, but, as far as we can ascertain, 20,000 of them attend no school whatever, while at least another 20,000 attend schools where they get an education not worth having".⁽⁷⁾ Accepting the existing provision for elementary education was inadequate, the task

facing Forster was how to end it. The denominational system was to be left intact, Forster declared: "we must take care not to destroy the existing system in introducing a new one Our object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps"⁽⁸⁾ Forster believed, that by filling the gaps that existed in the voluntary system, government expenditure on schools would be spent correctly, in that money would not be wasted in areas where school provision was adequate.

Forster proposed that the country be divided into school districts, based upon urban boroughs, and civil parishes in rural areas:-

"I think it would be convenient if I at once state what these districts would be, We have taken the boundaries of boroughs as regards towns, and parishes as regards the country, and when I say parish, I mean the civil parish and not the ecclesiastical district".⁽⁹⁾

When the country^(A) had been divided into school districts, then the next task according to Forster, "is to ascertain their educational condition"⁽¹⁰⁾ - in other words to examine each school district to see if the number of school places was sufficient to meet the needs of the area and to see if schooling was efficient. A school was efficient, according to Forster, if it gave "a reasonable amount of secular instruction". Forster did not bother to specify as to what was a reasonable amount of secular instruction, he left that decision in the hands of the School Inspectors, who were to visit each district to "test the quality of the schools and find out what education is given".⁽¹¹⁾ So it was up to the Inspector to decide for himself as to whether a school was efficient or not. Forster declared, that the government would "take powers to collect Returns which will show us what in each district is the number of schools, of scholars, and of children requiring education".⁽¹²⁾ Forster believed the returns would show that the provision of schooling in the majority of school districts was inadequate.

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(A) refers to England and Wales only.

"It would", he declared, "be vain for us not to suppose that we shall find a vast number of districts ... where the educational provision is insufficient, and where that is so, as it is by public enquiry that that insufficiency must be ascertained, so it is by public provision that that need must be supplied".⁽¹³⁾

Forster, introducing the proposal to end denominational Inspection^(A) of schools, stated "the next regulation is a new one, and is one upon which I fear I may have to encounter some difference of opinion, Inspection is absolutely necessary. Hitherto the inspection has been denominational; we propose that it should no longer be so."⁽¹⁴⁾ He informed the House that denominational inspection was inconvenient, costly, and "injurious to the cause of Education":-

"It is most costly, for we have men going over the same ground continually; it is most inconvenient, because it prevents the Department (of Education) from organizing inspection as it would wish to do; and it is most mischievous, because it tends to keep the schools divided one from another by denominational differences, and because it prevents the schoolmasters themselves from agreeing together as they otherwise would do."⁽¹⁵⁾

Inspection was to be limited to secular subjects, for the government did not want to be seen as having anything to do with religious instruction given in the denominational and Board schools. An inspector was not allowed to "inquire into any instruction in religious subjects or to examine any scholar in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book".⁽¹⁶⁾ Forster informed the House a conscience clause would be included in the Bill. Supporting the need for a conscience clause, he remarked, "I do not think there needs much argument to prove the propriety of such a condition. It seems to me quite clear, if we approach the subject without any prejudice, that in taking money from the tax payer to give his children secular education, we have no right

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(A) Chapter Two gives a brief comment on the development of denominational Inspection.

to interfere with his feeling as a parent or to oblige him to accept for his children religious education to which he objects."⁽¹⁷⁾ No elementary school was to be given financial support from the government, unless it operated a conscience clause as defined in the Act. Forster knew that some of the Conservatives were opposed to the conscience clause, but he firmly believed that such a clause was necessary, so that a parent had the right of withdrawing his child from religious instruction, if that instruction was unacceptable. He believed the adoption of the conscience clause by schools would bring to an end, a situation which had occasionally happened, where a clergyman blinded by zeal, had forced a child to attend Sunday school against the wish of his parents.

In a school district where the school provision was inadequate to meet the needs of the area, then the voluntary bodies were to be given a year - this became known as a year of grace - to end the deficiency; if they failed a school board would be established. Many Liberal M.Ps were against the year of grace, for it was seen to be an unnecessary delay in the provision of schools where school accommodation was inadequate. In order for a school board to end the aforementioned deficiency it required finance. Forster doubted whether the Boards could be financed solely from taxes, thus they were to be rate aided. He declared, "where we have proved the educational need we supply it by local administration - that is by means of rates aided by money voted by Parliament".⁽¹⁸⁾ Forster proposed that in urban areas, the town council was to elect the school board. "In the country the Select Vestry where there is one, and a Vestry where there is no Select Vestry",⁽¹⁹⁾ would elect the school board. The proposals were later altered, :-

"The school board shall be elected in manner provided by this Act, - in a borough by the persons whose names are on the burgess roll of such borough for the time being in force, and in a parish not situate (sic) in the metropolis by the ratepayers."⁽²⁰⁾

On the issue of who could become a member of a school board, Forster remarked, "here we have thought the most simple provision after all the best. We allow them to elect whom they think fit"⁽²¹⁾ - including women. It was proposed that each school board should have between three and twelve members, this was later modified. The Act states, "the number of members of a school board shall be such number, not less than five nor more than fifteen"⁽²²⁾ - except in London. London was to be subdivided into ten divisions;^(A) and the London school board was to consist of members elected from the divisions. The number of members elected from each division was to be determined by the Education department. When the school boards had been established they had to act quickly, in ending the deficiency that existed in school provision otherwise the State would intervene to make sure the deficiency was ended:-

"We say to them (School Boards) - the work must be done, and if not done by you, then we, the Government, take powers to step in and declare the School Board in default, to see that the children are not left untaught, to do the work that the Board ought to have done, and to hand it back again to the elected members of the district when they are willing to take it up."⁽²³⁾

The powers given to the Education department, by the Act, regarding defaulting school boards, were extensive. In an area where the school board was deemed to be in default by the Education department, then the Education department could appoint its own school board. The members appointed by the Education department were to "hold office during the pleasure of the Education department".⁽²⁴⁾ In other words, the school boards appointed by the Education department would remain in office until the Education department decided they were no longer required.

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(A) TEN DIVISIONS: LONDON SCHOOL BOARD

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|------------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Marylebone | 5. Hackney | 9. Chelsea |
| 2. Finsbury | 6. Westminster | 10. Greenwich |
| 3. Lambeth | 7. Southwark | |
| 4. Tower Hamlets | 8. City | |

They would no longer be required, for example, when the default had been remedied, and the Education department had, therefore, ordered the election of a new school board.

The government was not prepared to abolish school fees, even though several non-conformists, and radicals in the Liberal party, wanted them abolished. "In the first place", declared Forster, "shall we give up the school fee? I at once say that the Government are not prepared to do it."⁽²⁵⁾ The government would not dispense with school fees, because of the cost involved; in other words, a large sum of money would have to be found by the government to finance schools, that otherwise would have come from the school fee:-

"I at once say (Forster) that the Government are not prepared to do it (abolish school fees). If we did so the sacrifice would be enormous. The parents paid in school fees last year about £420,000. If this scheme works, as I have said we hope it will work, it will very soon cover the country, and that £420,000 would have to be doubled or even trebled."⁽²⁶⁾

If the government gave free education to the working classes, he thought, the middle classes would demand it also, and so the cost to the government would escalate, and "the cost would be such as really might well alarm my Hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer"⁽²⁷⁾ - Robert Lowe. Forster declared most parents were willing and able to pay school fees, but he also recognized that in many towns areas of extreme poverty existed, and in such he proposed schooling should be free:-

"We give the School Board power to establish special free schools under special circumstances, which chiefly apply to large towns, where, from the exceeding poverty of the district, or for other very special reasons they prove to the satisfaction of the Government that such a school is needed, and ought to be established."⁽²⁸⁾

The Act also enabled a school board to "if they think fit, from time to time, for a renewable period not exceeding six months, pay the whole or any part of the school fees payable at any public elementary school" - be it board or voluntary - "by any child resident in their district whose parent is in their opinion unable from poverty to pay the same".⁽²⁹⁾

Thus the school board could pay the fees of a child attending a voluntary school if the Board so desired. Forster proposed one-third of the cost of maintaining a school board would come from school fees, the rest from taxes, and "local funds" - rates, if necessary. "We do not", remarked Forster, "give up the school fees, and indeed we keep to the present proportions - namely, of about one-third raised from the parents, one-third out of the public taxes, and one-third out of local funds."⁽³⁰⁾ Realising the proposal to rate-aid school boards could result in opposition to the Bill, Forster attempted to prevent fears ratepayers would have concerning the extra rate. He argued the education rate would in time reduce the prison rate and the pauper rate. "If the education rate exceeded 3d (1p) in the pound - and I (Forster) do not believe it will amount to anything like that sum in the vast majority of cases - then there is a clause in the Bill which stipulates that there shall be a very considerable extra grant out of the Parliamentary Votes."⁽³¹⁾

The Education Act of 1870, states that the school fee per week should not exceed nine pence (4p). Dr. James Murphy declares this maximum fee of nine pence a week "was set very high in relation to fees normally paid in such schools hitherto". He points out that in grant-aided schools "in 1869 about ninety per cent of children paid less than four pence (2p) per week and less than three per cent more than four pence. A quarter (almost half in Roman Catholic schools) paid less than two pence (1p)."⁽³²⁾ A school board, however, had the power to decide what the weekly school fee was to be, as long as it was between one old pence and nine old pence inclusive. The Act states, "every child attending a school provided by any school board shall pay such weekly fee as may be prescribed by the school board, with the consent of the Education Department,"⁽³³⁾

Turning his attention to the powers the Bill would give school boards, Forster stated they could give financial assistance to voluntary schools in their area, assuming such schools had adopted a conscience clause and were "efficient up to a certain standard of secular efficiency". This proposal was met by intense opposition from within the Liberal party, and was in the end dropped. Forster further added, if a school board was going to give financial help to voluntary schools, it had to "assist all schools on equal terms. They may not pick out one particular denomination and say, "We shall assist you, but not the others . If they go on the principle of assistance, they must assist every public elementary school" - including those which only gave secular instruction. The school board was to be given the power to decide whether or not religious instruction was to be taught in their schools, but if it was, they were also to decide on the nature of the instruction to be given. Forster remarked, "ought we to restrict the school boards, in regard to religion more than we do the managers of voluntary schools? We have come to the conclusion that we ought not."⁽³⁴⁾ This decision was reached because the government thought it was the only practicable solution to the "religious difficulty". Forster declared if the government stated that a particular religious doctrine had to be taught in board schools, it would be unfair to those parents whose religious beliefs differed from the stated instruction, and this would result in severe opposition to the Bill. Forster was thus intent on passing the problem of the religious difficulty on to the school boards. The government believed the boards would have no difficulty in their dealings with religious instruction, because they were elected by the people, and parents would not elect persons to the school board who would endanger the education of their children by raising religious difficulties in the way of their development:-

"we say the members of the Board are persons in whom the parents trust, because they are elected by the parents, and we do not doubt that the parents will take care to elect men that will not raise religious difficulties in the way of education".⁽³⁵⁾

Non attendance of scholars was a problem that had to be tackled. Forster remarked, "this attendance question is a difficult question, but we must face it. To leave it alone is to leave the children untaught, and to force the taxpayers and ratepayers to pay for useless schools".⁽³⁶⁾

Concerning Board schools, Forster favoured compulsory attendance of scholars. He reasoned it would be pointless declaring at that time, that compulsion of attendance would be enforced in Board schools, when such schools did not exist:-

"Of course, it will be impossible to apply the principle (compulsion of attendance) until we get the School Boards at work and the schools in existence. We cannot apply it to schools which do not exist, or which we do not acknowledge to be".⁽³⁷⁾

It was proposed school boards should be given power "to frame bye-laws for the compulsory attendance of all children within their district from five to twelve",⁽³⁸⁾ years of age. The Act enabled school boards to pass bye-laws so that attendance was compulsory, but the Act ignored voluntary schools, therefore in such schools attendance remained voluntary. It was not until Mundella's Act of 1880, that compulsion of attendance was enforced in all elementary schools,^(A) for children between the ages of five and ten inclusive. Forster was in favour of fining parents who did not have a viable excuse for not sending their off-spring to school when the school board had passed bye-laws enforcing compulsion of attendance. The Act states the following are viable reasons for a parent not to send a child to a school:-

- (1) he is under efficient instruction in some other manner:
- (2) he has been prevented from attending school by sickness or any unavoidable cause:

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(A) The subject of compulsion of attendance is dealt with more thoroughly in Chapter Five.

(3) there is no public elementary school open which he can attend within such distance, not exceeding three miles, measured according to the nearest road from the residence of the child, as the bye-laws may prescribe.

1870 Education Act: Section 74.

If a parent was in breach of any bye-law passed by the school board, then that parent could be fined up to "five shillings (25 new pence) for each offence".⁽³⁹⁾ Forster proposed that the school boards should take over

the role of managing Industrial schools, from the town councils; and that the House "give power to the school boards at once to establish Industrial schools."⁽⁴⁰⁾ Forster's proposals concerning Industrial schools did

become law - see section 27, 28, 1870 Education Act. He informed the House he had now described "the principal provisions of this Bill".⁽⁴¹⁾

He then asked a question and answered it himself - "What is our purpose in this Bill? Briefly this, to bring elementary education within the reach of every English home, and within the reach of those children who have no homes".⁽⁴²⁾ Thus the aim of the Bill, according to Forster,

was not to make sure that every child received a satisfactory education, but to put such an education within the reach of every child. Forster stated the government would consider every Amendment that was proposed, but he thought the main provisions of the Bill would become law; this in fact was not the case, as will be shown later. Forster declared:-

"we shall be ready to consider every Amendment with the most careful attention. But I confess I am sanguine - Hon. Members may think me too sanguine - that in its main provision the Bill will become law."⁽⁴³⁾

Forster proceeded to argue that speedy provision of elementary education was essential, not because many children had no school to attend, but an efficient system of elementary education was needed to maintain the country's industrial prosperity:-

"We must not delay. Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity. It is of no use trying to give technical teaching to our artisans without elementary education; uneducated labourers are, for the most part, unskilled labourers, and if we leave our work-folk any longer unskilled, they will become over-matched in the competition of the world."(44)

Forster saw the speedy provision of elementary education as essential "for the safe working of our constitutional system".(45) The 1867 Parliamentary Reform Bill "gave the vote to householders who paid rates. This enfranchised the artisans of the big industrial towns"(46) Referring to those whom the Bill had enfranchised Forster declared, "now that we have given them political power we must not wait any longer to give them education. There are questions demanding answers, problems which must be solved, which ignorant constituencies are ill-fitted to solve."(47)

Forster held the view, that the spread of elementary education could lead to a decline in vice and crime. He argued that "ignorance is weakness, and that weakness in this hard struggling world generally brings misfortune - often leads to vice, do we not know child after child - boys or girls - growing up to probable crime, to still more probable misery, because badly taught or utterly untaught?"(48)

Lord Robert Montagu, Tory Member of Parliament for Huntingdonshire, rose to ask "for explanations on certain points, and to make a few remarks on certain provisions (contained within Forster's Bill), which he did not think would be acceptable to the country."(49) He enquired as to whether Forster or any member of the government had been in contact with the Religious Bodies who governed the denominational system, to discuss the proposals contained within the Bill. If the Religious Bodies had been contacted, he would like to know, what they thought of the proposal to end denominational inspection of schools; and had they agreed to give up the right of veto on the appointment

of inspectors^(A) for their schools? Montagu argued if Forster had not been in touch with the various Religious Bodies, then he had "broke faith with each religious body, and set at naught the pledged word of the State".⁽⁵⁰⁾ Forster informed Montagu the government "did not consider themselves bound to ask the religious bodies, and they had not done so".⁽⁵¹⁾

Montagu informed the House he thought the figure given by Forster, showing the number of children between five and thirteen who did not attend a school in Liverpool, was inaccurate, and therefore gave a misleading picture of the state of elementary education in Liverpool. Forster had stated that of 80,000 children between the age of five and thirteen, in Liverpool, 20,000 did not attend a school and another 20,000 attended schools which did not give them a satisfactory education. Montagu pointed out that Forster had assumed the children of the 'lower orders' received eight years of schooling, but the Newcastle Commission had reported "that for the children of the working classes, six years of schooling would be sufficient". Montagu took the Newcastle Commission's statement that working class children should have six years of schooling to mean they did in fact get six years of schooling. He argued that of the 80,000 children in Liverpool between the ages of five and thirteen, a quarter - 20,000 of the children - would have already received six years of education and left school, leaving 60,000 in the school. Therefore he contended that none of the 80,000 children had not received an education:-

"Now as there are eight years between five and thirteen, if everyone of those children were to attend school for six years, three-fourths of the number ought to be at school. In Liverpool precisely three-fourths of the children between the ages of five and thirteen were at school; so that

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(A) In Chapter Two the origin and nature of denominational Inspection is treated.

according to the Right Hon. Gentlemen's (Forster) own showing the number that ought to be at school were at school, and the only fault to be found was that 20,000 were at a bad school."(52)

Montagu's assumption that the children of the lower orders received six years of schooling is incorrect and therefore misleading; research has shown that it was common for children to receive much less than six years of schooling. McCann gives the following examples:-

"Only 6.5 per cent of children attending Church schools in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, in 1867, had put in five years attendance. In Devon in 1868 an Inspector calculated that 83 per cent of children coming into the schools left without completing 4 years education. An investigation showed that the average duration of school life in an area of the Cambridge, Bedford and Huntingdon district in 1870, was exactly 2 years."(53)

Montagu, a firm supporter of the denominational system, thought there would have been no need for Forster's Bill, if the Revised Code had never been created. According to Montagu the Revised Code had checked the growth of elementary schools and was therefore responsible for the 'educational destitution' the House was trying to end. He remarked, "if the old system (Voluntary) had been remedied with a less ruthless hand, and if the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite had not given way to the desire to decrease expenditure", - one of the motives behind the creation of the Revised Code - "there would not now have been any educational destitution".(54) Montagu had reached the conclusion that with educational destitution being "so slight, it would have been far better to foster the present system (voluntary) by removing all the deterring causes, by relaxing the onerous restrictions and requirements, (Revised Code) and by giving more liberal grants".(55) A fellow Tory, however, Viscount Sandon, Member of Parliament for Liverpool, attempted to refute Montagu's assertion that educational destitution was slight:-

"He trusted someone having more authority to speak for the Conservative party than himself would do away with the impression, which might have arisen from a speech they

had heard from their Benches tonight, that the Members of the Opposition were insensible to the great educational deficiency at present existing."(56)

George Dixon, Chairman of the National Education League, and Liberal Member of Parliament for Birmingham, gave the Bill his support. "There were, however, some provisions of the Bill which, in his opinion, deserved the serious consideration of the House, and which, he thought should be modified".(57) Dixon was not in favour of the year of grace, he was a supporter of compulsory education and regretted the House was not being asked to decide how school boards could enforce attendance of scholars. "He was not surprised to find the Government shrinking from the responsibility of abolishing entirely all school fees he had no doubt the time would soon arrive when the School Boards would be convinced of the utility of entirely abolishing those fees".(58) Dixon argued there was a growing feeling in the country "that no Conscience Clause could be devised which would prove satisfactory to a large portion of the population".(59) He accepted this view, and therefore thought it necessary that religious instruction and secular instruction should be kept separate. He considered the great weakness of Forster's Bill was that the school boards and not Parliament were to decide on how religious instruction and secular instruction would be kept separate:-

"In all probability, therefore, it would be regarded as the great weakness of the Bill that the separation which it was desirable should be made between religious and secular instruction should be left to the decision of an innumerable number of Boards throughout the country, instead of being directly effected by Parliament."(60)

Dixon contended if the school boards were to be left to solve the 'religious difficulty', then religious feelings would enter into the election of school boards. In other words, in some instances the election of a school board would become a religious battle, for on its outcome rested the nature of religious instruction that was to be taught in the board schools, assuming that the board had decided in favour of giving religious instruction to pupils.

A.J. Mundella, Member of Parliament for Sheffield, like Dixon, favoured universal compulsion of attendance. "When the frightful ignorance prevailing among the lower classes," declared Mundella, "was more generally known all scruples against compulsory education would vanish."⁽⁶¹⁾ Mundella declared his support for the Bill; he regarded

it as a step in the right direction, that would secure in the near future "a general system of national education".⁽⁶²⁾ Sir John Pakington, Member of Parliament for Droitwich, lavished praise upon the Bill, but wished it had contained proposals to reorganise the Department of Education and create a Minister for Public Instruction. "Gentlemen", remarked Pakington, "the country ought to require from Her Majesty's Government that the Education Department should be a distinct Department of the State, with a responsible Minister at its head".⁽⁶³⁾

Pakington voiced support for compulsory attendance of scholars: "I do not believe that without compulsion", he remarked, "we can have anything like a satisfactory national system that will bring, education to the door of every citizen of this country however humble."⁽⁶⁴⁾ Pakington informed the House two faults in the voluntary system had to be dealt with, namely, the poor quality of education given in such schools, "and the short period of time for which children are allowed to be educated and trained, even in the best schools of the kingdom".⁽⁶⁵⁾

J.T. Hibbert, Liberal Member of Parliament for Oldham, reiterated the view that the Bill should be amended so that compulsion of attendance became universal. The Bill gave school boards the power, if they so desired, to pass bye-laws to enforce compulsion of attendance. In regard to compulsion, the Bill ignored the denominational system, thus at such schools attendance was to remain voluntary. Hibbert aptly concluded, "if compulsory education were good for one part of the country it would be good for another".⁽⁶⁶⁾ On the other hand, J. Walter, Tory Member of Parliament for Berkshire, was glad to see that the power

given to school boards, to pass bye-laws to enforce attendance of scholars was "optional". Walter hoped school boards would not generally enforce compulsion of attendance, unless such a course of action became really necessary. "He was one of those who were opposed on principle to direct compulsion He did not, however, object to any amount of indirect compulsion, such as an enactment that no child should be employed in labour until he had passed an examination in reading, writing and arithmetic".⁽⁶⁷⁾ G.H. Whalley, Member of Parliament for Peterborough, raised a dissenting voice against the Bill; he declared Forster had not shown in what respect the denominational system had failed, "nor how his measure would remedy that failure".⁽⁶⁸⁾ Whalley "doubted whether there was sufficient feeling on the subject in the country to enable Parliament to legislate".⁽⁶⁹⁾ He contested Forster's assertion that the speedy provision of education would lead in time to a reduction in crime:-

"His (Whalley) experience of conferring education upon children irrespective of their parents had not been satisfactory; the result was not the diminution of crime or of pauperism,"⁽⁷⁰⁾

Discussion on the second reading of the Bill was dominated by the Liberal Members of Parliament - non-conformists and radicals - attacking the government's measure. Their opposition to the Bill was focussed upon clauses which dealt with the religious difficulty. Many wanted to see unsectarian religious instruction given in schools, others - a minority - preferred a secular solution, so that religious instruction would not be given in school at all. Together they demanded that unless the Bill was amended, denominational instruction would be given in many board schools, and this was inadmissible.

On March 14th, Forster moved "that the Bill be now read a second time". Dixon proposed to replace the words after the word "that" of Forster's motion with the following:-

"(That) "this House is of opinion that no measure for the elementary education of the people will afford a satisfactory

or permanent settlement which leaves the question of religious instruction in schools supported by public funds and rates to be determined by local authorities."(71)

Dixon's proposed amendment, guaranteed the debate would concentrate on the religious difficulty, and this would enable non-conformist and radical members of the Liberal party to criticise the government's solution of the religious problem, and put forward their own ideas on how the problem could be dealt with. Dixon remarked his amendment declared it was inadvisable to leave the question of religious instruction in the hands of the school boards. He assured the House the amendment did not attempt "to make any reference to the manner in which the religious difficulty ought to be settled by the House".(72) He reiterated the view, which he had initially made during the first reading of the Bill, that in giving school boards power to decide whether or not religious instruction should be taught in their school and the nature of the religious instruction to be given, if they decide in favour of having religious instruction as part of the school curriculum, would result in school board elections being a contest between the differing religious bodies, each wanting their brand of Christianity to be the one taught in the board schools. He had reached the conclusion, the religious body which had the most voting power would control the school board and make sure its religious dogmas were taught in the schools. This he thought unfair to those parents whose religious beliefs were not in accord with the religious instruction given by the board schools. Unfair, because such parents would have to pay for and send their children to schools which taught a religion to which they objected. He saw the same thing occurring in voluntary schools:-

"the effect of the operation of the 7th clause of the Bill would be to fasten the teaching of religious dogmas upon every school in every district in which there was a dominant section, and this would be to devote the public funds to the maintenace of these dogmas, and if, as many believed, any Conscience Clause they could imagine would be inoperative,

the children of the minority would be taught a religion to which their parents objected, and the minority would be forced to pay for the teaching of such doctrines. In all these cases there would be created sectarian strife, ..." (73)

To him, the Bill was an instrument for spreading the denominational system, because religious instruction in board schools was not to be unsectarian. He thought the Bill ought to check the growth of the denominational system, "weaken its influence, so that it might ultimately vanish from the land." (74) The House, he believed, would come to accept the following view, firstly that "in all schools aided by rates the teaching should be entirely unsectarian or it might be secular". (75) Secondly, voluntary schools would only receive public funds if they operated a Conscience Clause. He preferred to see unsectarian religious instruction given in the board schools because it, unlike a secular solution, would not prevent "Christian precepts" from being taught. Dixon favoured a time-table Conscience Clause, when at a specified time religious instruction was taught. Dixon argued "a time-table Conscience Clause was the only one that would work. There ought to be separate religious instruction apart from the secular teaching, easy for the children to come to and stay away from, and no disabilities should attach to any children who absented themselves". (76)

W.E. Forster, referring to Dixon's amendment, pointed out the time was not right for deciding upon "abstract Resolutions", the proper place for such amendments being when the Bill was in Committee. Forster criticised the amendment on the grounds it was "very explicit as to what ought not to be done - that the question of religious instruction ought not to be determined by the local authorities", - but it "leaves it doubtful how it (religious difficulty) is to be settled". (77) He later added, "it is hardly fair to ask us to vote in favour of an abstract Resolution, unless you tell us exactly what you would propose by way of substitution". (78) Forster thought if Parliament stated "such and such

a religion shall be taught" in board schools, there would be a huge outcry and the people would ignore the legislation, so in practice it would never work. He thought a secular solution to the religious difficulty would not be in accord with the wishes of the people, for they wanted to see religious instruction being taught in schools. "The English people" he declared, "cling to the Bible, and no measure will be more unpopular than that which declares by Act of Parliament that the Bible shall be excluded from the school".⁽⁷⁹⁾ He admitted the religious difficulty "is a great difficulty", although during a later debate, he declared the religious difficulty was not apparent in schools, and therefore the problem had been exaggerated. He believed if the Bible was excluded from schools, "the irreligious difficulty we should thereby create would be far greater",⁽⁸⁰⁾ than the religious difficulty, because the majority of the population wanted to see the Bible retained. He accepted the point a minority of parents would in some instances have to send their children to, and financially support via rates, a board school which gave religious instruction they objected to. Forster thought a secular solution was a less satisfactory remedy to the religious problem than the one put forward by the government, because it would give the majority of parents a valid grievance against the school boards. Such parents, he thought, would object to paying the school rate:-

"but were we to say that the majority were not to have their children taught the Bible, even if they so desired it, we should have the school rates objected to; not by individuals, but by large multitudes".⁽⁸¹⁾

Forster believed the government was correct in allowing school boards to decide whether or not religious instruction should be given in their schools, and the nature of the religious instruction to be taught because the school boards were elected by the parents, and therefore the decision of the school board on the religious problem would reflect the wishes of the parents. He revoiced the view that Parliament should not attempt to state what religious instruction was to be taught in board

schools, because if it did, it would disregard "all the varying circumstances and wishes of different localities, and the result would be that we should meet with opposition from all quarters, and give rise to more heart burnings than if we left the matter alone".⁽⁸²⁾

Winterbotham, Liberal Member of Parliament for Stroud, thought it regrettable the government had introduced the Bill without first "ascertaining the wishes of the people on a subject that so deeply concerns them".⁽⁸³⁾ He demanded the voluntary school system should be critically examined, and if it was shown it was not in the "public interest", then it should no longer receive financial support from the government. For the present, Winterbotham, was prepared "on purely utilitarian grounds" for "the continuance of aid"⁽⁸⁴⁾ to the voluntary system. He was, however, against any extension of the voluntary system, and therefore he could not support the proposal to give them a year of grace, as this would mean the construction of more voluntary schools. He was critical of the voluntary system because "it multiplies schools unnecessarily in the same neighbourhood,"⁽⁸⁵⁾ and it ignores the areas where the school provision is very inadequate. He preached that voluntary effort thrived on inequality, because the majority of the government grant was given to the Church of England. Between 1839 and 1868, he pointed out, six million pounds of the government's education grants had gone to the Church of England, while only £1.6 million had been allocated to the other religious bodies educating children. In the area of popular education Winterbotham declared, "the State has the right to interfere, and is even bound to interfere, to prevent the avarice, the indifference, or even the poverty of the parent from shutting out the child from the education which is absolutely essential for the child's own well-being, and without which it will grow up a burden, or worse than a burden to itself and society".⁽⁸⁶⁾

Winterbotham, next turned his attention to the proposal that gave the school boards the power to decide what if any religious instruction was to be taught in their schools. He found it deeply regrettable the school boards were to be given such a power. "The inaction and indecision of my Right Hon. Friend (Forster)", he declared, "which leaves the decision of a most vital question to local bodies, is fraught with more evil and injustice than any decision at which he or Parliament could arrive".⁽⁸⁷⁾ He believed it was the duty of Parliament and not the school boards, to decide on the type of religious instruction, if any, that should be given in board schools. Winterbotham, like Dixon, believed the Bill in its present form, would lead to an extension of the denominational system. In rural areas, he thought, the Church of England held a monopoly of religious belief; therefore, school boards in such areas would become bastions of the established Church. These school boards could then help financially the national schools in their district. The Bill, however, empowered school boards, if they so desired, to help financially voluntary schools in their district, but such help had to be given equally to all voluntary schools, and not solely to national schools. Winterbotham argued that in many rural areas, only a national school existed, so if a school board was established, it would come under the control of the Church of England, and would fund the national school. In such an eventuality, the education provided in the area would be controlled by the Church of England.

In the towns, Winterbotham envisaged some school boards would give unsectarian religious instruction, while others would teach religious instruction according to a particular belief. He concluded if Forster's Bill, in its present state, became law, "the denominational system of education which we dislike, and under which we are chafing more and more each year, and which you in vain try to palliate with a

conscience clause, is to receive an indefinite expansion, all its evils being intensified ten-fold,"(88) He favoured the secular solution:-

"A national system of united education for a people who do not agree, or will not admit they agree, in their religious opinions, must be secular."(89)

He maintained a secular system of education would be incorrectly viewed if people thought it would lead to irreligion or atheism. The teaching of religion, argued Winterbotham, should be left in the hands of "pastors of the different Churches, to the home, and to the Sunday school".(90)

Lord Robert Montagu, Tory and supporter of the denominational system, immediately criticised Winterbotham's speech:-

"the Hon. Gentleman (Winterbotham) who had just sat down had treated this not as a question of education, but as a question between the Church and dissent. The Hon. Gentleman seemed to have forgotten that they had an education Bill now before them, and spoke as if they were dealing with a Bill for the dis-establishment of the Church of England."(91)

Montagu explained the great efforts made by the established Church to provide schooling for the lower orders. According to him religious instruction had to be given in schools because it gave moral training to scholars which was not the case with secular subjects. He thought the teaching of religious instruction should not be placed in the hands of Sunday schools; to support this view he quoted from a statement made by the Dean of Carlisle, to the Newcastle Commission:- "I firmly believe that the subsequent irreligion of so many who have been through our schools is to be traced to the injurious amount and quality of the whole Sabbath Day instruction".

Montagu gave his backing to the voluntary system because it enabled the various religious sects to establish schools to educate the children of their members. He affirmed the allegation made by Dixon and Winterbotham, that if the Bill - with a few minor changes - became law it would result in an extension of the denominational system. This pleased Montagu, as he believed in the denominational system, and therefore he was prepared to support the Bill.

Montagu informed the House the supply of teachers was inadequate for the needs of the voluntary system and the creation of board schools would exacerbate the situation. He remarked "ever since the Revised Code had been passed there had been an inadequate supply of properly trained masters, even for the ordinary needs of the year; how much more would there be a lack for the extraordinary needs under the Bill?"⁽⁹²⁾

Montagu was concerned a school rate would result in the demise of private subscriptions, and this would obviously hurt financially many voluntary schools while having no impact at all upon board schools. He pointed out Gladstone had previously made the very same point during an education debate on the 11th April, 1856, when he declared, "it appears to me clear that the day you sanction compulsory rating for the purpose of education you sign the death warrant of voluntary exertions". To keep the voluntary subscriptions flowing into the coffers of voluntary schools, Montagu proposed the Bill should contain a clause, which reduced the rate bill of subscribers to voluntary schools, by an amount equal to their subscription.

H.B. Samuelson, Liberal Member of Parliament for Banbury, supported the view that the Bill should contain a time-table Conscience Clause. On the issue of compulsion of attendance, he thought "children ought to be compelled to attend school until they should have passed whatever should be determined upon as the school age".⁽⁹³⁾ Commenting on J. Walter's suggestion that a system should be adopted where a child could not be employed until it had passed certain examinations, Samuelson remarked a similar system "had been tried in the Mines Regulation Act; and had proved so great a failure,"⁽⁹⁴⁾ Samuelson could not support Dixon's amendment on the grounds that it would delay making available an elementary education for all who wanted it. He declared, "it was his desire that the elements of education should as speedily as

possible be placed within the reach of every child in England and he felt that this Amendment would in result stave off that desirable result".⁽⁹⁵⁾

Kay-Shuttleworth,^(A) making his maiden speech in the House, supported Dixon and Winterbotham, in that the school boards should not decide whether or not religious instruction was to be given in their schools. He feared that a school board could impose on the district it served a religious syllabus that differed from the religious belief of the minority. Therefore he thought it necessary that the minority view on the school board should have the power of appeal to the Department of Education to prevent injustice occurring. He declared he could not support Dixon's Amendment, firstly because it "was hostile to the second reading" of the Bill; secondly because it contained no proposal for the solution of the religious difficulty, and finally because "he was unable to discover any solution which was not far less satisfactory than that offered by the Bill".⁽⁹⁶⁾

Beresford-Hope, Tory Member of Parliament for the University of Cambridge, criticised the speech of Winterbotham, declaring "though sweet and oily to the taste, it will leave a bitter flavour behind. It is impossible to conceive a speech worse timed or struck in a more unfortunate key".⁽⁹⁷⁾ Beresford-Hope denied the Church of England support for Forster's Bill was not based on the theory that the Bill would enable them to trample over the dissenters:-

"If the Church were simply standing on its dignity; if it simply wanted to ride hard that social pride of which it is accused, if it wanted to trample on Dissenters from some assumption of personal superiority, it would not welcome a Bill which will place every denominational school on the same level, no matter what the doctrine of the denomination may be, and no matter how incomplete the theological or classical education of its pastor."⁽⁹⁸⁾

.....

(A) The son of a former Vice President of the Committee of Privy Council on Education whose innovations included the pupil-teacher scheme - for further details see Chapter Eight.

He argued that those radicals and non-conformists who had fostered the view that the British workman, "is a being particularly opposed to, and jealous of, priestcraft and therefore our old schools (denominational) should remember that the British workman was not the best judge of what education his children ought to have, because of his lack of education:-

"We doubt there is, and has been, a deficiency of education, which we all lament; and so the British workman, not being so well educated as might be desired, is not at the present moment the best judge of the education he ought to have."(99)

With the aforementioned in mind, Beresford-Hope hoped that in the future an attempt to try and "make capital out of the British workman, and use him as a leverage to revolutionise the whole religious teaching in England may meet with the defeat it deserves".⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Sir Roundell Palmer criticised Dixon, Winterbotham, and their supporters in the House, for attacking the Church of England instead of co-operating with government over the Bill. He thought it best for the Bill, if a spirit of co-operation prevailed in the House. He supported the provision which enabled the school boards to decide what, if any, religious instruction was to be taught in their schools, because it would mean each locality had the right to determine the nature of religious instruction to be given in the board schools in their area. He, like Forster, believed the majority of communities did not want a purely secular curriculum in board schools and if it was forced upon them they would refuse to pay the school rate, and "the whole country would be thrown into a flame, and the system would soon break down under its own weight."⁽¹⁰¹⁾ To support his assertion he quoted from a memorandum written by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. The quotation does not directly state that a secular solution would lead to a breakdown of the system:-

"A measure for establishing a rate-in-aid of school income would lack both stability and efficiency if it did not obtain the active cooperation of the landed proprietors and of the intelligent and educated portion of the middle classes of rural parishes."⁽¹⁰²⁾

Sir Roundell Palmer, like Lord Robert Montague, deemed it necessary that religious instruction should be taught in schools because unlike secular education it gave scholars moral education. Palmer thought a moral education more important than the teaching of Arithmetic and English. He declared, "although in a business point of view, sound instruction in every kind of useful knowledge is of the greatest importance, I venture to say that sound morality is the thing of most importance of all, both politically and socially".⁽¹⁰³⁾ He told the House, "how can you, in a religious people, among a people who believe that morality is founded on religion, expect education in morality to prosper if the sources and foundations of morality are not left free in the hands of the teacher?"⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ He believed that religion should penetrate every part of the curriculum, remarking, "there is no phase of instruction which the religious spirit will not and ought not to influence and colour".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Auberon Herbert, Liberal Member for Nottingham, found it regrettable the State had not, from the outset, taken sole responsibility for the education of the lower orders. He tolerated the voluntary system, but in schools built by Boards he thought that no denominational instruction should be given. Board schools had to be "truly national, and should rise above all partiality and sectarianism".⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ He informed the House he could not understand how Forster could have written a clause in the Bill which enabled school boards to give financial support to denominational schools. "He rather thought that while his Right Hon. Friend (Forster) slept some enemy came and did this - and sowed these tares with the wheat,"⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ He wanted to see the offending clause removed. The Church of England had received from the government's education grants over £6 million, while the other religious bodies had only received between £1.6 and £2 million. Thus the denominational system, he declared, favoured the Church of England, and if board schools

gave financial support to denominational schools, national schools would receive the greatest amount of money because they were the most numerous.

Herbert argued those who supported the view that religious instruction had to be given in schools where the lower orders attended, did so because it was an instrument for making the working classes "safer members of society - more likely to respect the rights or property, or privilege, or establishments".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ He declared he had come prepared to support the government, but because of the religious provisions contained within the Bill, he had no alternative but to support Dixon's amendment. Robert Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, criticised Dixon for introducing his amendment, because it had concentrated the House's attention on one of the Bill's "minor-principles", namely the provisions dealing with the religious problem, and in so doing it had prevented discussion of more important principles. He praised the Bill and declared he was not surprised it had met with so much support on both sides of the House. He likened the second reading to cows in a meadow squabbling over nettles, while the same meadow was abundant in grass:-

"It reminds me of a fine herd of cattle in a large meadow deserting the grass which is abundant about them, and delighting themselves by fighting over a bed of nettles in one corner of the field."⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

He supported the provision in the Bill, which enabled school boards to decide what, if any, religious instruction was to be given in their schools. He did, however, accept heated disagreement could occur between members of a school board when debating it. "If you give that power", he declared, "to the administrative body you must expect to see, as a result, that which attends on such a power - namely, considerable head and contention as regards the kind of religious instruction to be imparted. There cannot be a doubt that that will be the result."⁽¹¹⁰⁾ He thought such debate was essential and inseparable from free institutions.

He attempted to show "the impossibility of finding any system", of popular education "against which the most enormous objections may not be raised".⁽¹¹¹⁾ He reached the conclusion no Bill could totally please everybody, and therefore the House should not delay the second reading of the Bill before them, and any obstacles that could prevent the Bill from becoming law, would be dealt with during the Committee Stage. He reassured the House the government's objective was to seek a settlement of the religious difficulty that would satisfy all religious bodies, and not leave one or more sects feeling the Bill disadvantaged them relative to other bodies.

On Friday, March 13th, Vernon Harcourt, Liberal Member of Parliament for Oxford, reopened the debate. He asserted the policy of the Liberal party was to forward the principle of religious equality. He declared that allowing the majority on a school board to choose the religious instruction to be taught in their schools, was not in keeping with the principles of religious equality, because the majority would be offered a religious education they agreed with, but the minority would be "offered a religious education which does not suit them".⁽¹¹²⁾ "I presume", he declared, "that the minority require religious education as well as the majority, and you offer them a form of education, paid for out of the rates, which they cannot use; and will you tell me that that is political justice or religious equality".⁽¹¹³⁾ He also spoke harshly of the denominational system, stating the government had attempted to justify it by the operation of a Conscience Clause - he termed it an "illogical invention to justify an indefensible system".⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Harcourt found it hard to comprehend the stance taken by several Conservative members of the House concerning religious instruction. On the one hand they declared religion is the basis of all education. In the next breath they say they will accept a Conscience Clause, which

means that a child does not have to receive religious instruction, if the parents so wish:-

"You tell us, on the one hand, that religion is the basis of all education You say that it (religion) is the greatest and most important part of education; and then you give effect to your declaration by telling the children when they come to school - 'You must not fail to attend to reading, writing, arithmetic and geography, but there is one subject which you may entirely neglect if you please. When religious instruction is about to be imparted, if you object to the teaching, you may go out and play at marbles in the gutter.'"(115)

In board schools, he wanted to see unsectarian religious instruction given. He declared Conservatives, being representative of the established Church, supported the Bill because it would give the Church of England a monopoly of elementary education in rural parishes. He also stated that of the money raised by the Bill, via taxation and rates, the greater part would go to the Church of England. Harcourt commenting on Dixon's amendment, maintained it was not hostile to the government, although "it is hostile - irreconcilably hostile - to the principle of denominational education at the will of the dominant sect."(116)

Sir Charles Adderly, Tory Member of Parliament for North Staffordshire, like other Conservatives, was totally against a secular solution. With Lord Robert Montagu, he thought the way of meeting inadequate school provision was by extending the denominational system, "rather than, for some external motive - a mere phrency of jealousy against the Church - to sweep it away altogether, and substitute for it an entirely new system, which might be, and apparently is, less acceptable to the great body of the nation".(117) Again like Montagu, Adderly proposed subscribers to voluntary schools should have their rates reduced by an amount equal to the subscription. If the proposal was adopted in the Bill, it would, according to Adderly "check the withdrawal of voluntary subscriptions, which might then co-exist with

rates and supplement equally with them the public funds".⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Compulsion of attendance, he regarded the worst way to promote education. He was anxious the lower orders did not become over-educated for their positions in life. "Education was not", he declared, "so much the imparting of knowledge as the training that would fit a child for the work to which his station would probably call him. Many years at school were not possible or required for the labouring class. He therefore deprecated all unnecessary compulsion".⁽¹¹⁹⁾ He thought that only neglected and vagrant children who had no guardian should be compelled to attend school. Mundella, Member of Parliament for Sheffield, supported the clause in the Bill which enabled school boards to pass bye-laws to enforce compulsion of attendance. He wanted to see the Government adopt a time-table Conscience Clause and make sure that no catechism would be taught in board schools. The government later adopted the time-table Conscience Clause. Sir Henry Hoare, Liberal Member for Chelsea, declared the Bill had been framed to please the opposition - Conservatives. He declared his constituents had informed him they were against religious education being taught in schools supported by rates, and secondly, that no tax payers' money should be given to schools where religious instruction was part of the curriculum. The bitterness evoked in regard to the disagreement concerning a solution to the religious difficulty is demonstrated by the following statement made by Hoare:-

"The spirit of persecution always existed among members of an Established Church. There were many self-convicted fanatics among laymen as well as among clergymen; even in that House (Parliament) he believed there were men who, as a matter of principle, held that those who did not pay church rates ought to be burnt at the stake; and the Hon. member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford-Hope), as a matter of abstract principle would probably light the fire."⁽¹²⁰⁾

Hoare was deeply concerned over the wording of the Conscience Clause. It stated "no scholar shall be required, as a condition of being admitted into or attending or of enjoying all the benefits of the

school, to attend or to abstain from attending any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship, or to learn any such catechism or religious formulary, or to be present at any such lesson or instruction or observance as may have been objected to on religious grounds by the parent of the scholar sending his objection in writing to the school managers or principal teacher of the school or one of them".⁽¹²¹⁾

Hoare thought it impractical to force a parent to write to a school manager and/or principal teacher stating their children should not receive religious instruction, because many parents could not write; "and if they could, they and their families" - in rural parishes - "were under obligations to the clergyman and his wife, and would hardly dare to send in a written dissent, because their doing so would militate against their own interest".⁽¹²²⁾

He argued that before a school taught religion to a pupil it ought to obtain the parents' permission, unlike the proposed system where the parent had to write to the school so that his/her children do not receive religious instruction. He, like many other Liberals, favoured a time-table Conscience Clause.

J. Howard, Liberal Member of Parliament for Bedford, argued the Bill would in its present form perpetuate the denominational system and for this reason he could not support it. "He hoped the advocates of unsectarian education would remain firm and be determined to clear the decks of this denominationalism".⁽¹²³⁾ Like other non-conformists and radicals he thought it "the duty of the State to provide a system of education for the whole country, and thus not only without subsidising one church to a greater extent than another, but without subsidising any church at all".⁽¹²⁴⁾

Another Liberal, Fawcett, Member of Parliament for Brighton, accused the government of putting forth a Bill, which if passed, would mean they had successfully washed their hands of the religious difficulty by placing it on the doorstep of the school boards. Thereafter, the

election of such boards he declared, "would become a perennial source of religious strife and sectarian rancour, and would create discord where there ought to be glorious union of effort for the education of the nation."⁽¹²⁵⁾ Like Sir Henry Hoare, he criticised the wording of the Conscience Clause:-

"it was impossible to conceive a Conscience Clause more awkwardly devised than that provided by the Bill.... It required that every rural Labourer who wished to take advantage of the clause must make a request in writing The chances are ten to one that he could not write"⁽¹²⁶⁾

If an agricultural labourer could write, Mr. Fawcett doubted that the labourer would send a letter to the school managers and/or principal teacher, so that his children may be excused from religious instruction, because he would see his social superiors in league with the church, and therefore would not protest against religious instruction being given to his children. In other words, the agricultural labourer did not want to get into a conflict situation with his social superiors, for he knew he would come off worse. The government responded to the criticism, and dropped part of the Conscience Clause, which stated a parent had to write to a school manager and/or principal teacher, if he/she did not want his children to receive religious instruction. Fawcett ventured that only "the absolute separation of religious from secular teaching would satisfy the Liberal party".⁽¹²⁷⁾ He supported universal compulsion of attendance. He suggested if the Bill became law, the following could occur unless compulsion of attendance was enforced. A school board would provide school places to meet the requirements of its area, but if it did not bother to pass bye-laws enforcing compulsion of attendance, the result would be that a large percentage of the new school places would remain empty and not used because many children would not attend. He pointed out that in Leeds, voluntary schools provided accommodation for twenty thousand scholars, but the average attendance was only twelve thousand. He

concluded the only way to get all children into the classroom was by adopting a system of compulsion.

Fawcett informed Ministers that, "night after night they had seen Members of the government enthusiastically cheered by the Hon. Members opposite (Conservatives), while at the same time they were alienating some of their warmest supporters; it seemed to him that it was impossible for the Government to serve two masters on this subject;..."⁽¹²⁸⁾

Gladstone appealed to his fellow Liberal, Dixon, to withdraw the amendment, although its discussion he declared had revealed "some most interesting and valuable arguments on the general subject of the Bill".⁽¹²⁹⁾ He informed the House he could not see how the Bill could be improved - although a little later in the speech he declared his support for a time-table Conscience Clause - but the government would consider modification to the Bill put forward by others but only in the Committee stage of the proceedings. Gladstone showed Dixon and other Liberal critics that the Government was not inflexible at that time over modifications to the Education Bill, although its attitude was to later change to one of inflexibility. The following quotation reveals that although Gladstone was flexible about the solution to the religious difficulty, he did not want the Bill to do anything in disparagement of religion. He himself was prepared to accept a secular solution if that be the wish of the House:-

"The Bill will, I hope, do nothing in disparagement of religion; but whatever be the particular provision adopted, it will be adopted in the bona fide hope and intention that it may be conducive to the most effectual propagation of religion by means whether more or less direct."⁽¹³⁰⁾

In a later speech prior to the Committee stage of the Bill, Gladstone again showed he was prepared to accept a secular solution. He declared "if we be compelled to limit elementary education to the secular, at least a good secular training shall be secured".⁽¹³¹⁾ Gladstone

stated the government was prepared to adopt a time-table Conscience Clause, thus meeting one of the demands from within the Liberal party:-

"My Hon. Friend (Mundella) laid down (that) we ought to give up the machinery of the Conscience Clause, and to substitute for it a complete separation in time, and in time alone, of the religious from what is called the secular instruction I cannot but admit that it appears to me, for many reasons that great advantage will attend the adoption of such a change in the Bill,"(132)

The government came to favour the proposal that in denominational schools, religious instruction should be given either at the beginning or end of the school day, and parents had the right to withdraw their children from such instruction. The remainder of the schooling was to be secular. Gladstone's speech indicating the government's flexibility over the Education Bill, was sufficient enough for Dixon to withdraw his amendment. He declared, "after the expression of the Right Hon. Gentleman, (Gladstone) and with the idea that there is a favourable disposition on the part of the Government to consider the views of those who have been co-operating with me in this matter, I feel it to be my duty to withdraw the Amendment".⁽¹³³⁾ The House divided and the Bill was read successfully for a second time.

On June 16th, 1870, Gladstone moved the House should go into Committee over the Bill. He announced the government had made some modifications. The House's reaction was that these modifications should be debated before the House went into Committee; the majority of Members had not been informed the government had altered the Bill and therefore they needed time to examine and discuss the modifications. In fact the modifications were debated at length, but attention was also given to an amendment proposed by Mr. Richard, Liberal Member of Parliament for Merthyr Tydvil. Richard's amendment and the government's modifications of the Bill had the effect of concentrating the debate on the religious difficulty.

Gladstone stated the government had adopted a time-table Conscience Clause in the Education Bill; and also adopted the amendment proposed by Mr. Cowper-Temple, the Chairman of the National Education Union, "and one of the chief spokesmen of those who favoured denominational instruction"⁽¹³⁴⁾ which declared:-

"No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught."⁽¹³⁵⁾

The Cowper-Temple amendment was to apply only in board schools. Gladstone declared board schools would not be able to give financial support to voluntary schools as was initially proposed. It was, he remarked, the government's objective that "we shall sever altogether the tie between the local Board and the Voluntary Schools".⁽¹³⁶⁾ This change in the Bill was probably a result of the criticism from within the Liberal party, that in allowing school boards to help voluntary schools financially, the government was giving the established Church an unfair advantage over other religious groups; and that in many rural areas the Church of England would control the school boards, and use this control to finance the local National schools, thus giving the Church of England a monopoly of elementary education.

It was Gladstone's wish voluntary schools should be given some extra financial support to enable them to compete with rate-aided schools. He proposed voluntary schools should be given an extra grant, it being equal in value to a maximum of fifty per cent of the annual grant that they already received. This proposal angered many within the Liberal party who were not supporters of the denominational system. Gladstone informed the House the extra grant to the voluntary schools meant the end of building grants. "We think," declared Gladstone, "that if this liberal annual assistance were granted by the State to schools it is quite unnecessary to maintain any system of aid for building grants".⁽¹³⁷⁾ Gladstone supported the decision to end building grants with a rather dubious argument:-

"The building of schools is the easiest of all the efforts made by the promoters. Their great difficulty is the maintenance of the schools; and when we give liberal assistance to the maintenance, I think we may fairly leave to the locality the cost of building."(138)

The government Education grant was no longer to be confined to schools which provided religious instruction. This was a major change in direction, for since the first grant in 1833, money had not been given to any school which provided purely a secular education. In 1863, for example, state aid was refused to the William's Secular School, Edinburgh. The version of the Revised Code in operation when the Bill was passed stated:-

Every school aided from the grant must be either (a) a school in connexion with some religious denomination; or (b) a school in which, beside secular instruction, the Scriptures are read daily from the authorised version.

Thus the above were now swept away, and the requirements for receiving the State Education grant, would not "require that the school shall be in connexion with a religious denomination, or that religious instruction shall be given in the school" - Education Act, section 97.

The Leader of the Opposition, Disraeli, rose and indicated he knew nothing of the changes in the Bill that had taken place, except for the comments made by Gladstone. Disraeli thought the changes to the Bill were so extensive, that the House was now "called upon to consider an altogether new Bill,"(139) and therefore they should have the opportunity to discuss it. He regretted the Cowper-Temple amendment had not been fully explained by Gladstone in his speech. "I do not wish to deprecate the proposition of the Right Hon. Member for South Hampshire" - Cowper-Temple - declared Disraeli, "but I wait to understand it. It is easy to say that no catechism or formularies should be used in these schools distinctive of any particular denomination. But I think that before we can accede to such a proposition, it would have been convenient if we had had the advantage of having it explained to us".(140)

Disraeli was concerned that the teachers of religious instruction were not to be priests, but teachers, who would be free to teach the subject according to their own interpretation of the scripture. He declared, "you will not intrust the priest or the presbyter with the privilege of expounding the Holy Scriptures to the scholars; but for that purpose you are inventing and establishing a new sacerdotal class".⁽¹⁴¹⁾

Various members of the House - Conservative and Liberal - declared that as the Bill had been modified, without their knowledge, they wanted time to discuss the stated modifications, and this they were granted.

Henry Richard, Liberal Member of Parliament for Merthyr Tydvil, proposed the following amendment:-

"The Grants to existing denominational schools should not be increased, and that, in any National system of elementary education, the attendance should be everywhere compulsory and the religious instruction should be supplied by voluntary effort and not out of Public funds."⁽¹⁴²⁾

Richard doubted the wisdom of attempting to pass a measure of national education in that session of Parliament. He argued the general public was discussing the topic of popular education "with great animation and earnestness, he thought it would have been better to permit that discussion to go on, at least for a year, until public opinion had subsided into something like clearness and consistency".⁽¹⁴³⁾ He thought the modified Education Bill "instead of removing objections had added others, which were in some respects still more formidable the present scheme might be described as a measure for making the education of the people of England universally and for ever denominational".⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Richard argued that as a result of the increased Education grant being paid to denominational schools, "everybody shall be called upon to pay for the religious teaching of everybody else",^(A)⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ and this was intolerable to non-conformists because they held to the

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(A) The words were originally stated by Cobden, some years previous.

principle "it was not right to take money received from the general taxation of the country, and apply it to purposes of religious instruction and worship".⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ In fact the government grant was only to be given for secular subjects, the government did not intend to finance the teaching of religious education in voluntary schools; this fact was pointed out to Richard, by Gathorne Hardy, Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford.

Richard's objected to the increased grant to voluntary schools because the Church of England would have the lion's share. He, like other Liberals before him, argued if the Bill became law, the established Church would in many districts have a monopoly of elementary education for the lower orders. He thought the Cowper-Temple amendment "would be no security whatever against the schools becoming purely sectarian".⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ He pointed out that there was no provision which prevented "the teaching of distinctive doctrines, provided they were not taught in the shape of a catechism or formulary".⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

Richard turned his attention to his amendment; he thought it implied no disrespect to religious teaching, or any wish to prevent or obstruct such teaching. He personally thought, "religion was beyond all comparison the most important element in the education of a human being"⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ He could not however agree with those who asserted that an education not directly religious could only be worthless. He thought the question the House had to decide was "not whether religious education was to be given, but how and by whom it was to be given?"⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ The government should concern itself only with the provision of secular education "and leave to the Churches and the religious denominations to supplement that education by teaching religion".⁽¹⁵¹⁾ He later added "there were more than 50,000 ministers of religion in England who had no other reason to assign for their own existence, except they wished

to teach religion to the people."⁽¹⁵²⁾ Richard wanted to copy the American system, so that secular education was taught at the day school, and a child received its religious instruction out of school from the minister and/or Sunday school teacher:-

"Why not, therefore, try it here?" - American system - "what the day schools omitted, the ministers of religion and the Sunday schools would supply."⁽¹⁵³⁾

Thus in stating that day schools should only teach a secular curriculum, he was in fact demanding the end of the denominational system. However, reading the amendment one gets the impression religious instruction was to be provided in schools and the teaching of it supplied by voluntary effort. The problem with the amendment was it did not state religious instruction was or was not to be taught in schools, thus Members of Parliament were left to interpret it as they saw fit.

Gathorne Hardy pointed out the object of the State aid proposed to be granted to the denominational system, "whether by rate or by Parliamentary Grant, was not to cover the secular instruction If that be so, then the Hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Henry Richard) has already obtained all that he desired, because, so far as the State is concerned, nothing will be paid for the purposes of religious instruction".⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ Gathorne Hardy blamed the House for creating the religious difficulty which otherwise would not have existed:-

"I venture to assert, with great respect to those who are agitating the religious difficulty, that the difficulty is one which has not sprung from the people themselves. It is a grievance which has gone down from London into the Country."⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

He could not accept the time-table Conscience Clause, and thought religious instruction should be taught at various times in order to suit the different classes within a school. He very much regretted the government had abandoned the year of grace, and decided to establish school boards "forthwith". He wanted to know why the government had dropped the year of grace? In adopting the Cowper-Temple amendment,

Gathorne Hardy argued the government were doing "away with the whole protection of creeds and formularies, and you are going to give to the school master unlimited power of teaching whatever he pleases. Of all people the school master is the last who ought to be entrusted with such power."⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ He thought the only way out of the religious difficulty was freedom of religious teaching, or no religious teaching at all. He remarked "I think you should have freedom of religious teaching in a form that is acceptable to those who have to do with the schools; and the only way of having that is that the managers should appoint a school master, knowing what he is, and that he should teach what he believes".⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

The Liberal Member of Parliament for Stoke, maintained "the Bill of Her Majesty's Government had failed to solve the question". He favoured the teaching of unsectarian religious instruction in schools, whereas Gladstone did not. Gladstone did not because firstly, he thought children could not understand doctrinal differences; therefore distinctive religious instruction would not colour children's minds. Secondly, it was virtually impossible to obtain a consensus as to what would constitute unsectarian teaching, and therefore no definition of unsectarian teaching could be found capable of being given legal force in a court of law, even though it had been passed by Parliament.

Mr. Beresford-Hope regarded the amendment put forward by Richard as a red herring:-

".... we have had the red herring Motion of the Hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil trailed under our noses: a Motion of which the beginning contradicts the end, while both portions are at variance with the speech which the Hon. Member has made in its support."⁽¹⁵⁸⁾

Beresford-Hope remarked that Members of Parliament on his side of the House would be sorry "to see the Bill shipwrecked at its present stage".⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ He regretted, as did other Conservatives, that the government had abolished the year of grace. Commenting on the Cowper-Temple amendment

he wanted to know what the government meant by 'formulary', though he doubted "the Treasury Bench could explain the term". (160) He wondered if the Lord's Prayer was or was not a formulary? He was astonished to hear Cowper-Temple remark "the Apostle's Creed would not come within his Amendment because it is the formulary not exclusively of the Church of England, but also used by more than one religious body". (161) Taking note of the aforementioned, Beresford-Hope informed the House the amendment put forward by Cowper-Temple should really read as follows:-

"No religious formulary or catechism distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the schools, but any formulary or catechism which is distinctive of any two particular denominations may be taught." (162)

Beresford-Hope, very wisely asked were there going to be sufficient teachers of the necessary calibre to meet the needs of schools, if school boards were established "forthwith"? The government made no comment about teacher supply.

Lyon Playfair, on the extent of the religious problem, supported the government's stance, namely that the problem did not exist in schools but was to be located only in the House:-

"The teaching of (religious) dogmas, of which so much horror is expressed, is a myth of our creation, and has little practical existence in the everyday working of the school religious teaching in our schools mainly consists of such narratives as Joseph and his brethren, or David and Goliath, or the more simple parables." (163)

On account of the simple nature of religious instruction, Playfair thought there should be no argument against the teacher undertaking such instruction, but it should not be taught by voluntary effort as proposed by Richard's amendments, "for then it would be infinitely more dogmatical." (164) He advocated the State should continue to support the denominational system but in doing so it had the right to demand in such schools secular instruction was open to all, "and the religious instruction be made compulsory for none. And this is what we are doing". (165)

He supported the adoption by the government of the Cowper-Temple amendment, for it would have the effect of "prohibiting catechisms and formularies" in rate-supported schools, and this he thought a step forward. He remarked he had little faith in the form of the compulsion adopted by the government, namely that school boards if they so desired could pass bye-laws to enforce compulsion. He favoured indirect compulsion, that is to say children were not forced to attend school by law, but before they could be employed they had to receive so much schooling. He remarked "I do not believe that it will be by direct compulsion that we will succeed in attaining our object. Indirect compulsion, which makes education the only tool with which Labour can be begun, enlists all motives, whether they be good or bad, on the side of the State. The sordid, selfish parent, who wishes to live on the wages of his children, would find the need of educating them; while the prudent, loving parent would"⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ send them to school.

Sir John Pakington thought school managers should have the right to decide when religious instruction was to be given during the day, and therefore he hoped the government would alter the time-table clause, which declared that the stated instruction was only to be given either at the beginning or the end of the school day. He informed the House he had a copy of a petition presented to the Hon. Member for Kendal, signed by about 2,000 school teachers, "one half of whom are connected with this metropolis. They say that it is very undesirable for Parliament to fix the time for religious instruction, The Petitioners respectfully submit that the time-table for religious instruction should be left to the managers, subject to the approval of the Educational department".⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ If the time-table clause was not modified accordingly by the Government, Pakington declared, he would move an amendment in an attempt to get the clause altered.

Pakington voiced his approval of the adoption of the Cowper-Temple amendment by the Government, for he held the view that religious instruction should be given in schools without the use of formularies or catechism. He declared schools had to give children a religious education because not all parents would do so.

Forster remarked that the time-table Conscience Clause was so constructed in an attempt to increase attendance; he failed to explain how in fact it would do so. Regarding the compulsion of attendance, he informed the House the government would not be inflexible, but he doubted the House would accept universal compulsion of attendance, "and, even if this House did so assent, whether, in the present temper of the people, such a law could be easily enforced"⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ was an open question. The government's proposals concerning compulsion, he regarded as an experiment and a step down the road that ended in universal compulsion of attendance:-

"Our proposition would be indefensible if it were a final one; but we have made it simply as an experiment. Permissive legislation contemplated as a final result has generally been a failure, but when adopted as paving the way to something further it has not seldom succeeded."⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

Forster regarded the part of Richard's amendment, which states, "the religious instruction should be supplied by voluntary effort and not out of Public Funds",⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ as ambiguous and he demanded a clear explanation as to "what the words mean" should be supplied by Richard - before the House was asked to vote on the amendment.

Forster agreed Lyon Playfair, that the religious difficulty was to be found in the House, but was not apparent in schools. He adhered to the view that teachers should be allowed to teach religious instruction in schools, because it would not result in an indoctrination of pupils, as children were not able to comprehend high powered theology. The teaching of the bible would, he thought, give children a moral training

without filling their heads with theological dogma, for that was beyond their capabilities. Forster stated the government adopted the Cowper-Temple clause because it was in accord with the general view of the country, and he thought its meaning was clear although he made no attempt to explain it, as critics had demanded. Forster then made a remarkable statement, considering what Ministers had previously declared. He said that the government was not prepared to make alterations to the modifications in the Bill. In fact this was not to be the case, for during the Committee stage of the Bill the period of grace was re-introduced. "On behalf of the Government", declared Forster, "I must state that as regards the substance of these clauses, and as regards the matters of which they treat, the House must expect no further changes from us".⁽¹⁷¹⁾ He concluded his speech stating he hoped the House would support the government in opposing Richard's amendment.

Sir Charles Adderley, Conservative Member of Parliament for North Staffordshire, commenting on the Bill, hit the nail on the head, by declaring "the religious difficulty is, after all, the only topic of discussion in the whole matter."⁽¹⁷²⁾ He put forward a dubious justification for extending the denominational system. He stated the religious difficulty did not occur in voluntary schools, but it would be present at school board elections and in board schools. Thus, he thought it best to expand the voluntary effort so that only a few school boards would be required, thus minimizing the religious difficulty. Adderley could not support Richard's amendment because it ran counter to public opinion, which wanted to see religious instruction taught in schools. He backed the government in its adoption of the Cowper-Temple amendment, but thought it "rough and unsatisfactory".

A Liberal Member of Parliament, Vernon Harcourt, maintained the House had before it a choice of "either undiluted denominationalism from the government or secular education from the Hon. Member for

Merthyr Tydvil".⁽¹⁷³⁾ Harcourt was prepared to accept neither, he wanted to see the acceptance of a system of unsectarian religious education. He claimed the majority of people in the country was in favour of having an unsectarian system of religious education; but then Members of the House often declared the view which they were advancing had the support of the country. "If the House", remarked Harcourt, "could found a scheme of national education on the great principle of unsectarian education, it would confer upon the country one of the greatest blessings it had ever received from the House".⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ It has already been noted that the Prime Minister would have nothing to do with an unsectarian system of religious education. Commenting upon Cowper-Temple's amendment, Harcourt noted it would be ineffectual in preventing denominational teaching; but then it was not designed to prevent denominational teaching as Cowper-Temple was later to point out. Harcourt stated, "the security it offered" - Cowper-Temple's amendment - "was not worth two pence. It really sanctioned denominationalism, and yet it was offered as a settlement of the question to those who disliked denominationalism".⁽¹⁷⁵⁾

Cowper-Temple supported the government's view that in schools the religious difficulty did not occur, primarily because "the teaching that was suitable to elementary schools did not touch the disputed points of sectarian controversy, and the minds of the children were not capable of grasping them".⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ If that be the case there was no point in the government adopting the Cowper-Temple amendment for the scholars would not be able to fully comprehend formularies. Probably they adopted it in an attempt to appease the critics of the Bill within their own Party, who did not want to see the denominational system spread to the school boards.

Lord Robert Montagu, staunch supporter of the denominational system like Gladstone on the opposite side of the House, did not believe in an

unsectarian system of religious education, because such an education according to him could not exist.^(A) He felt he could not support the Cowper-Temple amendment, because he thought a formulary "the best means for conveying certain truths There could, therefore, be no objection to a formulary itself, but only to the truths which it conveyed. Moreover, by forbidding the use of religious formularies, the teaching would not be rendered undenominational".⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ He thought that a formulary acted as a check upon the teaching of religious doctrines:-

"For a formulary is a check upon doctrinal teaching; it is a restraint upon individual caprice and theological opinion".⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

He concluded the teaching of religious instruction had to be denominational and it was better that it should be conveyed by formularies than without them. Osborne Morgan, Liberal Member of Parliament for Denbighshire, attacked his own government for "endeavouring to force the Bill through Committee in the delusive hope that if the Bill were passed the religious difficulty would settle itself".⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ He was intrigued as to why Forster and other members of the Government had adopted the Cowper-Temple amendment, when according to them there was no religious problem. "He believed that there was a religious difficulty; and what was more, he believed that that difficulty would be aggravated instead of being removed if the Bill were allowed to pass".⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

He therefore gave his support to Richard's amendment. Like several other Liberals, he was critical of the Cowper-Temple amendment for it did not prevent the spread of denominationalism to the proposed school boards. He declared "it promised a great deal and did nothing. It cavilled at the form, but accepted the substance. It strained at the gnat, but swallowed the camel".⁽¹⁸¹⁾ He supported the government in that he did not think it possible to operate a system of unsectarian

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(A) According to Montagu unsectarian teaching could not be defined, therefore it could not exist.

religious education primarily because people could not satisfactorily define what represented an unsectarian religious education:-

"No human being had, as yet, been able to give anything like a satisfactory definition of what he meant by unsectarian teaching." (182)

Morgan noted a fellow Liberal - Harcourt - had attempted to define what was meant by an unsectarian religious education, but his definition told the House nothing. Harcourt had declared "by unsectarian teaching I mean undenominational teaching". (183) Morgan jested that if Harcourt was asked to define undenominational teaching he would answer it is unsectarian teaching. Another Liberal, George Dixon, informed the House it had become clear "the religious difficulty had been so dealt with in the Bill as to bring all the non-conformist bodies into antagonism with it". (184) Unlike his colleague, Morgan, he supported the teaching of unsectarian religious education. He argued the government grant should not be increased to voluntary schools unless they offered unsectarian religious education. Reed, Liberal Member for Hackney, wanted to add the following words to the Cowper-Temple amendment to prevent the teaching of religious doctrines that are distinctive of any religious body:-

"Nor shall any teaching having reference to the doctrinal peculiarities of any religious denomination be permitted." (185)

Hibbert, Member of Parliament for Oldham, was concerned that the increased grant to voluntary schools, would result in some voluntary schools being financially sound without any voluntary contributions. Thus the government would be paying for the religious teaching in a number of voluntary schools even though they had pledged themselves to finance only the secular instruction. "Now, if denominational schools", declared Hibbert, "could be carried by government grants and school pence, the principle laid down the other evening by the Prime Minister would be completely broken through - he alluded to the principle that

the government did not pay for the religious teaching of children in denominational schools".⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ To prevent the aforementioned from becoming reality, Hibbert said the government school should ensure that a proportion of voluntary school finance should come from voluntary subscriptions. As to the size of the voluntary proportion he declared, "the amount might be fixed at one-sixth of the total expense (of the school) or at an amount equal to one-third of the Government Grant".⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ Gladstone reaffirmed it was the Government's intention to give grants to voluntary schools concerning secular subjects only and therefore voluntary schools would not be allowed to depend financially on the government grant alone and the school pence:-

"We do well in holding ourselves detached from the responsibility for giving of religious instruction in voluntary schools, we shall likewise take care, that, under no circumstances, shall the public grants be allowed so to operate as entirely to supply, together with school pence, the sum necessary to support those schools, and that there shall always remain a void which must be filled up by free private contributions,"⁽¹⁸⁸⁾

The above pledge was quickly forgotten by Gladstone, for the Act states that the government grant was not to exceed the total income of a voluntary school "from voluntary contributions, and from school fees, and from any sources other than the Parliamentary grant".⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ Baines, Member of Parliament for Leeds, like his colleague Harcourt, favoured undenominational teaching in the proposed board schools. He believed that religious instruction had to be taught in schools because it gave scholars a solid moral education. Hence he could not support Richard's amendment. Viscount Sandon also advocated an unsectarian solution for board schools. He thought it possible "the heads of the leading Protestant Churches of the country" - he does not say why he excludes Roman Catholics - "might be got together and that a decision might be come to by them as to the adoption of a certain formulary which should not be distinctive of any particular denomination and which would be a guide for the teachers in the schools in explaining the simple principles of their common Christianity."⁽¹⁹⁰⁾

The Conservative, Lord John Manners, Member of Parliament for North Leicestershire, unlike several members of the Liberal party, did not agree with the view that the Bill would spread the denominational system, for that had been made impossible by the acceptance by government of the Cowper-Temple amendment. He thus regretted the government had adopted the amendment, for it meant "the school board must take their choice between the secular system on the one hand and what is virtually the British and Foreign system on the other. I say that the choice thus offered us is one to which I, for one, cannot consent In the name of freedom of religion I protest against this system." (191)

The debate over whether the speaker should leave the chair, so that the House could go into Committee had lasted three nights and seemed likely to drag on another night. Sir Rainald Knightley observed "the patience of the majority of Hon. Members had been sorely tried by the more garrulous portion of the House". (192) He felt sorry for Gladstone because he had had to sit through all the debates, unlike himself, who being an Independent could leave the House when it so pleased him. He thought if the debates had taken all Gladstone's strength and he could not last the session then he had been broken by his own Party:-

"If unfortunately, he (Gladstone) was obliged to succumb, he might very fairly say that, like Actaeon, he had been torn to pieces by his own dogs." (193)

Mundella thought "the conscience Clause as it now stood was a real and effective one, and no hardship could take place under its operation in existing schools." (194) But then he could think no other for he had been one of several Liberals who had demanded the government adopt a time-table Conscience Clause. As a supporter of the unsectarian solution, Mundella was pleased the government had deemed it necessary to adopt the Cowper-Temple amendment, because it was a step along the path towards undenominational religious teaching in Board schools. His

immediate reaction was to condemn the proposal made by the government to increase the grant to voluntary schools by fifty per cent, "and if a Vote for the money were asked for, he should oppose it unless he were satisfied it was necessary either for assisting certain schools in poor districts, or rendering the education given in the existing schools more efficient".⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ Like several Members of Parliament before him, from both sides of the House, he thought it necessary for the teacher to give religious instruction to scholars because parents could not always do so:-

"When we knew that there were thousands of parents utterly incapable of communicating religious instruction to their children, how could we say that we would leave their training wholly to the parents."⁽¹⁹⁶⁾

Mundella reaffirmed it was his wish to see universal compulsion of attendance become law as soon as possible, for he already knew of schools with empty benches because they could not get scholars to attend.

Horsman, Member of Parliament for Liskeard, made the observation, that the majority of the House was keen to pass the Bill, "yet we are almost unanimous in finding some fault with its provisions".⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ Commenting on the Tories, Horsman declared, "when I say they do not like it, I am not accurately describing their feeling - all their speeches have been one long unbroken chorus of lamentation, and condemnation, and reproach. But they accept the Bill; they are wise in their generation

They know that the system of denominational education is shaken to the roots They know that agitation in favour of the opposite system has grown up and is becoming formidable, They know that they have been mercifully dealt with in the Bill".⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ Turning his attention to the Liberal party, he assumed the opinions of Mundella were representative of those who wanted the Bill to be modified:-

"But my Hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) whom I may take as a fair representative of others, dislikes the Bill while he accepts it. Dislikes it did I say? Why, there is not a speaker who has torn the Bill more to pieces than he has but he told the House it was impossible to

exaggerate the magnitude of the evils which might be caused by delaying the passing of the measure for another year."(199)

An important point Horsman drew the attention of the House to was that the government could not state for definite that voluntary schools would in the future receive a fifty per cent increase in their grant, because the size of the education grant was decided annually. "For myself," declared Horsman, "I look forward with anything but satisfaction to the annual discussions which we are likely to have upon the question whether these increased annual grants "shall be discontinued".(200) Like Disraeli, he thought it wrong to allow the teacher to give religious instruction. He feared that the teachers, who according to him were not sufficiently trained in the Scriptures to enable them to teach the Bible would implant in the scholars their own interpretation of the Bible and this would create several new religious creeds:-

"The Right Hon. Gentleman, the Member for Buckinghamshire (Disraeli) said the other day that we were about to establish a new sacerdotal class. I think we may, under the Bill, also establish new sacerdotal creeds, with a separate creed for every school."(201)

Gladstone rose to bring the debate to its conclusion, and in doing so he made various comments. He pointed out to those in his Party who were critical of the Bill that the Conservatives had been willing to make several concessions. For example, they accepted that a school board if it so wished could give a purely secular education to its scholars. Secondly, they had accepted the Cowper-Temple amendment - if somewhat unwillingly. He added the Conservatives "agreed to abandon the system of denominational inspection They have agreed to a Conscience Clause"(202) Gladstone next turned his attention to a claim made by a fellow Liberal - Vernon Harcourt - that the Bill "exhibits pure and undiluted denominationalism."⁽ⁱ⁾ "I am at a loss" remarked Gladstone, "to conceive with what kind of fairness any person who has examined the matter can contrive to force even his organs of speech to

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(i) Harcourt meant that the Cowper-Temple amendment would not prevent denominationalism developing in Board schools.

utter such a statement".⁽²⁰³⁾ Gladstone defended the government's decision to abolish the year of grace, on the grounds that the government was now to give extra financial support to the voluntary system; therefore he saw no point in delaying the construction of board schools. Like Forster, he was not prepared to alter the "general outline, or substance," of the Bill. He supported the declaration, by arguing "no government can perform its functions usefully to the House of Commons if, when it has a great measure in hand; it shows itself to be so devoid of purpose; so incapable of fixed conviction, that at every step of the Bill it is led to endeavour to impress upon it a new colour, and to invest it with a new shape; for the effect of such conduct is to destroy public confidence in the usefulness of the Administration,"⁽²⁰⁴⁾ Gladstone later added, "I, think we have passed the point at which we can introduce large changes" to the Bill. This was not to be the case, for example during the Committee stage, the period of grace - up to six months - was re-adopted by the government, even though Gladstone a few weeks earlier had supported its demise. The House then divided on the proposal put forward by Gladstone four nights previously, "that, Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair". His proposal was accepted - 421 in favour, 60 against - and the House went into Committee on Forster's Bill.

Cawley, Member of Parliament for Salford, proposed what amounted to a re-introduction of the period of grace; thus in an area where the school provision was inadequate Cawley wanted the local voluntary agency to be given up to six months before a school board was established, so it could attempt to end the deficiency that existed in school provision and thus offset the need for a board. H.G. Liddell, Tory Member for Northumberland South, gave his support to Cawley's proposal, declaring, "the Government", he hoped, "would, at least; allow a minimum of six months,"⁽²⁰⁵⁾ as a period of grace. Vernon Harcourt thought the outcome

of the government adopting Cawley's amendment would be that "the education of the country was to be delayed for six to twelve months, A greater misnomer than to call it "a year of grace" he could not conceive; it ought rather to be called a year of disgrace."⁽²⁰⁶⁾ Forster supported Cawley's amendment and the period of grace was re-introduced into the Bill.

Forster, in direct contradiction to a statement made previously in which he declared that the government was not prepared to accept any substantial changes to the Bill, put forward the following amendment. The Education department, in two instances, could dispense with the normal procedure as stated in the Bill for the establishment of a school board, thus reducing the time required to establish a school board. The normal procedure to establish a school board as laid down in the Bill will now be outlined. An inquiry was to be undertaken in each and every school district, to see if sufficient school accommodation existed. The Education department after considering the results of each inquiry made its decision as to whether a district need establish a school board. It then made public its decision. The rate payers, and school managers, in any school district would have the right to appeal against the Department of Education's decision, this being done in writing. A public enquiry was then to be held, and the results would then be sent to the Department of Education which would issue a final notice, stating whether or not a deficiency in school provision existed within the school district. If a deficiency existed, the district had a period of up to six months to meet the deficiency. If after six months the deficiency still remained "the Education department shall cause a school board to be formed for the district".⁽²⁰⁷⁾ Forster's amendment allowed the Education department to dispense with the aforementioned procedure leading to the establishment of a school board, firstly when the majority of rate payers in a school district applied to the Education department

asking for the creation of a school board, and secondly a school board could be established in a district if a voluntary school closed and therefore the school provision became inadequate to meet the requirements of the area.^(A)

Attempts were made to alter clause 14 - the Cowper-Temple amendment. Sir John Pakington wanted the following words added to the Cowper-Temple clause:-

"The Holy Scriptures shall form part of the daily reading and teaching in such schools."(208)

The amendment was rejected. Jacob Bright, a Member for Manchester, wanted to see the unsectarian solution to the religious difficulty adopted by school boards. He therefore proposed the following words be added to clause 14:-

"In any such school in which the Holy Scriptures shall be read and taught, the teaching shall not be used or directed in favour of or against the distinctive tenets of any religious denomination."(209)

The Conservative, Sir Roundell Palmer, thought Bright's proposals would not work and lead "to mere secularism".⁽²¹⁰⁾ The proposals found supporters within the Liberal party, even though Gladstone had previously rejected the unsectarian solution. As regards the teaching of religious instruction, Gladstone thought it impossible to exclude "all references to tenets and doctrines"; in other words if religious instruction was to be taught in schools it would be denominational and this could not be prevented. Gladstone declared:-

".... it is our wish that the exposition of the Bible in schools should take its natural course; that it should be confined to the simple and devout method of handling which is adopted to the understanding and characters of children; but we do not admit that the simple and devout character of teaching can be secured by an attempt to exclude the references to tenets and doctrines. That is an exclusion which cannot be effected, and, if it could, it ought not to be; it is an invasion of the freedom of religious teaching such as ought not to be tolerated in this country."(211)

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(A) See, Section 12, 1870 Education Act.

Cowper-Temple did not support Bright's amendment. He also informed the House, that the object of his own amendment was not to introduce unsectarian religious education into board schools. He explained "the exclusion of Catechisms and formularies dealt only with lesson books which bore upon their title page plain indications of their origin".⁽²¹²⁾ In other words, the teacher, regarding religious instruction could teach what he wanted, the only limitation being that if a book fell foul of the aforementioned criterion it could not be used. This point was again made by Cowper-Temple when he stated that he would oppose any modification to the Bill which would "deprive the teachers in the schools created under the Bill, of the right which everybody else in this country enjoyed, to explain the Bible according to his own views and opinions".⁽²¹³⁾

Forster thought there was no need for Bright's amendment, because religious instruction in elementary schools was undenominational and it would be so in board schools:-

"he (Forster) did not believe that if the Member for Manchester's Amendment (Bright) were carried it would make any perceptible difference in the teaching of religion it mattered little how the clause were worded" - Cowper-Temple Clause - "because, whatever, its precise terms might be, undenominational religious teaching would be given to the children."⁽²¹⁴⁾

So according to Forster undenominational religious instruction was going to be given in board schools, even though Gladstone was opposed to unsectarian religious teaching. Lyon Playfair commenting upon Bright's amendment, pointed out it would be extremely difficult for people to agree upon the distinctive tenets of the various religious bodies. Such a decision could not be made by the Education department, he argued, for it was its duty to deal with secular instruction only. "One of our greatest triumphs in this educational reform is the abolition of denominational inspection," declared Playfair, "My Hon. Friend (Bright) is inventing a new form of religious inspection of the most inquisitorial and peculiar form - an inquisition into distinctive tenets, which are

extremely difficult at all times to define".⁽²¹⁵⁾ Like Playfair, Gladstone argued it would be impossible to define what the distinctive tenets of religious bodies were and if the school teacher had broken them. Commenting on Bright's amendment Gladstone declared:-

"Yet now it is deliberately proposed, to induce Parliament to found a most important part of a great measure on language of which no one can define the meaning. such was to be the slipperiness and ambiguity of the language that an indictment could not be framed against those who broke the law. If an indictment were preferred against a schoolmaster every Judge would say that Parliament had used language which was unintelligible, and that those who made unintelligible laws must expect to see them disobeyed."(216)

The House divided on Bright's amendment, and rejected it by 251 against 130 votes.

Lord Frederick Cavendish, Member of Parliament for the West Riding of Yorkshire, North Division, in an attempt to make sure the minority was represented on the school board, proposed that the following words be added at the end of clause 27:-

"At every such election (school board) every voter shall be entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of the members of the school board to be elected, and may give all such votes to one candidate, or may distribute them among the candidates as he thinks fit."(217)

Forster supported Cavendish's amendment, declaring, "the smallest minority on a Town Council would, in fact, be able to make itself heard if the cumulative vote were adopted".⁽²¹⁸⁾ Gladstone also supported the amendment, and it was accepted without a division of the House.

The Conservative, Sir Charles Adderley, supporter of the denominational system of schooling, thought it only fair that those who gave voluntarily subscriptions to elementary schools, should have their rates reduced by an equal amount. He therefore proposed the following amendment:-

"Rate payers voluntarily subscribing to public elementary schools approved by the Educational Department within any district shall be entitled to deduct such subscription from any contribution to the local rates made for a school board to which they would otherwise be liable."(219)

Adderley's idea was that those who had voluntarily taxed themselves for the purpose of supporting elementary schooling "should not be taxed twice". He thought if his amendment was not accepted then most rate payers would only pay the school rate and not give voluntarily to local schools, this according to Lord Montagu would disadvantage denominational schools financially - but then Gladstone had promised them an increased grant. Forster was not in favour of Adderley's amendment, and it failed to become part of the Bill.

Sir Charles Dilke put forward a proposal that at school board elections the secret ballot should be used. Forster stated it had been the government's view "and understood in the discussion weeks ago that the election was to be by Ballot".⁽²²⁰⁾ Therefore the government would accept Dilke's amendment but with the omission of the words 'a secret'. In other words, the government was in favour of a ballot but not a secret ballot at the election of a school board.^(A) The ballot, Forster further added, was to be used only up to September 1st 1871; "it was limited (ballot) for a year in order that the House should not be pledged upon the general question".⁽²²¹⁾ Presumably after a year's trial, the House would be better able to debate the use of the ballot. Colonel Barttelot, Conservative Member of Parliament for West Sussex, declared he would not have supported the Bill at its second reading if he had known that the ballot was to be used at school board elections. He thought the use of the ballot was "a most unenglish practice", and he hoped Forster "would reconsider the issue".⁽²²²⁾ The opposition to Dilke's amendment had many supporters mainly on the Conservative side of the House. When Forster put the question that the word 'ballot' stand part of the proposed amendment, he received a majority of only sixty nine.

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(A) Sir Charles Dilke, stated that he was prepared to consent to modify his amendment so that the word secret was omitted.

Disraeli contested Forster's assertion that "it had been stated and understood in the discussions weeks ago that the election was to be by ballot".⁽²²³⁾ Disraeli declared he hoped Forster would "refrain from pressing further a proposition - which, as I may remind the Committee, was not contained in the original measure - which is an unhappy innovation,"⁽²²⁴⁾ Disraeli in the case of school board elections was not in favour of ballot:-

"Sir, I hope the Right. Hon. Gentlemen (Forster) will allow the elections to be conducted as originally proposed, by voting papers or more open voting. Let us have the usual custom of the country,"⁽²²⁵⁾

Forster was asked to explain what he meant by a ballot which was not to be secret? It was pointed out to Forster that the ballot was looked upon as a remedy for intimidation, and corruption, but such would not be the case "if secrecy were not preserved".⁽²²⁶⁾ It was asserted that by omitting the words 'a secret' from the amendment Forster had "laid himself open to the charge that the ballot proposed would be a sham".⁽²²⁷⁾ Forster rather weakly argued that the voter would not be allowed to give his vote secretly, because "they (government) had enough difficulty on their hands without taking on themselves that responsibility".⁽²²⁸⁾ It was the Lords who threw out the use of the ballot at school board elections except in London. The Duke of Richmond, declared "he did not think that election by ballot was a mode "fairly applicable in the present cause".⁽²²⁹⁾ He therefore proposed the offending clause be replaced by the following:-

"Any poll shall be taken in the Metropolis in like manner as a poll is taken under the Metropolis Management Act, 1855, and shall be taken in any other district in like manner as a poll of burgesses or rate payers (as the case may be) is usually taken in such district."⁽²³⁰⁾

The Metropolis Management Act of 1855, introduced the use of the ballot in the Metropolis, for the election of vestrymen; and Richmond's amendment proposed that the election of the London school board should

use the procedures of the Management Act of 1855. Therefore in London - but only in London - the ballot would be used at school board elections. The Earl De Grey and Ripon, President of the Committee of Privy Council for Education, and member of the Cabinet, declared he could not agree to Richmond's amendment, because he thought the ballot was "a convenient mode of conducting these elections. Its adoption in this Bill would have the advantage of shielding the voters from the pressure of political leaders or the leaders of any particular religious denomination, who wished to see a man elected on the Board not from his educational merits, but solely from his connection with a particular party or denomination".⁽²³¹⁾ The Earl of Shaftesbury informed the Lords "he detested secret voting". The Lords then divided and Richmond's amendment was passed.

Forster's Education Act of 1870 gave birth to the school board era, and this is dealt with in the next chapter. The Bill itself did not please all in the Liberal party. During the third reading the Liberal Member of Parliament for Birmingham - Dixon - concluded he was not satisfied with the Bill and it was his intention "early next Session he should move for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Elementary Education Act of 1870".⁽²³²⁾ He was not satisfied with the Bill on several grounds, but he was especially critical of the government's proposal to increase by up to fifty per cent the education grant available to voluntary schools. "He believed that this was a retrograde movement - it was one to which the non-conformists had strong objections - it continued, and might possibly render permanent a system^(A) which they had over and over again expressed their objections to,"⁽²³²⁾

.....

(A) Denominational system of schooling.

CHAPTER FOUR: NOTES

- (1) The Education Act 1870, Text and Commentary, by J. Murphy, page 32.
- (2) Hansard, 3rd series, Vol.199, 1870, page 438.
- (3) Hansard, ibid., page 440.
- (4) McCann, Journal of Educational Administration and History December 1969, Vol.I, page 24.
- (5) Hansard, 3rd series, Vol.199, 1870, page 441.
- (6) McCann, ibid., page 22.
- (7) Hansard, ibid., pages 441-2.
- (8) Hansard, ibid., pages 444-5.
- (9) Hansard, ibid., page 444.
- (10) Hansard, ibid., page 444.
- (11) Hansard, ibid., page 445.
- (12) Hansard, ibid., page 445.
- (13) Hansard, ibid., page 446.
- (14) Hansard, ibid., page 446.
- (15) Hansard, ibid., page 447.
- (16) 1870 Act (Education) Section 7.
- (17) Hansard, ibid., pages 447-8.
- (18) Hansard, ibid., page 451.
- (19) Hansard, ibid., page 453.
- (20) 1870 Act (Education) Section 29.
- (21) Hansard, ibid., page 453.
- (22) 1870 Act (Education) Section 31.
- (23) Hansard, ibid., page 454.
- (24) 1870 Act (Education) Section 33.
- (25) Hansard, ibid., page 454.
- (26) Hansard, ibid., page 454.
- (27) Hansard, ibid., page 454.
- (28) Hansard, ibid., page 455.
- (29) Act 1870 (Education) Section 25.

- (30) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 455.
- (31) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 456.
- (32) Murphy, *op.cit.*, page 47.
- (33) Act 1870 (Education) Section 17.
- (34) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 457.
- (35) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 459.
- (36) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 459.
- (37) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 462.
- (38) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 462.
- (39) Act 1870 (Education) Section 74.
- (40) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 463.
- (41) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 463.
- (42) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 464.
- (43) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 464.
- (44) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 465.
- (45) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 465.
- (46) H.C. Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760*, page 115.
- (47) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 465.
- (48) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 466.
- (49) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 466.
- (50) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 467.
- (51) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 495.
- (52) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 470.
- (53) McCann, *op.cit.*, page 25.
- (54) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 472.
- (55) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 475.
- (56) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 480-81.
- (57) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 475.
- (58) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 476.
- (59) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 475.
- (60) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 476.

- (61) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 477.
- (62) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 478.
- (63) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 484.
- (65) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 485.
- (66) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 489.
- (67) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 492-3.
- (68) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 493.
- (69) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 493.
- (70) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 493.
- (71) Hansard, 3rd Series Vol.19^o, Table of Contents, March 14th.
- (72) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1920.
- (73) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1925.
- (74) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1922.
- (75) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1922.
- (76) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1926.
- (77) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1933.
- (78) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1934.
- (79) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1939.
- (80) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1940.
- (81) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1941.
- (82) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 1941-2.
- (83) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1963.
- (84) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1969.
- (85) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1969.
- (86) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1971.
- (87) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1972.
- (88) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1973.
- (89) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 1976-7.
- (90) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1979.
- (91) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1981.
- (92) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1995.

- (93) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2006-7.
- (94) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2006.
- (95) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2004.
- (96) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2020.
- (97) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2021.
- (98) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2022.
- (99) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2025.
- (100) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2025.
- (101) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2037.
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- (105) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2044.
- (106) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2051.
- (107) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2051.
- (108) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2054.
- (109) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2060.
- (110) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2062.
- (111) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 2062.
- (112) Hansard, 3rd Series, 1870, Vol.200, page 216.
- (113) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 216-7.
- (114) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 217.
- (115) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 217-8.
- (116) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 222.
- (117) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 228-9.
- (118) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 232.
- (119) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 236.
- (120) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 245.
- (121) Hansard, Vol.199, 3rd Series, 1870, page 449.
- (122) Hansard, 3rd Series, Vol.200, 1870, page 248.

- (123) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 252.
- (124) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 253.
- (125) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 280.
- (126) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 281.
- (127) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 281.
- (128) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 286.
- (129) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 292.
- (130) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 299.
- (131) Hansard, Vol.202, 3rd Series, pages 929-30.
- (132) Hansard, Vol.200, 3rd Series, page 301.
- (133) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 303.
- (134) Murphy, *op.cit.*, page 61.
- (135) Education Act 1870, Section 14.
- (136) Hansard, Vol.202, 3rd Series, page 279.
- (137) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 281.
- (138) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 281.
- (139) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 290.
- (140) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 287.
- (141) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 289.
- (142) Hansard, *ibid.*, Table of Contents, June 20th.
- (143) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 496.
- (144) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 497.
- (145) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 498.
- (146) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 498.
- (147) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 500.
- (148) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 500.
- (149) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 502.
- (150) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 504.
- (151) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 504.
- (152) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 505-6.

- (153) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 509.
- (154) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 519-20.
- (155) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 523.
- (156) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 528.
- (157) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 528/9.
- (158) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 546.
- (159) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 547.
- (160) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 550.
- (161) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 550.
- (162) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 550.
- (163) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 555.
- (164) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 555.
- (165) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 557.
- (166) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 560.
- (167) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 568-9.
- (168) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 575.
- (169) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 576.
- (170) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 576.
- (171) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 593.
- (172) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 634.
- (173) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 642.
- (174) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 644.
- (175) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 645.
- (176) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 648.
- (177) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 657.
- (178) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 656.
- (179) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 664.
- (180) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 664.
- (181) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 665.
- (182) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 665-6.

- (183) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 666.
- (184) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 791.
- (185) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 819.
- (186) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 823.
- (187) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 823.
- (188) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 938.
- (189) 1870 Act (Education) Section 97.
- (190) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 838-9.
- (191) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 847-8.
- (192) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 840.
- (193) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 850.
- (194) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 896.
- (195) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 896-7.
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- (198) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 915.
- (199) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 915.
- (200) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 918.
- (201) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 923.
- (202) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 934.
- (203) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 934.
- (204) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 946.
- (205) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1221.
- (206) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1222.
- (207) Forster's 1870 Bill, Clause 10.
- (208) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1265.
- (209) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1271.
- (210) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1273.
- (211) Hansard, *ibid.*, page 1256.
- (212) Hansard, *ibid.*, pages 1276-7.

- (213) Hansard, Vol.203, 1870, page 739.
- (214) Hansard, Vol.202, 1870, page 1279.
- (215) Hansard, ibid., page 1278.
- (216) Hansard, ibid., page 1280.
- (217) Hansard, ibid., page 1420.
- (218) Hansard, ibid., page 1420.
- (219) Hansard, ibid., page 1668.
- (220) Hansard, Vol.203, 1870, page 274.
- (221) Hansard, ibid., page 275.
- (222) Hansard, ibid., page 275.
- (223) Hansard, ibid., page 274.
- (224) Hansard, ibid., page 310.
- (225) Hansard, ibid., page 310.
- (226) Hansard, ibid., page 305.
- (227) Hansard, ibid., page 305.
- (228) Hansard, ibid., page 272.
- (229) Hansard, ibid., page 1191.
- (230) Hansard, ibid., page 1192, and 1870 Education Act, Second Schedule,
Section I.
- (231) Hansard, ibid., page 1192.
- (232) Hansard, ibid., page 737.
- (233) Hansard, ibid., pages 737-8.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SCHOOL BOARD ERA

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 gave rise to the School Board era. The period was brought to a conclusion by the 1902 Education Act. The Education Act of 1870 divided the country into school districts; if a deficiency in educational provision was shown to exist in a school district and it could not be made good by voluntary agency, a School Board would be formed to that end. The first and largest School Board was the London School Board; most cities such as Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bradford, Sheffield, Nottingham and Hull had a School Board. The extent of the population served by a School Board varied from the London School Board which dealt with over four million people, to the Skerne School Board, situated in the East Riding, which had a population of one hundred and eighty two. The majority of School Boards catered for a small population, for example, in the East Riding, "excluding Hull and York there were only seven (School Boards) with a population exceeding 1,000, thirty three had under 1,000 and eighteen of these had fewer than 500".⁽¹⁾

If a school district failed to elect a School Board when a deficiency in school accommodation could not be met by other means within the prescribed time limit, then the education department would appoint a School Board for the said district. In Buckinghamshire, for example, twenty three School Boards were established, fifteen by compulsion.⁽²⁾ "By 1900, forty two (school) boards had been established" in the East Riding, "twenty two of them by compulsory order".⁽³⁾ Some places did their utmost to resist the establishment of a School Board. The city of Chester had a deficiency of a thousand school places and it was estimated that £2,000 would be needed to create the required number of places. To raise the money an Accommodation Committee was formed; but it only received £910. In an effort to raise more money, it was decided by the Accommodation Committee to hold a public meeting in the Town Hall. The meeting at the Town Hall was a failure in that

insufficient money was raised. In May 1874, the Education department wanted to know what progress had been made in Chester regarding the ending of the deficiency that existed in school accommodation and threatened:-

"that if, at the expiration of the time to be limited by the final notice, the whole of the accommodation required has not been supplied, a School Board would have to be formed, not only of the contributory district of Saltney but also for the school district of Chester, Great Broughton, Blacon cum Crabhall and Bache."⁽⁴⁾

The Accommodation Committee managed to lease the Commonhall Street Chapel for use as a school, although its life as a school was to be short lived; it closed in May 1876. In the East Riding, the threat of a School Board "inspired the religious bodies, particularly the Church of England to redouble their efforts in order to preserve the religious basis of education; and between 1870 and 1875, ... excluding Hull and York, some thirty new Church schools were built or existing ones enlarged".⁽⁵⁾ In York between 1870 and 1877, seven new schools were built, providing some 2,700 new school places, and school enlargements increased the number of new places to 3,350 by 1889. As Lawson has pointed out, "the struggle was too great, and in 1889 the school board which the York National School Society had striven so hard to avoid was compulsorily established".⁽⁶⁾

As far as local government is concerned, the School Boards were the most democratically constituted of all elected bodies. School Board elections were contested every three years, only ratepayers being entitled to vote. With the exception of the London School Board which comprised fifty-five members (initially forty-nine) the number of people elected to serve on a Board ranged from five in a small parish to fifteen in a city. A voter at a School Board election had as many votes as there were members to elect, he could use all his votes for one candidate (called plumping). The cumulative vote ensured

minorities would be represented on School Boards. The voter instead of plumping all his votes for one candidate, could give all his votes to a 'party group' such as the Liberals, or thirdly the voter could distribute the votes in a more random way among all the candidates, (termed 'mixing'). Table One illustrates the use of plumping, mixing and party group voting in the Leicester School Board election of 1900.

Table One

Voting Behaviour, Leicester School Board Election of 1900

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party Vote</u>	<u>Plumpers</u>	<u>Single Votes</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Gould (Independent)	-	(709 x 15) 10,635	5,064	15,699
Rodgers (Church)	10,413	(124 x 15) 1,860	2,885	15,158
Waddington (Liberal)	9,760	(143 x 15) 2,145	3,100	15,005

Source: Angela Gill, 'The Leicester School Board, 1871-1905, in Education in Leicestershire 1540-1940, ed. by B. Simon.

All three candidates were elected to serve on the Board, although it is probable that Gould would not have been elected if a voter had only one vote. Women and working men could be elected onto School Boards; in the Metropolis, we are told, "the London labour and socialist movement tried hard to secure School Board representation, succeeding with such men and women as Benjamin Lincraft, George Potter, Helen Taylor, Edward Aveling, Annie Besant, Stewart Headlam, Mary Bridges-Adams and Graham Wallas".⁽⁷⁾ Numerically, however, working men were never more than a minority on School Boards. It was often the case that the Liberal party included a 'working man' on its lists of candidates at a School Board election. In Nottingham, for example, during "the early years of the Board, the Liberals usually ran one or more 'working man' candidates, but it was not expected that they would show much originality or independence"⁽⁸⁾ In the Leicester School Board elections from 1877 onwards, the Liberals "usually included two

sometimes three artisans in their list of candidates".⁽⁹⁾ In Birmingham, the leading members of the Liberal association and the national education league, "who had made much of the support of the working class in their campaign of 1869-70"⁽¹⁰⁾ had no intention of sharing office with them on the School Board. The final list of the fifteen candidates put forward by the Liberal association contained the name of only one man - William Radford - who could be said to represent the working man, and he was not elected.

In a by-election of the Birmingham School Board in 1875, an independent working class candidate, W.J. Davies, only narrowly failed to get elected. The message was clear, as 'The Times' noted, "the majority by which the Labour representative was defeated was so small as to make the return of one or more working men's candidates at the election a foregone conclusion". From 1876 onwards, at least one of the Liberal candidates who were elected to the Birmingham School Board truly represented the working class. "The advent of candidates standing at Board elections for the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) and the Social Democratic Federation (S.D.F.) in the mid-1880's", declares Hurt "was as unacceptable to trade-unionist Liberals as their own arrival had been to the middle-class Liberal leadership in the 1870's".⁽¹¹⁾ In 1885, the S.D.F. put forward four candidates in the London School Board election but none were successful. The I.L.P.'s first success in the Leicester School Board elections was in 1895, when their candidate, a Mrs. Saunderson, was elected to the Board. The School Board elections of 1894 saw both success and failure for the I.L.P. In Birmingham, an I.L.P. candidate, David Millar, was elected to the Board; in Manchester a united Labour party "brought into being by the Trades Council and I.L.P. put up three candidates for Manchester and Salford",⁽¹²⁾ but none were elected, although another I.L.P. member, Joseph Nuttal, was elected to the Salford School Board. In 1897,

Fred Brocklehurst of the I.L.P., was elected to the Manchester School Board and Nuttal retained his seat on the Salford Board. "The Labour Annual of 1897 prints a list of fifty seven socialist members of School Boards, the great majority being I.L.P. members; in 1899, the I.L.P. officially claimed seventy one members",⁽¹³⁾ on School Boards. Those claiming to represent the working class were always in the minority on School Boards, as was pointed out by John Burns in 1896; speaking in the House of Commons he declared there were between 500 and 600 working men on School Boards, "or around 3 per cent of the total membership"⁽¹⁴⁾ of the Boards.

The short hours which the polling booths were open during School elections prevented many working men from voting. "Outside London, where voting took place continuously between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m., the booths had to be open for seven hours within the same limits. The usual choice was 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., hours that made it impossible for a working man who started his daily task early and ended it late to vote".⁽¹⁵⁾ Attempts to have the polling booths open for a longer period so that working men could exercise their right to vote were usually unsuccessful. In Birmingham in 1873, for example, the demand that the booths should not close till 8 p.m. was rejected on the grounds that "the elections are held in the short days of the year, and it is important that the polling should take place during the hours of daylight".⁽¹⁶⁾ At the Leeds School Board election of 1873, the polling booths were open from 1 p.m. to 8 p.m., this suited working men and some 30,000 voted but in the 1876 School Board election the opening hours of the polling booths was altered to 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., "thereby effectively disfranchising many workers, the total vote was 24,000 (working men) a drop of 6,000".⁽¹⁷⁾

In an attempt to protect voluntary schools, the religious bodies contested school board elections; once elected Church representatives

could do their best to prevent the Board from damaging Church schools. The 'Church party' members on the Leicester School Board were generally in conflict with the Liberal members of the Board. They fought any proposal they thought might disadvantage voluntary schools, their main objective being "to preserve the system of Anglican schools"(18) The Church party on the Leicester School Board "voted against such proposals as increased salaries for teachers, the appointment of a specialist teacher for sewing and the awarding of prizes in board schools", on the grounds that these would give Board Schools an advantage over voluntary schools. The Liberal party which controlled the Leicester School Board, except in the years 1871-1874 and 1900-1903, when the Church party had the majority of members on the Board, "were intent on providing an alternative system" to the voluntary one, "free from any doctrinal colour".(20) Thus the Liberal party's objective was clearly at odds with that of the Church party concerning the work of the School Board. Conflict ensued between them, the Liberals having the upper hand. In an area covered by a School Board, a voluntary school would only be recognised by the Education department as eligible for the annual grant if the School Board approved the application. The Leicester School Board under the control of the Liberals "was not prepared to approve applications from voluntary schools which were in competition with one of its schools".(21)

"In London and elsewhere the high Anglican party", notes Wardle, "showed itself opposed on principle to the existence of School Boards, but this fundamental opposition did not appear in Nottingham. The two parties (Church and Liberal) seemed to find no difficulty in co-operating once the excitement of the elections was over. For example, the scheme of religious education drawn up by the first Board, with a Denominational majority, was accepted without dispute"(22); this was not the case at Leicester. The Leicester School Board

election of 1871 "was fought almost entirely" on the issue of the nature of the religious instruction to be given in the board schools. The candidates put forward by the Liberals held the view that religious instruction should consist of the reading of the Bible, without 'note or comment'. The Liberal's policy concerning religious instruction in schools was not implemented, for the Church party was elected to a majority on the Leicester School Board, which passed the following regulations concerning religious instruction in Board Schools:-

"that the Bible shall be read daily; and there shall be given therefrom such explanation and instruction in the principals of religion and morality as is suitable to the capacities of children provided always that in such explanation no attempt be made to attach children to, nor detach them from, any particular sect."(23)

The Liberals on the Board successfully opposed the Church party's proposal that the school day should begin with prayers and benediction, arguing that reverence for prayer was better taught at the mother's knee than at school. In the last years of the School Board the Church party and the Liberals were seen to unite against a common enemy, the secularists. In the year 1900, secularist, J.F. Gould, was elected to the Leicester Board, his intention being to seek the removal of religious instruction from the school timetable. The Barnsley School Board, like the Nottingham School Board, had no difficulty in deciding the type of religious instruction that should be taught in its schools. At a meeting on the 25th April 1872, Barnsley School Board decided "after a very short and amicable discussion schools should open with a hymn and a short prayer followed by instruction in the Holy Scriptures".(24)

Ratepayers who were supporters of the voluntary schools and their representatives on School Boards often accused Liberals of extravagant spending. "The files of the Education Department" declares Rubinstein, "contain an enormous number of complaints and memorials directed against the 'extravagant expenditure' of the London School Board ... In 1884 a

group of ratepayers was so incensed as to form the Metropolitan Association for Limiting the Expenditure of the School Board for London".⁽²⁵⁾ Furthermore, the London School Board was criticised on the grounds that its rate continually rose, so that by 1891 the rate was four times as great as the maximum rate - threepence in the pound - proposed by Forster during the debate on the 1870 Education Bill. The 'economical party' on the London School Board contested any measure which went beyond the provision of elementary schooling, such as the establishment of higher grade schools. "Perhaps the most blatant example of this attitude was expressed in the 'great piano question' in 1890-1 Stewart Headlam, moved that each school with a hall be supplied with a piano. The pianos were intended for use in singing lessons, but opponents declared that children of the lower orders are to be taught to play Beethoven sonatas".⁽²⁶⁾ The piano controversy was a major issue in the 1891 London School Board elections. The Church party on the Nottingham School Board were the party of economy and had "such success that in 1886, the Liberals were forced to issue a lengthy apology for the expense of the Board".⁽²⁷⁾ The Church party after three years in majority on the Nottingham School Board lost the election of 1895, because they had failed "to keep down the (school board) rate".⁽²⁸⁾

Several of the larger school boards, however, went beyond the 1870 Act, in that they provided through the establishment of higher grade schools, secondary education for a minority of their scholars. The Bradford School Board was the first to establish a higher grade school in 1876; the school catered for boys only. The school was a local success "and indeed was greeted in other parts of the town with some envy. Only four months after the opening, residents of the Manningham district (of Bradford) petitioned the Board for a higher grade school in their locality",⁽²⁹⁾ a petition which was successful. The

inhabitants of Bradford in 1879 were successful in getting the Board to establish a 'higher grade school for girls in the new Ebenezer Sunday Schools, Horton Road".⁽³⁰⁾ In 1883, the girls higher grade school at Horton Road was transferred to more suitable premises in Carlton Street. By 1900, Bradford School Board was running six higher grade schools, but these schools "differed in one way from most higher grade schools run by other Boards: they were not central schools which simply creamed the top standards from ordinary board schools. They normally expected their pupils to start in the school (higher grade) at a young age, even as young as infants,"⁽³¹⁾

The Nottingham School Board, like the Bradford School Board, was pressurized by local inhabitants - in the case of Nottingham, mainly parents of scholars attending Board Schools - to establish a higher grade school. The Nottingham School Board also recognised that a considerable and increasing number of scholars had passed standard VI "and are still under the limit of school age laid down by the Code,"⁽³²⁾ The Nottingham School Board in 1880 took over the People's College, and it was from then onwards used as a higher grade school. By 1891, the Nottingham School Board was running four higher grade schools. Concerning the establishment of higher grade schools, the London School Board lagged behind several of the other large School Boards, even though proposals for the establishment of one were put forward by a member of the Board as early as 1877. Rubinstein remarks, "Economists and the 'Church Party' on the London School Board successfully opposed Higher Grade Schools before 1890".⁽³³⁾ In 1891 the London School Board opened its first higher grade school; by 1903 fifty of the Board Schools were providing advanced tuition as a result of the effort of the so-called 'progressive party'^(A) on the London School Board.

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(A) The "progressive party" arose from the coalition of Liberals, Radicals and Socialists; for more information see Rubinstein, 'School Attendance in London 1907-1904', pages 33/34.

Not all School Boards were eager to establish higher grade schools, for example Barnsley School Board did not open its first higher grade school until January 12th, 1898, yet eighteen years previous its neighbour, the Sheffield School Board had established a higher grade school, which was formally opened by A.J. Mundella, Vice-President of the Education Department. Such patronage gave the higher grade school the official stamp of approval.

A wide range of subjects could be offered at higher grade schools, because of an increase in the number of subjects that qualified for government grant. The Revised Code of 1862, had limited the educational grant to only three subjects, reading, writing and arithmetic.^(A) A scholar earned the grant by passing an annual examination in these subjects. A scholar could also earn a grant for the school by being regular in attendance.^(B) The Education Code of 1867, however, in an attempt to widen the school curriculum nominated additional subjects as grant earning. There were three additional subjects, which were later renamed specific subjects, English grammar, history and elementary geography. In 1871, the range of specific subjects was extended further by a specific subject being defined as "any definite subject of instruction taught according to a graduated scheme".⁽³⁴⁾ But, specific subjects could only be offered to scholars in standards IV to VI, a regulation which was ideal for higher grade schools.

A scholar who was studying science as a specific subject could further his learning in the subject by following one of the courses examined by the Department of Science and Arts at South Kensington. These examinations were open to scholars in public elementary schools from 1872, and if a scholar was successful he earned a grant for the

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(A) And, in the case of girls, plain needlework.

(B) For more information concerning the workings of the Revised Code and its impact upon schools see Chapter Three.

school. For example in 1888, the success of scholars at People's College, a higher grade school in Nottingham, in the South Kensington examinations earned the school £482.90p. It was possible, indeed, for a scholar to earn a higher grant from South Kensington than from the Education department. "Under Whitehall regulations" remarks Sturt, "no child might earn more than £1.2s.6d. in grants and the total earned by the school might not exceed 17s.6d. a head. Under South Kensington he might earn £3.14s.0d.; and there was no 17s.6d. limit to keep down the overall sum"⁽³⁵⁾ The number of subjects offered by South Kensington was regularly increased; the most popular subjects were animal physiology; electricity; sound, light and heat; botany and physiography. Other subjects offered included geometry, machine drawing, building construction, naval architecture, mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, geology, mineralogy, mining, metallurgy, steam, nautical astronomy.

The higher grade schools provided a secondary education for the academic elite of the Board Schools, and for some this provision gave a stepping stone to more advanced learning. In 1894, A.P. Laurie, an assistant commissioner to the Bryce Commission, after a visit to a higher grade school in Leeds, remarked; "it is impossible to convey the impression which this school makes upon one of efficiency, energy and vitality, and I think no one who has spent some time inside it can fail to realise that we are here in the presence of a new educational force which has already developed to a vigorous and lusty youth and that it is impossible to say what may be the limit of its growth, or how soon, to quote Dr. Forsyth (the headmaster) himself, 'the organisation which was originally devised for the elementary education of the country, passing with great strides across the realms of Secondary Education, may soon be battering at the doors of the ancient universities themselves'".⁽³⁶⁾ The Leeds higher grade school, which assistant

commissioner A.P. Laurie had visited in 1894, had by 1903 achieved notable success in regard to its scholars passing the London University matriculation examination and other students had obtained degrees - ninety three scholars had passed the London University matriculation examination, "and approximately as many again the Victoria University Preliminary examination. Sixty five of its old scholars had gained university degrees".⁽³⁷⁾

Nottingham School Board, like the one at Leeds, had developed an education system "which allowed children of ability to climb from elementary school to university The triennial report of the Board for 1898 gave a list of five former higher school pupils who had graduated in the previous three years and six who had obtained scholarships to different universities".⁽³⁸⁾

By 1895 the Hull School Board was running three higher grade schools: the Central higher grade in Brunswick Avenue^(A) (1891), Craven Street (1893) and Boulevard (1895). The Hull School Board first commented on post elementary education in its district at a meeting on the 4th April 1877, when a resolution "to investigate the possibility of diverting any of the educational endowments in Hull to public elementary education or the higher education of the children receiving elementary education within the area of the jurisdiction of the Board"⁽³⁹⁾ was narrowly defeated. Two months later, a proposal suggesting that a higher grade school and cookery centre should be built by the board, received no support and was rejected. In 1879 the Board agreed in principle "that it might be a good thing if the Hull Board had a higher grade school",⁽⁴⁰⁾ but nothing came of this. The sixth election of the Hull School Board took place in 1886, and

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(A) The dates given are when the higher grade schools were opened.

at several pre-election meetings, the lack of suitable provision for the more able children in Hull was deplored. Some speakers thought there was no urgent need for the Board to establish higher grade schools, as "there were already several places where higher education could be obtained without it costing the ratepayers a penny".⁽⁴¹⁾

Dean W.S. Sullivan, a spokesman for the Roman Catholics, on the Hull School Board for the years 1889 to 1898, was staunchly against the Board building higher grade schools, "he did not see why these higher grade scholars should have a higher education without the voluntary schools being also able to participate in it".⁽⁴²⁾ Members of the Hull School Board visited higher grade schools run by other Boards at Halifax, Leeds, Manchester, Nottingham and Sheffield. It was noted the four higher grade schools run by the Manchester School Board paid their own way without drawing on the rates and this led the Hull Board to anticipate it could establish a higher grade school which would pay its own way. The Hull School Board built three higher grade schools at a cost of just under £64,000. The schools, however, did not pay their own way. Had this fact been evident at the start, the Board probably would not have built them, for it still had not supplied the deficiency that existed in elementary school places. Furthermore, it was argued by opponents that as specific subjects could be taught in existing Board Schools "it would be unwise to build a separate school for higher grade teaching necessarily inaccessible to great numbers in the town, and to charge a fee which would be practically prohibitive to the children of the poor".⁽⁴³⁾

Table Two

The Cost to the Rate Payers of the Running of the Hull School Board, higher grade schools

Central Higher Grade School	£ 17,000 (A)
Craven Street	72,000
Boulevard	57,000

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(A) Run at a profit for the years 1892-3 and 1894-7.

It seems likely that the three Hull higher grade schools could have paid their way if a sufficient number of scholars had been willing to follow the full three year courses provided. Table Three, for example, shows that few scholars remained for the third year of the organised science school taught at the Hull higher grade schools in 1897-8. The science classes were criticised by H.M.I. Hoffert in April 1896; the Science and Art department wrote "... there is no doubt a quantity of apparatus (for practical physics) but this is mainly lecture Apparatus (but) there was not by any means sufficient Apparatus for the use of scholars to carry out a set course of experiments that instruction cannot be given to fifty or sixty students satisfactorily unless sufficient staff be provided, to allow each teacher to have charge of not more than 25 scholars, or, what is better, the students should be grouped in sets of not more than 25, and drafted into the laboratory at different times". The Hull School Board had no adequate answer regarding the criticisms apart from affirming its own opinion that sufficient apparatus was available. Nevertheless the Board allowed the headmasters of higher grade schools to order such apparatus as H.M.I. said was needed.

Table Three

The number of scholars attending the Organised Science School, at the Hull higher grade schools in 1897-8.

	<u>1st Year of</u> <u>Course</u>	<u>2nd Year of</u> <u>Course</u>	<u>3rd Year of</u> <u>Course</u>
Central Higher Grade	196	22	6
Craven Higher Grade	127	31	5
Boulevard Higher Grade	164	35	-

Cottingham School Board, unlike the Hull School Board, did not run a higher grade school, nor did it establish a pupil teacher centre or conduct evening classes. A man, educated at Cottingham National School, wrote to the Beverley Guardian on 19th November, 1892 asking for the Cottingham School Board to run evening classes which would offer "some

lectures on hygiene, health, agriculture, physiology, cookery, or some other useful study for the benefit of our artisan and labouring classes"⁽⁴⁴⁾ Three years were to elapse, however, before anything positive was done. At a meeting of the Cottingham School Board on 2nd September, 1895, Mr. Wolstencroft gave notice that "at the next meeting of the Board he should move a resolution having reference to the establishment by the Board of recreative evening classes for the benefit of young people and others".⁽⁴⁵⁾ It was resolved at a meeting of the Cottingham School Board on the 28th October 1895, that Mr. Stonehouse, Mr. Wolstencroft, Mr. Ramsden and Mr. Padget form a committee "to consider the question of evening continuation schools, with power to make arrangements for starting classes and to report to the Board".⁽⁴⁶⁾ Six months later, on the 27th April 1896, the Cottingham School Board "resolved that evening continuation school classes be instituted by the Board during the forthcoming winter and that application be made to the County Council for a grant in aid".⁽⁴⁷⁾ At the next Board meeting it was resolved the following subject be offered at the evening classes, "needlework, geography, ambulance, mensuration and wood carving". The minutes of the Board's meetings make no further reference to evening classes and it seems highly likely that this flurry of activity resulted in nothing.

It is interesting to note that by the late 1890's Cottingham School Board was in favour of ending the school board rate. At a meeting on the 29th March 1897, it resolved "this Board is of the opinion that in any legislation giving further aid from the taxes to elementary education, all school boards should receive a further grant of five shillings per child ... and should, also like the voluntary schools, be exempted from rating".⁽⁴⁸⁾ At a meeting of the Sculcoates Union Assessment Committee in 1901, Mr. Padget, a member of the Cottingham School Board "appealed against the rating of the schools".

The School Boards were major employers of pupil-teachers and had therefore to provide suitable instruction for them.^(A) Some School Boards in an attempt to raise the standard of instruction given to pupil-teachers, established pupil-teacher centres. The first pupil-teacher centre was established by the Liverpool School Board in 1876 "the Board having been induced to take this action by the examination successes of pupil-teachers from the city's Roman Catholic schools, who had been receiving some central class instruction from local nuns under a private denominational arrangement".⁽⁵⁰⁾ The London School Board's attempt in 1875 to give pupil-teachers extra tuition in a centralised institution brought the Board into conflict with the Education department, "because the Code stipulated that the instruction of apprentices was to be given by the headmasters of the schools in which they worked".⁽⁵¹⁾ A modification to the Code in 1876, enabled pupil-teachers to be taught by any certificated teacher in the school where they were employed, but it was the education Code of 1880 that gave pupil-teacher centres the official stamp of approval.

By 1887, the London School Board operated eleven pupil-teacher centres, giving instruction to 1,636 pupil-teachers. Pupil-teachers employed by the London School Board were divided into two sections, junior and senior. The junior section consisted of pupil-teachers in the first and second years of their apprenticeship, the remaining pupil-teachers made up the senior section. Only the seniors were treated as members of staff and were distributed to the schools in the ratio of one to every forty children. The juniors spent half of every school day and Saturday morning at a pupil-teacher centre. The greater part of the seniors' time was spent in teaching; they only attended a centre on two half days a week and on Saturday mornings.

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(A) The development of the pupil-teacher system and the regulation governing it are commented upon in Chapter Eight

Other School Boards followed the example of the London and Liverpool School Boards and established pupil-teacher centres: Nottingham School Board used People's College as a pupil-teacher centre. Initially pupil-teachers only attended the centre during their own free time - three nights a week and on Saturday mornings. These night classes added to an already heavy work load which pupil-teachers had to undertake, but the Nottingham School Board's policy towards pupil-teachers became progressive in that "there was a reduction in the amount of time spent by pupil-teachers in their schools and a corresponding increase in the time spent at the centre, which received a full time instructor in 1885".⁽⁵²⁾ During the late 1880's and up to 1895, pupil-teachers employed by the Nottingham School Board "attended the centre on a day release basis for the first two years of their engagement and then went on to evening classes,"⁽⁵³⁾ during the remainder of their apprenticeship. But from 1895 all pupil-teachers attended the pupil-teacher centre on day release. The Nottingham School Board in 1899, decided pupil-teachers would spend their first year at the pupil-teacher centre, followed by two years part-time attendance there.

At first the results of the pupil-teachers attending the Nottingham School Board centre, in the Queen's Scholarship, were in the eyes of the Board disappointing. "The reason for this state of affairs was almost certainly that the pupil-teachers were still required to do most of their work in their own time, and it was not until the day release system was introduced that any significant progress was reported".⁽⁵⁴⁾ After 1895, the Nottingham pupil-teachers taught at the centre achieved notable success in the Queen's Scholarships as Table 4 reveals. "The results continued to improve", we are told, "and after 1899, they became quite remarkable, H.M.I. observing in 1901 that 'this is a pre-eminently successful pupil-teacher centre'".⁽⁵⁵⁾ Three boys and two girls from Nottingham in 1899 were in the first twelve of their respective pass

list of the Queen's Scholarship, a girl from People's College took first place. According to Wardle, "a Nottingham girl headed her list again in 1900 when five girls and three boys appeared in the first hundred, but this record was eclipsed in the following year, when 14 girls appeared in the first 100 including numbers 2, 8 (and) 11, while the boys' results, in view of their small number were at least equally good - five in the first 100 including numbers 2 and 5".⁽⁵⁶⁾

Table Four

The Success of Nottingham pupil-teachers in the
December 1895 Queen's Scholarship

	<u>Presented</u>	<u>1st Class</u>	<u>2nd Class</u>	<u>3rd Class</u>	<u>Failed</u>	
Whole	2,087	345	828	276	638	Men
Country	7,542	1,242	2,220	1,664	2,416	Women
Nottingham	6	6	-	-	-	Men
	28	24	3	1	-	Women

Source: Wardle, 'Education and Society in 19th Century Nottingham', page 98.

The recommendations of the Cross Commission enquiry into the workings of the Elementary Education Acts for England and Wales, which reported in 1888, showed definite approval of the principle of central instruction for pupil-teachers and advocated that voluntary schools should establish pupil-teacher centres. The Cross Commission further recommended the Education department should encourage the use of pupil-teacher centres by giving grants to the managers of voluntary schools and to school boards. Not all the witnesses before the Cross Commission, however, were in favour of pupil-teacher centres. "It was felt by many" declared Rich, that pupil teacher centres "would destroy or weaken what might, under favourable circumstances, be the most attractive part of the pupil-teacher system as a whole - the personal relationship obtaining between master and apprentice".⁽⁵⁷⁾

The pupil-teachers employed by the Birmingham School Board came from two different educational backgrounds, the City's secondary schools and the Board's own elementary schools. Rev. E.F.M. MacCarthy, Vice Chairman of the Birmingham School Board in 1887, informed the Cross Commission that the Board obtained a few of its pupil-teachers "from King Edward's High School for boys and for girls; a large number from King Edward's Grammar School for boys and girls, and others from a variety of endowed and private schools in Birmingham the rest were from primary schools".⁽⁵⁸⁾ The pupil-teachers who received their education at either the King Edward's High Schools or the King Edward's Grammar School had a major advantage over pupil-teachers coming from the Board's own elementary schools in that they had received a far superior education. It was the opinion of the Board's director of training classes for pupil-teachers, "that the pupil-teachers who are received into the service of the board from the higher classes of the grammar schools are incomparably superior to the boys and girls from the elementary school. In their work the boys have the advantage of having learnt some Algebra, Euclid and Latin; and the girls have received a much better training in English, and in addition they have all received some instruction in French".⁽⁵⁹⁾ A similar view was held by the Board's Inspector, but he and some of the headmasters of Board Schools realised that at first pupil-teachers who received their schooling at a Board School, had for a short period an advantage over those coming from the town's secondary schools, because of "the knowledge that they possess of the routine of an elementary school Other headteachers, however, hold that those advantages are more than counterbalanced in the long run by superior qualifications"⁽⁶⁰⁾ of the pupil-teachers educated at the city's secondary schools.

The Birmingham School Board tried a system of bonuses in an attempt to encourage pupil-teachers in their studies but it and another scheme failed "for neither system really touched those pupil-teachers who most needed it - the less educated, the less energetic, and the less

efficiently supervised".⁽⁶¹⁾ In January 1884, the Birmingham School Board attempted to improve the instruction pupil-teachers were receiving, by establishing central classes for them. The pupil-teachers had to attend these central classes on Saturday morning, and two evenings a week as well as one half day of the school week. Rev. MacCarthy thought the pupil-teachers would receive suitable instruction at the central classes, "for the teachers" he noted "consist of experts in each subject and thus ensures (sic) that each subject is as well taught as it can be".⁽⁶²⁾

Both the Hull and Barnsley School Boards were slow to establish pupil-teacher centres. It was not until 1892 that the chairman of the Barnsley School Board suggested "... pupil teachers should have a half-day a week free from teaching for the purposes of studying for examinations for giving them every facility for pursuing studies and equipping themselves for the profession".⁽⁶³⁾ The Board rejected the Chairman's proposal, for they argued that if implemented it would cause a great deal of inconvenience to other members of the teaching staff; and one member "considered that pupil-teachers had no real grievance having to teach only five or six hours a day for only five days a week it was mere sentiment pupil teachers should do their studying before and after school hours".⁽⁶⁴⁾ Two years later, in 1894, the Chairman again drew the Board's attention to "the serious matter of giving pupil teachers a holiday and providing special teachers for their instruction"⁽⁶⁵⁾ The Chairman wanted pupil-teachers to receive specialist instruction so that they would be successful in the Queen's Scholarship, as other Boards had been who had specialist instructors for their pupil-teachers. The other members of the Board thought that providing pupil-teachers with specialist instruction was not a matter of pressing importance and nothing was done about it.

The proposal to establish a pupil-teacher centre in Barnsley was not raised until February 1897, when the Barnsley teachers association urged the Board to open one. In April of the same year, a sub-committee of the Board was appointed to consider the establishment of a pupil-teacher centre. It made the following recommendation:

"That a pupil teacher centre be established at the Central School on 29th October next ... classes to be held Monday and Wednesday evening and on Saturday mornings No pupil teacher was to be required to assist in teaching before 10 a.m. and on Mondays and Wednesdays all pupil teachers were to be exempt from attending school before 9 a.m. and to have from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m. for private study".(66)

The recommendations of the sub-committee were accepted by the Board, but it should be noted the pupil-teachers were not going to attend the centre during school hours, the evening classes would only add to their heavy work load and the two hours of school time that was to be provided for private study, although a beginning, was but too little too late.

At first pupil-teachers employed by the Hull School Board received instruction from the headmaster of the school in which they taught, as stipulated by the Education Code. It was ruled by the Board that headmasters of its schools were to teach pupil-teachers from 8 to 9 a.m. and 4.15 to 5.15 p.m.; in 1879 the Board informed headmasters they would have to give their pupil-teachers one hour's instruction in religious education per week. In 1887 the Hull School Board investigated their headmasters to see if they were educating pupil-teachers according to the Board's regulations. The Board found seven headmasters were giving their pupil-teachers five hours of instruction instead of six. In one case the headmaster gave no instruction at all and used the time to correct homework. A total of ten headmasters used part of the time when they should have been instructing pupil-teachers to correct homework. In regard to the one hour of religious instruction that headteachers had to give their pupil-teachers, the enquiry found

that three headteachers did not bother to do so but directed pupil-teachers "to take it up as private study". Three other headteachers gave their pupil-teachers a half hour instead of an hour's instruction in religious education. The enquiry brought to light that many headteachers were not giving pupil-teachers adequate instruction in the art of school management. (A)

The Hull School Board advised pupil-teachers to attend University Extension Classes at the Church Institute, but the Board did nothing to improve the formal instruction pupil-teachers were receiving until the end of 1891, when a resolution was put declaring that the School Management Committee "prepare and present to the December meeting of this Board, a scheme for the more efficient instruction of our pupil teachers, and for the re-adjustment of their duties". (66) The Church party on the Board ensured the resolution was rejected. A year later, with a new Board elected, the School Management Committee was asked to prepare and present a scheme for giving pupil-teachers additional instruction; this it did but the scheme was not adopted by the Board on financial grounds. (67) It was not until 1898 that the Hull School Board attempted to improve the quality of instruction that pupil-teachers received and this it did by establishing a pupil-teacher centre. Members of the Board had visited centres run by School Boards in London, Leeds, Bradford, Manchester and Nottingham. The result of the visits was that at a meeting of the Board on December 7th, it was agreed that a pupil-teacher centre be established, although this was only achieved after the defeat of a resolution, put forward by the Church party, which aimed to defer the decision. A purpose designed pupil-teacher centre was not built by the Board; in February 1899, it rented for £190 per annum nine rooms in the Young Peoples Institute in Charlotte Street.

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(A) See Pupil Teachers Special Enquiry, Hull School Board Reports 1886-89.

George R. Barnard, B.Sc., was appointed as the director of the centre and was given four assistants. Pupil-teachers employed by the Hull School Board were to spend six half days a week at the centre; they were to receive all their instruction there, with the exception of classroom management which they would continue to receive from their respective headmasters.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870, enabled School Boards if they so wished to pass bye-laws making school attendance in their district compulsory for children between the ages of five and ten. Children between ten and thirteen years of age could obtain partial or total exemption from attending school when they had achieved a specified educational standard as laid down in the bye-laws. The bye-laws of the London School Board, passed in 1871, stated that scholars over the age of ten did not have to attend school if they had passed standard V; in Bradford a scholar had to pass standard IV to gain total exemption from school. School Boards from time to time altered the regulations governing when a scholar was eligible for partial and total exemption from attending school, for example in 1880 the Bradford School Board lowered the qualifications scholars had to achieve to obtain total and partial exemption. By the end of the School Board era many of the larger school boards had revised upwards the qualifications scholars had to achieve to attain partial and total exemption from school. "In 1898 the seventh standard was made the test of total exemption in London" - in 1871 it had been the fifth standard - "and from 1900 all children not reaching that standard had to remain at school until 14".⁽⁶⁸⁾ Bradford School Board in 1901, altered the bye-laws in order that scholars wanting partial exemption from school had to pass standard V, and pass standard VII to obtain total exemption. In 1880 the required attainment for partial and total exemption was respectively standard II and standard IV.

It was mainly the larger School Boards established in the cities which passed bye-laws making school attendance compulsory, such as those in London, Leeds, Liverpool, Leicester, Bradford, Hull and Nottingham. "In 1876", Hurt remarks "less than half the population of England and Wales, 46 per cent, lived in areas in which school attendance was at least nominally compulsory. The overwhelming majority of them, 8,609,740 out of 10,531,011, lived in London and other large cities and towns".⁽⁶⁹⁾ In areas not covered by a School Board, mainly rural, school attendance was voluntary; there was no institution which had the power to make school attendance compulsory. This situation changed in 1876. The Elementary Education Act of 1876, resulted in school attendance committees being set up in areas not covered by School Boards which could pass bye-laws making school attendance compulsory. But many of the school attendance committees did not pass the necessary bye-laws. "Out of 584 poor law unions possessing such bodies (school attendance committees", we are told, "there were only fifteen in which all the parishes were covered by bye-laws".⁽⁷⁰⁾ It was not until Mundella's Act of 1880, that school attendance became compulsory for all children between the ages of five and ten. In the ten years after the passing of Forster's Act of 1870 up to the 1880 Elementary Education Act, with regard to school attendance, two broad areas existed, one in which schooling was compulsory as a result of the action of School Boards and, after 1876, school attendance committees passing the necessary bye-laws, the other where children were free not to attend school if their parents so wished.

The bye-laws of the Hull School Board received the royal assent on the 21st February 1872, a year after the election of the first Board. Partial exemption from attending school was available to scholars over the age of ten who had passed standard III, those who

had reached standard V no longer had to attend at all. The Hull School Board, like its neighbour the Cottingham School Board, rigorously enforced the bye-laws regarding compulsory attendance. The Board's first prosecution for non-attendance took place in September 1872. The Hull School Board's relentless policy of prosecuting parents of children who played truant, we learn, "gave rise in subsequent years to some hostility - even to the extent of an anti-prosecution society being founded".⁽⁷¹⁾ The Board achieved a high success rate when prosecuting parents, for example in the year April 1890 to March 1891, inclusive, the records of the Hull Police Court reveal the Board's success rate as 96.5 per cent - the Board brought before the magistrate 1,356 cases for non-attendance at school, for which only thirty-one were not proceeded with and a further sixteen dismissed. The Board's success in prosecuting the parents of truants is partially explained by the fact that it had very good relations with the magistrate of the Hull Police Court. D.J. O'Donogue, the Clerk of the Hull School Board informed the Cross Commission:

"We have a stipendiary magistrate, and he is very sympathetic with us, we have considerable help from him although he is very far from severe."⁽⁷²⁾

The London School Board, however, was not always treated favourably by Police Court magistrates. Rubinstein points out "the opposition of magistrates was constantly cited by the London School Board and by visitors and teachers as the most exasperating and one of the most important causes of irregular attendance magistrates often preferred the claims of employment to those of school, so that it was difficult to secure convictions in cases where a child was employed in contra-vention of the Board's bye-laws".⁽⁷³⁾ Montagu Williams, a magistrate from 1886 until his death in 1892, on occasion ignored the bye-laws of the London School Board - "he illegally excused children from attending school when they had passed the fourth standard, subsidised truancy by

paying from the Poor Box a fine set by another magistrate in the same court"(74) In 1884 the London School Board suffered a serious defeat in the case 'School Board for London v Duggan'. Duggan, who was aged twelve years and seven months, was illegally employed as a nursery maid earning three shillings a week. It was decided, however, "first by the magistrate and then in the Queen's Bench Division that the girl's employment could be included as a 'reasonable excuse' under the Elementary Education Act of 1870".(75) In the higher court, Justice Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, judged the girl:

"had been discharging the honourable duty of helping her parents and, for my own part, before I held that these facts did not afford a reasonable excuse for her non-attendance at school, I should require to see the very plainest words to the contrary in the Act. I may add that there is nothing I should read with greater reluctance in any Act of Parliament than that a child was bound to postpone the direst necessity of her family to the advantage of getting a little more elementary instruction for herself."(76)

Tables Five and Six reveal that the number of parents prosecuted by the Hull School Board as a result of their children not attending school, increased from around three hundred and fifty a year in the middle seventies to over one thousand two hundred in 1894. The tables further show that the Hull School Board was very successful when it brought truants before the magistrate of the Police Court, for the parents were either fined, - the maximum being five shillings - or the child was given an attendance order and the parents more often than not had to pay costs of either 2s.6d. or more frequently 4s.6d. If a child had been before the magistrate on several occasions for playing truant, and therefore the fines had not had the desired effect, the child was sent to an industrial school. For some children the threat of their parents being fined, or they themselves being sent to an industrial school, did not deter them from playing truant, as Table Seven shows. It reveals a number of scholars had made fifteen or more attendances before the magistrate of the Police Court as a result of non-attendance

at school; one child as a result of her truancy had appeared before the magistrate on twenty-five occasions. Table Seven indicates that 91.9 per cent of the 1,148 scholars brought before the magistrate for truancy, in the period April 1890 to March 1891, had during their school lives made between one and ten appearances in the Police Court for non-attendance at school, the remaining 8 per cent having notched up 11 to 25 appearances before a magistrate as a consequence of truancy.

Table Five

	<u>Average No. per year for the period 1874/76</u>	<u>Average No. per year for the period 1877/79</u>
No. of Summonses	351.33	844
Judge respited on payment of		
3s.6d.	16.3	2.3
2s.6d.	29.3	4
1s.0d.	1	-
(A) Judge respited	6.3	15.3
Fined	84.3	51.9
Sent to Industrial school	1	77.6
Withdrawn on promising compliance to attend	10.3	14
Case dismissed	5.6	1
Summons not served	.33	7
Attendance Order	Ng	203.6

Source: 2nd and 3rd Triennial Reports of the Hull School Board.

(A) The triennial reports refer to the magistrate as judge.

The number of parents and the punishments they received when brought before the magistrate of the Hull Police Court by the Hull School Board as a result of their children not attending school, during the period 1874-1879 inclusive.

The records of the Hull Police Court for the period April 1890 to March 1891 (inclusive) reveal the magistrate often gave the parent of the truant a choice of either paying the fine, which varied from 2s.6d. to 5s.0d. or going to prison for up to five days. Most parents seemed to prefer to go to gaol than pay the fine as Table Eight indicates.

Table Six

The number of parents and the punishments they received when brought before the magistrate of the Hull Police Court by the Hull School Board as a result of their children not attending school during the period 1880 - 1894 inclusive.

	<u>1880</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1882</u>	<u>1883</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1887</u>	<u>1888</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1893</u>	<u>1894</u>
No. of summonses	693	858	1038	886	826	756	976	931	1190	812	1352	1505	1187	1207	1267
Judge respited on payment of 2s.6d.	78	76	86	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Judge respited	49	26	8	6	12	8	7	9	10	4	18	11	29	69	48
Fined	311	414	539	498	445	415	482	477	630	399	795	785	594	908	785
Withdrawn on compliance to attend	27	34	27	21	19	26	48	32	30	20	50	65	31	46	38
Attendance order	23	31	28	22	27	55	91	66	100	72	105	109	129	218	149
Attendance order with costs 2s.6d.	-	-	6	13	23	29	29	78	102	45	48	69	72	103	41
-do- 4s.6d.	150	193	236	229	189	130	151	143	164	125	200	301	179	157	43
Sent to Industrial school	51	78	79	78	92	85	103	120	139	123	114	140	116	143	135
Adjourned	-	6	6	2	2	1	9	1	3	12	13	12	48	90	53

Table Seven

The number of appearances before a magistrate, for truancy, made by scholars attending Hull Schools throughout their school life, who appeared before the magistrate in the period April 1890 to March 1891 - see note (86)

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>
<u>No. of appearances before the magistrate</u>	<u>No. of Scholars</u>	<u>Each as a % of the total no. of appearances</u>	<u>Cumulative percentage</u>
1	300	31.4	31.4
2	199	17.3	
3	121	10.5	59.2
4	86	7.5	
5	64	5.6	72.3
6	56	4.9	
7	54	4.5	
8	43	3.7	
9	37	3.2	
10	38	3.3	91.9
11	25	2.0	
12	13	1.1	
13	13	1.1	
14	8	0.69	
15	8	0.69	97.48
16	6	0.52	
17	3	0.26	
18	4	0.38	
19	4	0.38	
20	5	0.43	
21	2	0.17	
22	1	0.8	
23	-	-	
24	1	0.08	
25	1	0.08	

Table Eight

Parents of Truants who paid the fine and those who went to prison in the period April 1890 - March 1892

<u>No. of parents who paid the fine</u>	<u>No. of parents who went to gaol</u>
223	670

The Hull School Board thought that parents' neglect of their offspring was the main cause of truancy. A commissioner of the Cross Commission asked the Clerk of the Hull School Board, 'What do you think are the greatest obstacles to school attendance in the town of Hull?' He replied, "It is very largely the neglect of parents".⁽⁷⁷⁾ He informed the Commission that a large percentage of the parents of truants "are regular drunkards, while a still larger percentage are reported as of 'questionable' or 'doubtful' character".⁽⁷⁸⁾ The fourth triennial report of the Hull School Board, 1880-83, states that of one thousand three hundred and ninety-eight persons brought before the Court as a result of their children's truancy, "four hundred and fifty seven were of questionable or doubtful character, and two hundred and ninety three others of 'drunken habits'".⁽⁷⁹⁾

Table Nine illustrates that girl scholars attending elementary schools in Hull in the period April 1890 to March 1891, were the boys' equal in respect of appearances before the magistrate of the Hull Police Court, on account of truancy. One girl, Ellen Swatman, had by March 1891 made twenty-five such appearances at the Hull Police Court and she was only eight years of age. It is clear that for Ellen Swatman and others like her, the fines inflicted on their parents did not deter the scholars from playing truant. Such children were usually sent to an industrial school.

Table Nine

The number of appearances before a magistrate for truancy made by male and female scholars attending Hull Schools, who appeared before the magistrate of the Hull Police Court in the period April 1890 to March 1891 - See Note (86)

<u>No. of appearances before the magistrate</u>	<u>No. of Male Scholars</u>	<u>No. of female Scholars</u>
1	175	187
2	123	76
3	68	53
4	47	39
5	43	21
6	34	22
7	34	18
8	31	12
9	25	12
10	20	18
11	12	11
12	6	7
13	7	6
14	5	3
15	6	2
16	4	2
17	4	-
18	3	2
19	-	2
20	3	2
21	1	1
22	-	1
23	-	-
24	1	-
25	-	1

The Industrial School Act of 1866, which suspended the Industrial Schools Act of 1861, gave the following description as to what constituted an industrial school:

"A school in which industrial training is provided and in which children are lodged, clothed, and fed, as well as taught, shall exclusively be deemed an industrial school within the meaning of this Act."(80)

Only schools certified by the Secretary of State could legally operate as certified industrial schools. To obtain certification a school was examined by H.M.I. of Industrial and Reformatory Schools. His report was studied by the Secretary of State who would decide whether or not the school was suitable for certification as an industrial school. The Act declared every certified industrial school was to be inspected at least once a year by the Inspector of industrial and reformatory schools, or by a person appointed to assist him. In England and Wales, a Prison authority could contribute towards the alteration, enlargement, or rebuilding of a certified industrial school, "or towards the support of the inmates of such a school; or towards the management of such a school; or towards the establishment or building of a school intended to be a certified industrial school; or towards the purchase of land required either for the use of an existing certified industrial school, or for the site of a school intended to be a certified industrial school".(81)

Section twenty-seven of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, put school boards on an equal par with prison authorities regarding a Board's ability to contribute money to an industrial school. Upon ".... the election of a school board in a borough the council of that borough shall cease to have power to contribute" (82) towards an industrial school. This is what occurred in Hull, as is noted in the first triennial report of the Hull School Board:- "The Board has paid a weekly contribution to Industrial schools under Section 27 of

the Education Act, which transferred to the Board the power formerly exercised by the Town Council". The 1870 Elementary Education Act gave School Boards, after approval had been given by the Education department, the right to establish and maintain an industrial school:

"A school board may, with the consent of the Education Department, establish, build, and maintain a certified industrial school within the meaning of the Industrial Schools Act, 1866 Provided that the school board, so far as regards any such industrial school, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State in the same manner as the managers of any other industrial school are subject; and such school shall be subject to the provisions of the said Act, and not this Act."

(Section 28, Elementary Education Act, 1870)

School Boards, under Section 36 of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, could "bring children who were liable under the Industrial Schools Act, 1866, to be sent to a certified industrial school before two justices in order to their being so sent".⁽⁸³⁾ The following categories of children could under the Industrial Schools Act of 1866, be sent to an industrial school:

- A Any child 'apparently' under the age of fourteen years -
- "found begging or receiving alms (whether actually or under the pretext of selling or offering for sale anything) or being in any street or public place for the purpose of so begging or receiving alms;
 - "that is found wandering or not having any home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship or visible means of subsistence;
 - "that is found destitute, either being an orphan or having a surviving parent, who is undergoing penal servitude or imprisonment;
 - "that frequents the company of reputed thieves".

(Section 14 of the Industrial Schools Act, 1866)

- B "a child under the age of 12 years charged "with an offence punishable by imprisonment or a less punishment, but has not been in England convicted of felony, or in Scotland of theft, ..."

(Section 15)

- C "where a parent or step-parent or guardian of a child apparently under the age of 14 years", represents to the magistrate "that he is unable to control the child, and that he desired that the child be sent to an industrial school."

(Section 16)

D "a refractory child under 14 years of age in the workhouse or pauper school."

(Section 17)

Section 14 of the Prevention of Crimes Act, 1871, enabled a child under fourteen years of age to be sent to an industrial school, if its mother had been convicted on two or more occasions for committing a criminal act. The Industrial Schools Acts Amendment Act of 1880, declared that children under the age of fourteen could be sent to an industrial school, if they were "lodging, living or residing with common or reputed prostitutes, or in a house resided in or frequented by prostitutes for the purpose of prostitution";⁽⁸⁴⁾ or frequented the company of prostitutes.

Under Section 12 of the Elementary Education Act of 1876, children who played truant from school could be sent to an industrial school. When a child still played truant, even though the magistrate had issued a school attendance order and the parent had used "all reasonable efforts" to get the child to attend school, the magistrate could "order the child to be sent to a certified day industrial school, or if it appear that there is no such school suitable for the child, then to a certified industrial school; and in the second or any subsequent case of non-compliance with the (school attendance) order, the court may order the child to be sent to a certified day industrial school",⁽⁸⁵⁾ or if not available then the child should be sent to a certified industrial school.

In Hull on the 1st May 1849, a ragged and industrial school was opened in Mill Street; thirty-three children from destitute families attended. By 1853, the number of children attending the school had increased to seventy-nine and an appeal was launched to erect a new building. It was successful, for on May 16th 1856 the foundation stone of a new school was laid in Marlborough Terrace by the Earl of

Shaftesbury in the presence of the Mayor, members of the Corporation and a large number of the clergy. On June the 8th, 1857, the school was opened, the staff consisting of two masters, a matron and a school-mistress. "By 1868, an extension building had been built in Marlborough Terrace and other schools had been opened in lower class working areas, such as Hamilton Place, Broadley Street, and at Lime Street in the Groves area".⁽⁸⁷⁾

At the eighteenth Annual General Meeting of the Hull Ragged and Industrial Schools Committee held on January 22nd 1867, the stipendary magistrate of the Hull Police Court, T.H. Travis, proposed "that the meeting pledge itself to support the Committee of the Hull Ragged and Industrial Schools in their attempts to obtain a vessel"⁽⁸⁸⁾ to be used as an industrial ship, and to be anchored in the river Humber. Travis argued the industrial ship would give the boys training in seamanship which would enable them to join the Merchant Navy, thus making them useful members of society. The Sheriff seconded the proposal. The question of a training ship for Hull was next raised at the following Annual General Meeting of the Hull Ragged and Industrial Schools Committee, held on 21st of January 1868. This meeting was chaired by Earl de Grey and Ripon, Lord High Steward of Hull, and the attendance was such that some were unable to gain admission. The Mayor, G.C. Roberts, proposed a memorial should be sent to the Lords of the Admiralty to forward the ship Southampton to Hull. The meeting discussed the need for an industrial ship in the river Humber and co-operation for the venture had been received from the mayors of York, Ripon, Beverley, Boston, Bradford, Grimsby, Leeds, Louth, Middlesbrough, Pontefract, Scarborough, Sheffield and Wakefield.

A recent report by the Rev. Sydney Turner, H.M.I. of Industrial Schools, had pointed out the useful work industrial ships had been doing,

in "that boys who had been educated in those training ships found ready employment in the Merchant Navy and boys were taken from those home influences which unfortunately were worse to them than any separation from parents and friends".⁽⁸⁹⁾ The Annual General Meeting carried the following resolution:

"That the Lords of the Admiralty be memorialised to deck the Southampton, have her copper repaired where necessary and lend mooring chains and a jury outfit with tanks to hold fifty tons of fresh water, when the Hull Training Ship Committee will take charge of the vessel."

The "Southampton" was laid down in 1806, but was not launched until 1820, because of a lack of seasoned oak. She entered the river Humber in June 1868, and was certified as an industrial ship to accommodate up to two hundred boys on July 31st. From September 1868, the "Southampton" received financial support from Hull Corporation, a grant of ten new pence per week for each child sent to the industrial ship by the Hull Police Court. The election of the Hull School Board meant that the Corporation could no longer support the "Southampton" financially, this power being transferred to the newly elected School Board, as determined by Section 27 of the 1870 Elementary Education Act. A School Board did not have to contribute financially towards an industrial school or ship, but it could if it so desired. At a meeting of the Hull School Board on August 19th, 1871, it was agreed to continue "the weekly grant of two shillings per child to the 'Southampton' and making a similar grant for the children in the Marlborough Terrace School".⁽⁹⁰⁾

The Hull School Board on the 21st February 1872, resolved a special committee be appointed "to consider the position in which this Board stands in relation to the Industrial Schools generally but especially with respect to the Industrial ship 'Southampton', and the Industrial School Marlborough Terrace; the grants made to these institutions and how such grants are expended and that no further contribution be made to these Institutions until the report of the said committee has been

received and considered by the Board".⁽⁹¹⁾ Six members of the Hull School Board were chosen to form the special committee appointed to examine the Board's relationship with the industrial school and ship - Sir Henry Cooper, Mr. Nightingale (Chairman), Mr. Upton, Canon Brookes, Dr. Lamb and Mr. Reckitt.

At a meeting of the special committee on 22nd April 1872, the Chairman, Mr. Nightingale, moved, and it was seconded by Sir Henry Cooper, "the Board be recommended to supplement the grants of public money to the Hull certified Industrial School and Ship to an amount equal to six shillings per child per week".⁽⁹²⁾ However, Upton and Lamb were against the Board continuing to support financially "Southampton" and Marlborough Terrace Industrial School, and proposed an amendment to Nightingale's resolution:- "The (Hull School) Board be recommended to discontinue making further grants, for the present to the Hull Certified Industrial School and Ship"⁽⁹³⁾ The special committee divided equally on both Nightingale's resolution and Upton's amendment, thus the members of the special committee could not agree as to the course of action the Board should take. The Board itself, however, resolved by a majority of six votes to four, "that the Board defer making any further grant to the Hull Industrial School and Ship unless the Board received renewed applications from the managers of those institutions, showing to the satisfaction of the Board the necessity of such grants".⁽⁹⁴⁾ At a meeting of the Hull School Board held on July 17th, 1872, a letter was read from the Secretary of the Industrial School and Ship Committees, which contained the following declaration "the Hull School Board be informed that in compliance with therein request, the committee (of industrial school and ship) had prepared a statement of the particulars required, and appointed a deputation to wait upon the Board to confer as respecting the same on any day convenient to the Board".⁽⁹⁵⁾

The Hull School Board re-appointed the special committee which had previously failed to come to agreement concerning the Board's financial relationship with the Hull industrial school and ship. Its task was "to receive the statement of particulars" from the industrial school and ship, "and to obtain all possible information from the deputation appointed (by the committee of the Industrial School and Ship) for that purpose".⁽⁹⁶⁾ A special committee meeting was held on September 13th, 1872, to receive a deputation from the Hull industrial school and ship. The outcome of the meeting was that the special committee recommended "the Board shall make such payment for each Hull child committed from the Hull Police Court to these Institutions as shall make up together with the Government allowance six shillings and six pence per week for each such child in the Southampton and six shillings in the Industrial School".⁽⁹⁷⁾ The special committee added that the Board should make such payments to the said institutions only if they agreed to the following conditions. Firstly, the Hull School Board shall have at all times the power of inspection concerning the industrial school and ship; secondly the amount and conditions of the grant given to the industrial school and ship by the Board shall be subject to revision annually. The Hull School Board at a meeting held on the 4th December 1872, accepted by twelve votes to one these recommendations of the special committee concerning the Board's financial support.

There was strong opposition from ratepayers to the suggestion that the Hull School Board pay grants towards the maintenance of children sent to an industrial school by the Hull Police Court.^(A) It was rumoured Marlborough Terrace Industrial School had 'cooked the books'

.....

(A) For a more detailed treatment of this see, I.D. Cowan, 'Industrial Schools and Training Ships with Special Reference to the Humber Training Ship 'Southampton' ', M.Ed., 1980, Hull University, pages 28, 29 and 30.

in order to get financial support from the Board. The committee of the Industrial School tried to show the rumour was without substance by allowing private auditors to examine the books:-

"(in) addition to existing monthly, quarterly and annual audits by the Committee, Messrs Carlill and Birkinshaw - auditors of Parliament Street (Hull) - would be invited to audit them, and that the balance sheet and vouchers thus audited would be open for inspection at Marlborough Terrace for twenty-one days".(98)

A public meeting was held on February 26th, 1873, at Hengler's Circus - the Mayor, Robert Jameson, had refused to allow the meeting to take place in the Town Hall - to discuss the School Board's decision, made on the 4th December, 1872, to contribute towards the maintenance of children sent to the Hull industrial school and ship by the Hull Police Court. It was pointed out that the cost per child at the Hull Workhouse was four shillings and six pence per week, and five shillings and tenpence at the Sailors Orphan Homes, but the industrial school and ship wanted more. Captain Kruger, a Warden of Trinity House, supported the School Board in its decision to contribute financially towards the industrial school and ship; he proposed "the meeting approve the paying of allowances for each child sent from the Hull Police Court, pointing out that the school board were able to revise payments each year in the event of any change in the Home Office allowance".(99) But the majority of people at the meeting feared that the Government may in the future reduce or terminate its allowance to industrial schools and therefore the Board might have to increase the amount it contributed to the institutions in question. Kruger's proposal was decisively rejected and "the meeting proposed that a memorial be sent to Gladstone, the Prime Minister, criticising the way in which the Hull School Board was conducting the matter and questioning the legality of grants"(100) made by the School Boards to industrial schools and ships.

At a meeting of the Hull School Board on August 8th, 1873, it was decided that the annual revision of the grant to the Hull industrial school and ship be placed in the hands of the General Purposes Committee. It reported on the 8th October there was "no cause to recommend any alteration being made in the usual Grants to the Industrial School and Ship, and this decision was unanimously adopted by the Board".⁽¹⁰¹⁾ However, a year later, September 1874, Rev. W. Statham moved that "the Committee of the Amalgamated Industrial School and Training Ship be informed that the grants towards the maintenace of the children committed by the Hull magistrate cease on the 30th September and that the Board will be happy to receive any communication from the Committee (of the Industrial School and Ship) which may be made upon the question of the renewal of grants this year".⁽¹⁰²⁾ Statham's motion was carried; it is probable that disturbances on board the "Southampton" influenced the Board to pass the motion. On the 16th January, 1874, rumour had it "that a serious outbreak was anticipated on board the ship. Some of the boys were thought likely to become refractory and the services of the police were called".⁽¹⁰³⁾ In fact a fire had been started on board the ship, wood and a barrel of tar had been placed together, the intention being to set the ship ablaze. But the fire was put out before any real damage had been done. Two of the boys serving on board the ship, Henry Pidgeon and Thomas Maddon, appeared before the magistrate of the Hull Police Court on the 26th February, charged with attempting to sink the "Southampton", "and they were further charged with Timothy Harrington and Robert Brown with attempting to set fire to the vessel One of the prisoners said that all the boys were 'in it' but it was stated that they were the ringleaders".⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

The amalgamated committee of the Hull industrial school and ship reacted quickly to the Board's decision of September 4th 1874, to cut the grants it paid to the industrial school and ship, by informing the

School Board "that the Committee will not enter into any correspondence or other negotiations with the School Board having any reference to the reduction or withdrawal of the School Board's contribution towards the maintenance"⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ of Hull children sent to the industrial school and ship by the Hull Police Court. The School Board upheld the decision it made on September 4th, however, not to make further contributions to the Hull industrial school and ship. The Committee of the Industrial School and Ship retaliated by stating "it cannot retain or receive any children under the provision of the Industrial Schools Act without a capitation grant. The Committee therefore trust the Hull School Board will review their grant,"⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The Hull School Board considered the statement from the amalgamated committee of the Hull industrial school and ship, and decided to continue the grants, for the Board realised that without the grants the committee of the Industrial school and ship would become rapidly insolvent.

A year later, September 9th 1875, the Hull School Board again re-examined the necessity of continuing grants to the industrial school and ship. It decided there was "no cause to recommend any alteration being made in the usual grants to the industrial school and ship".⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ On December 1st 1879, the committee of the Hull industrial school and ship signed an agreement with the Board concerning the Board's continuance of its maintenance grants to the committee. The combined contribution of the Board and the "Commission of Her Majesty's Treasury"⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ resulted in the Industrial School receiving 30 new pence a week for each scholar sent by the Hull Police Court and the ship 32½ new pence. In return the managers of the Marlborough Terrace School agreed to receive every healthy able-bodied child of the Protestant religion sent by the Hull Police Courts under the provision of the 1866 Industrial Schools Act, or the Elementary Education Act

of 1876. The managers of "Southampton" agreed to do the same regarding boys before the Hull Police Courts and they also agreed to accept Roman Catholics. The agreement of December 1st 1879, between the Hull School Board and the Committee of the Hull Industrial School and Ship permitted any member of the School Board, or the Clerk of the Board to visit the school and ship without notice of the intended visit being given. Members of the School Board and the Clerk had the right, under the agreement, to examine both the school premises, the ship and the scholars who were sent to them by the Hull Police Court.

Initially Marlborough Terrace Industrial School accepted both boys and girls, but the intake of girls was ended in response to the report of H.M.I. of Industrial and Reformatory Schools in 1875, which recommended "the committee of the (Hull) Industrial Schools separate the girls from the boys", and suggested sending the girls "to an industrial school at Leeds,"⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The Hull School Board responded to the report by passing a resolution "that enquiries be made as to the vacant accommodation in Industrial Schools for girls within a hundred miles of Hull".⁽¹¹⁰⁾ The Hull School Board was successful in finding accommodation for girls who were ordered to attend an industrial school by the magistrate of the Hull Police Court; girls who were Roman Catholics were sent to an industrial school at Kirkedge, near Sheffield, Protestants to Leeds.

The Hull School Board in its third triennial report, covering the period 1877 to 80, complained "a number of parents have shown that they are so desirous to rid themselves of their children that they have permitted, and sometimes encouraged them to become irregular in their attendance at school, in order that the Board may take the usual step to commit such children to an Industrial School".⁽¹¹¹⁾ The same complaint is voiced by the Board in the fourth triennial report, adding

this abuse "might be remedied by empowering magistrates in these particular cases to inflict higher penalties than in ordinary cases, and if this failed to produce the desired result, then, on the committal of the child to make orders on all such parents to contribute the maximum weekly amount^(A) of 5 shillings, or as near that amount as they can possibly pay, so as to bring such people to something like a right sense of their duty in this matter".⁽¹¹²⁾

The third triennial report reveals that the Hull School Board had been in correspondence with the Home Secretary asking his permission to establish a truant school for one hundred and forty boys and sixty girls. The Home Secretary rejected the Board's application, but gave his consent for the establishment of a girls' industrial school to accommodate fifty inmates. The School Board's efforts to secure premises suitable for use as a girls' industrial school met with failure, and the girls continued to be sent to industrial schools in Kirkedge and Leeds - see Table Ten. The Board wanted to see an end to the sending of Hull girls to industrial schools in other areas because it was an 'expensive business' and because the Board had no control over the girls once they had left Hull. In its fourth triennial report the Board declared, "it does appear somewhat strange that a great and important Borough like Hull, should have to be dependent upon other towns in this matter, (Industrial school for girls) to say nothing of the expense of sending and bringing, and maintaining and supervising these children so far away from the Town".⁽¹¹³⁾

.....

(A) The parents of a child sent to an industrial school, had to contribute towards the child's maintenance, according to their ability to pay.

Table Ten

Committal of Hull Children to Industrial Schools 1880-82

<u>Year</u>	<u>BOYS</u>			<u>GIRLS</u>	
	Marlborough Terrace	The Ship 'Southampton'	Sheffield	Leeds	Kirkedge
1880	26	7	9	7	2
1881	49	7	12	7	3
1882	60	4	1	11	3
Totals	<u>135</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>8</u>

Source: HULL SCHOOL BOARD FOURTH TRIENNIAL REPORT.

It was not until 1884 that the Hull School Board was able to obtain premises to open a girls' industrial school. On November 15th of that year the Board signed an agreement with Samuel Henry Holmes, which resulted in its renting from him a property called 'Elmfield House', situated at the east end of Providence Row off Beverley Road. The contract between the Board and Holmes gave the former the use of Elmfield House and its garden for one year, and from then on the contract would have to be renewed every three months, the annual rent being forty pounds. The Home Secretary was only prepared to certify Elmfield House as a girls' industrial school on the understanding that the School Board took steps to find new premises in which the school could be housed, and this it did.

Elmfield House was certified to accommodate 39 girls. The regulations governing the school were passed by the Hull School Board in March 1885 and stated the object of the school was "to provide Instruction and Industrial training for, and to lodge, feed and clothe" girls sent to the institution under the Elementary Education Acts and the Industrial Schools Act of 1866. At Elmfield House the girls were to receive three hours of academic instruction each day with the exception of Sunday. They also had to undertake industrial work for not less than four hours and not more than five hours daily excluding Sundays. The range of

industrial work offered to the girls was extremely limited and consisted of washing, ironing, housework and needlework, "or of such occupations as the Board may in concurrence with the Inspector, from time to time consider practicable or desirable". (114)

Discipline was maintained by the matron, although she could not use corporal punishment. If a girl misbehaved, punishment could take one or more of the following forms: a reduction in the variety and quantity of food at meal times, a reduction in the number of meals, confinement in a room for a period not exceeding two days. No girl was to be deprived of two meals in succession or suffer a reduction in the quantity of food for more than two days. A girl could also be punished by loss of privileges, such as not being permitted to write a letter or being refused a visit from a relative. The matron had to keep a punishment book, and every time a girl was punished details had to be recorded. Under normal circumstances a relative was allowed to visit a girl once every three months. Letters sent to girls were opened and read by the matron, and if she considered any part of a letter 'unproper' then it was to be forwarded to the Clerk of the Hull School Board. Before a girl was admitted to Elmfield she had to be certified fit by a medical officer 'for the discipline, instruction and industrial training of the school'. The medical officer had to visit the school periodically and produce a quarterly report "as to the health of the inmates and the sanitary condition of the school". (115)

Mary Eleanor Babbs was appointed matron of Elmfield House, the school mistress being a Mrs. A. Twiddy. As soon as the school opened, the Board applied for the transfer to it of Hull girls who resided at Kirkedge and at Leeds industrial schools. The managers of the Leeds industrial school complied with the wishes of the Hull School Board but the managers of the Kirkedge industrial school refused to send the Hull

girls back to Hull. The Hull School Board retaliated by refusing to contribute further towards the maintenance of Hull girls at Kirkedge. The matron of Elmfield House was required to keep a journal in which she had to note admissions, the names of girls who absconded, visits of the medical officer, the names of visitors, when a girl left the school.

The first girls to abscond from Elmfield House were Fanny Hall, Lizzie Watson and one E. Frank, making their escape on March 29th 1885. Occasionally a girl found it hard to settle in at the school, Eleanor A. Carlton being such a case. She first absconded on the morning of December 10th 1885 and, on the evening of the same day, she was brought back to the school. Eight days later Eleanor absconded again, this time being returned to the school by her mother. The child's dislike of the school culminated on December 30th when she again absconded. She was returned to the school by her mother. Concerning another girl, Rose Catterton, the matron remarked "this girl has behaved very well indeed", but on July 29th 1886, it is recorded Rose was caught attempting to run away from the school.

The journal kept by the matron reveals it was more often than not the case that when a girl absconded it was a parent who brought her back to Elmfield House. For example, on February 5th 1887, Mary Buoy absconded but was brought back to the school by her mother who seemed annoyed with her daughter declaring "she had always been a thoroughly naughty, bad, girl at home".⁽¹¹⁶⁾ On November 15th 1887, Mary Buoy again absconded from Elmfield House, and this time took six days to find her. Kate, like her sister Mary Buoy, frequently ran away from Elmfield House. Kate absconded for the fourth time from the industrial school on 28th January 1889. She and Winifred Feeney took with them "their own parcel of clothing as well as the clothes they were wearing belonging to the school". Two days passed before Kate was returned to

the school by her mother, and on the following day Mrs. Feeney returned Winifred to the school. On the 16th February, Kate Buoy was taken before the magistrate of the Hull Police Court and was committed to prison for fourteen days, after which she was sent to a reformatory school.

William Inglis, H.M. Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, visited 'Elmfield House' on October 24th 1887, and noted the health and condition of the girls was satisfactory, there having been no serious case of illness since his previous visit in 1886. He was pleased with the standard of discipline at the school, for there had been no "trouble of any sort".⁽¹¹⁷⁾ On the 28th June 1888 the girls were transferred to the newly erected industrial school located in Park Avenue. This school had been constructed by Thomas Southern of Wright Street, at a cost to the Board of £7,202.15s.0d. The H.M.I's reports of 1888 and 1889 for Park Avenue stated the girls' behaviour was mostly satisfactory. In July 1889 a new matron was appointed at Park Avenue, it being recorded she "had some trouble at first as might have been expected but the girls soon settled".⁽¹¹⁸⁾ 1890 saw a dramatic increase in the number of girls absconding from Park Avenue as Table Eleven shows.

Table Eleven

The number of girls who absconded from Park Avenue
Girls Industrial School in the period 1888-92

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of absconding</u>
1888	7
1889	9
1890	22
1891	10
1892*	36

* for the period January to September

The increased number of girls absconding during the period 1890 to 1892 reflects the deterioration in girls' behaviour at Park Avenue.

H.M.I. in his 1892 report noted "in all there had been 50 cases of absconding since the last inspection. There had been a good deal of rebellious conduct, insubordination, impertinence and bad language".⁽¹¹⁹⁾

The Committee of the School Board was responsible for the Park Avenue girls industrial school, were so alarmed by the lax state of discipline at the school and the accusations of ill-treatment of the girls by the matron, that they decided to hold an enquiry and this took place at the school on 9th September 1892. The enquiry revealed the "largest number of abscondings and the most serious outbreaks of violent temper and bad conduct have taken place during the present year, and nearly all of them since the publication of the proceedings in the Cawood case".⁽¹²⁰⁾

The Committee thought the Cawood case the major factor behind the outbreak of misbehaviour at Park Avenue school. The girl Cawood had been sentenced to attend a reformatory school by the magistrate of the Hull Police Court, but as a result of pressure from 'towns people' she was freed. The Committee agreed the matron's mismanagement of the school was a contributory factor to the lax state of discipline there and to the increase in the number of abscondings:-

"the Committee are of the opinion that the discipline of the Institution has not been sufficiently firm, and that for the past few months, whether through fear, intimidation or other causes, the matron became seriously lax in the management of the Institution."

The Enquiry held at the Park Avenue girls industrial school found the matron of the school did not have the support of other members of the staff and that there had been conflict between the matron and the gardener. The enquiry was given sufficient evidence "to show that the gardener returned to the institution on more than one occasion the worse for drink, and he (the gardener) also admitted that he had deceived the matron by falsehood".⁽¹²¹⁾ The Committee decided that the gardener's "excitable and insolent manner must have had a very evil influence on the girls who witnessed it, and would lead them to become insubordinate"⁽¹²²⁾ and he was dismissed along with his wife, the cook.

The charge that the matron had given harsh and unkind treatment to some of the girls was found by the enquiry to be not proven. The matron did admit to having slapped a girl 'two or three times' when the girl was 'climbing up at a window'. The accusation that the matron had whipped a girl called Pearson with a wet towel was not substantiated. The matron did, however, admit to having punished slightly several girls with a 'battledore'. The handle of the battledore was seven inches long, the circular part was three and a quarter inches in diameter and a quarter of an inch thick. The matron's contract was not terminated but she was instructed in future she must maintain and enforce discipline at the school. Seven months later, on March 21st 1893, the matron was summonsed for assaulting a girl and, as a result, she resigned, to be followed three weeks later by the rest of the staff at Park Avenue. Some members of the Hull School Board when visiting the girls industrial school acted in an unprofessional manner:-

".... one visiting member quizzed some of the girls about the conduct of another member who in turn had brought cream cakes for some girls who had provided him with some information about the matron".(123)

The enquiry held at the girls' industrial school on the 9th September 1892, arrived at the view that at the school "several private and unofficial investigations have taken place, by members of the Board, and others which ought not to have been permitted, and that these should be strictly prohibited in the future".(124) The girls' length of stay at Park Avenue, their sparse social life and the limited curriculum of industrial schooling helped to fuel unrest. The length of stay of girls was nearly twice that of boys who attended Marlborough Terrace Truant School - as is revealed in Table Twelve.

At Elmfield House and later at Park Avenue, the industrial training consisted solely of washing, ironing, housework and needlework. The Inspector after visiting Park Avenue in 1901 commented, "in some ways

Table Twelve

Average length of stay of Girls at Elmfield House and
Boys at Marlborough Terrace Truant School
in the period 1886 - 1888 inclusive

<u>Year</u>	<u>Average length of stay in days</u>	
	Marlborough Terrace	Elmfield House
1886	107	191
1887	114	201
1888	123	217

these girls do not seem to have quite as much done for them as in other schools, e.g. in the matter of lessons on cooking, laundry-work and recreative amusements, and the garden which might be such a source of diversion, are (sic) restricted to a state visit once a week".⁽¹²⁵⁾ The Hull School Board failed to act upon the inspector's comments and at his next visit to Park Avenue in September 1902, he reiterated the need for the inmates to receive instruction in cookery:-

"The good practical work in the school would be greatly advanced by a special course of instruction in cookery, if not in the school itself then in one of the Board's (cookery) Centres."⁽¹²⁶⁾

Legge, Inspector of Industrial and Reformatory Schools, thought the way to prevent the kind of serious misbehaviour in industrial schools as took place in Park Avenue in the period 1890 to 1892, was to use corporal punishment. This he thought would prevent the inmates of the said institutions from stepping too far out of line:-

"Its a grave question whether such schools (industrial), and such a class of girl as find their way into them, can be managed without an occasional resort to corporal punishment - my own strong impression after many years experience is that they cannot. It is the only form of punishment short of being sent to a Reformatory that some girls care for; and a moderate use of a cane or strap in time, may save months of trouble and an eventually disorganised school."⁽¹²⁷⁾

The Hull School Board found itself in agreement with Legge and amended accordingly the regulations governing the two institutions to allow "a small modicum of corporal punishment in extreme cases".

The health of the girls at Elmfield House and later Park Avenue was found to be satisfactory by the inspector of industrial and reformatory schools. In 1902, however, Legge remarked after visiting Park Avenue, "the health" of the girls "has caused anxiety ever since the autumn. There was a death from meningitis in December, and another from a form of low(?) fever in January. One case of acute tuberculosis was discharged in February: the girl is still alive. Also in February a girl suffered from peritonitis and was removed to the Child Hospital ... Another girl had meningitis in July but is convalescent"(128)

Other girls suffered minor illnesses, there were "three or four" cases of swollen glands and one of tonsillitis. In an attempt to improve the health of the girls Legge suggested the following procedure, firstly that the windows of the girls' dormitory should be altered so as to allow them to be opened wide "for the air at present is positively tainted". Secondly, that the toilet be cut off from the dormitory by the use of a door and furthermore, two ventilators be placed "in the roof at either end of the lavatory".(129) Thirdly, during the summer months the girls should enjoy "open air as much as possible", with school work being cancelled for two or three weeks. A large number of the girls attending Park Avenue were in need of dental treatment but it was not until 1901 that a dentist visited the school. H.M.I. Legge remarked the dentist's "work for the first few visits was heavy, a proof of the need of his services".(130)

Marlborough Terrace Ragged School was certified an industrial school on the 24th March 1862. At "an Executive Meeting of the Industrial School and (of the training ship) Southampton, held on 6th January 1874, consideration was given to the handing over of the institution to the School Board".(131) The executive of the Industrial School and Ship decided against transferring the school to the Hull School Board on the grounds that the Board had not as yet met the

ordinary elementary educational needs in its district; it was therefore unlikely to give the industrial school the attention it required. It was also thought to be inappropriate for the executive of the industrial school and ship to enter into negotiations with the Board when the election of a new Board was soon to take place.

The Hull School Board's third triennial report, covering the period 1877 to 1880, reveals the Board had failed to persuade the Home Secretary to allow it to establish a truant school for one hundred and forty boys and sixty girls. The Home Secretary changed his mind, however, as is revealed in the School Board's fourth triennial report:

"The difficulties connected with this class of children (truant) having greatly increased, the Home Secretary gave his consent to the establishment of a Truant School for both Girls and Boys".

Shortly after the Hull School Board had been informed that the Home Secretary consented to their wish to establish a truant school for boys and girls, the managers of the Marlborough Terrace Industrial School for Boys proposed "to transfer their premises to the Board, on a lease of seven years at a nominal rent of five shillings per annum".⁽¹³²⁾ The Home Secretary by a letter dated 21st November 1882, approved the transfer of the Marlborough Terrace Industrial School to the Hull School Board, the premises being licensed for the reception of one hundred boys. The transference of the School to the Board became a long drawn out affair which was not completed until July 1st 1884:-

"The negotiations (which had extended over so long a portion of the last Board's existence was completed and the school came under the control of the Board on the 1st July 1884."⁽¹³³⁾

The regulations for the running of Marlborough Terrace School were passed by the Hull School Board two years before the school was transferred to it. Mr. D.J. O'Donoghue, Clerk for the Board, informed the Cross Commission that Marlborough Terrace was run as a truant school,

for it was certified "to receive children only under the Education Act; we cannot receive them under the Industrial Schools Act of 1866".⁽¹³⁴⁾ 'Oakum picking' was the chief industrial training boys had received at the Marlborough Terrace School, but the Hull School Board changed the work to one of mat making. A joiner was appointed to give the school 'an additional industrial trainer', but his real purpose was to "undertake all the small repairs to the Board's schools in his own department as well as the repair of all the broken glass".⁽¹³⁵⁾

O'Donoghue informed the Cross Commission the average length of stay for a boy at Marlborough Terrace Truant School was four and a half months, therefore the inmates were "scarcely there long enough to do anything at all except to cure them of truant habits".⁽¹³⁶⁾ The 1889 report of H.M.I. on Marlborough Terrace Truant School reveals that fifty boys made doormats, four helped in the joiner's workshop, six learnt shoe-making, twelve undertook some tailoring and a few helped in the laundry and kitchen.

At Marlborough Terrace Truant School, unlike the one in Park Avenue, there was no serious misbehaviour on the part of inmates, although there were quite a number of examples of scholars absconding; furthermore, a small percentage played truant when on licence as the H.M.I.'s report for 1891 reveals: "there has been little to complain of except truancy when on licence: 15 boys had been punished on being brought back to the school for truancy, one for absconding and one or two for using bad language". A child sent to an industrial school under either the Industrial School Act of 1866 or the Elementary Education Act of 1876, could after being in attendance for a month,^(A) be given a licence to live out of the school with any trustworthy and respectable

.....

(A) The time period was originally 18 months before a child could be sent out on a licence - see 1866 Industrial Schools Act, Section 27 - but the Elementary Education Act of 1876 reduced it to one month.

person willing to receive and take charge of him. The granting of a licence was conditional upon "the child attending as a day scholar, in such regular manner as is specified in the licence, some school willing to receive him and named in the licence, and being a certified efficient school". (137)

It was the policy of the Hull School Board to permit children from outside the area of Hull to attend Marlborough Terrace Truant School, as Table Thirteen shows. The Cottingham School Board at a meeting held on 22nd February 1897, decided to "contribute to the Kingston upon Hull School Board in respect of their Truants Industrial School, situated at Marlborough Terrace, Hull, and also in respect of their Girls Industrial School, situated at Park Avenue, Hull," (138)

Table Thirteen

Children from outside Hull who attended the
Marlborough Terrace Truant School

<u>Name of Town</u>	<u>No. of Scholars</u>		
	<u>1886</u>	<u>1887</u>	<u>1888</u>
York	11	6	3
Scarborough	9	5	7
Barnsley	6	8	3
Rochdale	2	7	7
Bridlington	2	-	-
Keighley	2	-	-
Goole	2	2	1
Hornbury	1	-	-
Chorlton	2	3	-
Penistone		1	-
Stretford		2	2
East Retford		1	-
Wakefield		1	1
Gorto		1	
Holmpton		1	

Source: Hull School Board, sixth triennial report.

The reports of the H.M.I. reveal the health of the boys at Marlborough Terrace Truant School was generally satisfactory, but deaths as a result of illness did occasionally occur - for example in 1889 a boy died "from inflammation of the brain". The sixth triennial report of the Hull School Board reveals that in the period 1886 to 1888, a large

portion of the children attending Hull industrial schools had only one living parent.

Table Fourteen

The number of children with both, one, or no parents who attended Marlborough Terrace Truant School and Park Avenue School in the period 1886 to 1888 inclusive.

	<u>Marlborough Terrace</u>	<u>Park Avenue</u>
Both parents alive	256	29
Father dead	83	15
Mother dead	53	10
Both dead	9	-

The occupation of the fathers of the children who attended Park Avenue and Marlborough Terrace Schools in the period 1886-1888, is given in the Hull School Board's sixth triennial report. It reveals that over fifty per cent of them worked as labourers, the majority of the remainder being semi-skilled or skilled artisans. A small number of the fathers could be classified as lower middle class such as those employed as clerks, shopkeepers or grocers - see Table Fifteen.

On January 2nd 1901, the Hull School Board appointed a Committee to enquire "as to the necessity for providing an Industrial School for boys and as to the relative advantage of Residential and Day Industrial Schools, ..." The Committee decided to enquire into the home conditions of every boy who was then attending Marlborough Terrace Truant School. The results of the enquiry reveal that around thirty per cent of the homes were found to be wretched and/or dirty. The following are some of the Committee's descriptions of the homes of the boys attending Marlborough Terrace School:- 'very little furniture, dirty and wretched', 'dirty and neglected', 'wretched and filthy', 'miserable, dirty and scarcely any furniture', 'wretched, family of four living in one dark room'. In the case of two boys their relatives had been forced to resort to the workhouse

Table Fifteen

The fathers occupation of children who attended
Hull Industrial Schools in the period 1886-1888

<u>Fathers occupation</u>	<u>Marlborough Terrace</u>	<u>Park Avenue</u>
Labourer	171	20
Seaman	36	1
Carpenter	19	-
Fitter	17	-
Painter	10	2
Clothing	9	-
Blacksmith	8	3
Bricklayer	6	-
Cooper	5	3
Shopkeeper	5	-
Commercial Traveller	1	1
Boilermaker	4	3
Stonemason	5	-
Clerk	3	-
Tailor	2	-
Police	2	-
Chimney Sweep	1	-
Sailmaker	1	-
Salesman	1	-
Shoemaker	1	-
Turner	1	-
Engine driver		3
Joiner		2
Oil miller		2
Basket maker		1
Brass finisher		1
Cab driver		1
Grocer		1
Hawker		1
Mariner		1
Organ builder		1
Plater		1
Picture seller		1
Sawyer		1
Scissor Grinder		1
Stoker		1
Tallyman		1

It has so far been noted that School Boards ran or/and contributed financially to industrial schools, established pupil-teacher centres and higher grade schools. Several of the School Boards also established evening schools. In 1851, according to Eaglesham, the Government began to subsidise evening schools, on the understanding that the fees paid by evening scholars should equal or exceed the government grant. Until 1890, evening schools "were commonly regarded as merely alternative public elementary schools, which happened to meet in the evenings",⁽¹³⁹⁾ the curriculum being limited to the teaching of the three 'r's'. In 1882, evening scholars were allowed to study additional subjects but they could only earn the government grant if examined in both the three 'r's' and additional subjects; this regulation successfully deterred pupils from solely taking additional subjects.

In 1886, the Birmingham School Board wrote to the Education Department asking "for concessions in the evening school curriculum".⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ The reply of the Education Department shows that an evening school could be grant earning only if it taught the three 'r's':-

"In these circumstances it is impossible to ignore the fact that Reading, Writing and Arithmetic are essential elements in every elementary school, and therefore, my Lords cannot admit any evening school to receive a grant of which these three subjects do not form the principal part of the curriculum."⁽¹⁴¹⁾

For grant purposes, in the case of evening schools, the Education Department's policy of insisting that the three 'r's' be taught, resulted in a rapid decline in the number of scholars attending; for example in 1871 the average attendance was 83,000, by 1884 it had fallen to 24,000.

The period 1890-1900 witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of people attending evening schools. This occurred because evening schools were no longer tied to teaching the three 'r's', as a result of the 1890 Education Code and the Education Code (1890) Act. In the stated period four types of evening schools thrived:-

- (A) the traditional evening school teaching mainly the three 'r's';
- (B) evening schools open for recreational purposes;
- (C) evening classes which consisted mainly of the teaching of technological subjects as allowed under the Code - cookery, wood carving, laundry work, sick nursing, etc.;
- (D) evening classes offering advanced instruction under the Science and Art Department, South Kensington.

The Education Code of 1890, for grant purposes, concerning evening schools, enabled a scholar who had passed standard V to sit examinations solely in additional subjects; this was not the case under the previous Education Code of 1888 - the 1889 Code was stillborn - for it stated "no (evening) scholar may be presented for examination in the additional subjects alone".⁽¹⁴²⁾ Article 106b(V) of the Education Code of 1890 reads: "No (evening) scholar may be presented for examination in the special subjects alone or in less than three elementary subjects, unless such scholar at the time of presentation produces a certificate that, having been a scholar in a Public Elementary School, he has passed standard V in the elementary subjects".

The Education Department believed Article 106b(V) of the Education Code of 1890 meant government grants would be paid for evening school education which was not elementary, but it had interpreted the Elementary Education Act of 1870, as allowing grants to be paid only for elementary subjects at evening schools.⁽¹⁴³⁾ The Education Department took steps therefore to give Article 106b(V) legislative backing and this was achieved with the Education Code (1890) Act - Section One of the Act states:

"it shall not be required as a condition of a parliamentary grant to an evening school that elementary education shall be the principal part of the education there given, and so much of the definition of the term 'elementary school' in section 3 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, as requires that elementary education shall be the principal part of the education given in an elementary school shall not apply to evening schools."

The above "was widely interpreted as exempting evening schools from the duty of giving elementary education in any sense whatever, and as meaning that a school board evening school might legally give secondary or technical or university education, even outside the Code". (144)

In 1893, the regulations governing evening schools became separate from the Day School Code and, according to Eaglesham, this led to an expansion and a wider variety of courses being offered in evening schools. Furthermore, evening scholars over the age of twenty-one would count for grant purposes, whereas the 1871 Code had stated evening scholars over the age of eighteen could not be counted for grant purposes. In December 1900, however, Justice Wills in the Court of the Queen's Bench, judged school boards were illegally using rate payers' money when educating adults at evening schools.

Five years before Justice Wills' judgment concerning the Cockerton case, the tide began to turn against the School Board with the election of a Conservative Government in 1895. Eaglesham notes:-

"there appeared a serious threat to the future of the school boards, and to their higher work; for the new Vice-President of Council Sir John Gorst had a mixture of malice and tenacity of purpose which boded ill for his enemies; and among these the school boards took first place." (145)

Sir John Gorst and Robert Morant were both very much involved in bringing the School Board era to an end. On January 1st 1895, the Department of Special Enquiries was formed by the Education Department, with Morant being appointed assistant director. In 1899, Morant was appointed Gorst's personal secretary.

Gorst's 1896 Education Bill, which failed to become law, was an attempt by government to give financial aid to voluntary schools. The Bill, if it had become law, would also have created local education authorities:-

"the County Council was to agree with the Education Department on a scheme for appointing a committee to act on its behalf as a local education authority to meet local needs. This authority to supplement not supplant existing bodies like School Boards."(146)

But Section 12 of the Bill could be used to bring to an end non-elementary education provided by a School Board, for it enabled the Education Department, on the application of a local education authority or school board, to "make an order transferring to the education authority for any county any school, or department of a school, within the county maintained by a school board and providing education which, in the opinion of the Education Department is other than elementary".

The defeat of the 1896 Education Bill did not deter Gorst in his efforts to make County Councils and not School Boards responsible for the provision of non-elementary education. This objective was partially achieved when in 1897, Clause VII of the Science and Art Directory was altered in order to enable County Councils, with the approval of the Education Department, to be responsible for Science and Art instruction in its area - remembering that a major share of a School Board's advanced teaching came under the Science and Art Department:-

"in Counties and County Boroughs which possess an organization for the promotion of Secondary Education, such organization if recognised by the Department, may notify its willingness to be responsible to the Department for the Science and Art instruction in its area. In such cases grants will in general be made to the managers of new schools only if they are acting in union with such organization."

The London School Board saw the danger contained in Clause VII, for if the London County Council became the recognised organization for the promotion of secondary education, then the Board would have to seek permission from the County Council, to open a new school which was to give instruction under the Science and Art Department, for without the permission of the County Council, the new school would not be grant aided. Therefore the London School Board realised it must apply to the Education Department to be recognised as the organization for secondary

education in the area of London. If its application was successful it would be its own master concerning the expansion of teaching under the Science and Art Directory. The London School Board put its application in to the Education Department in 1898, in opposition to the Technical Education Committee of the London County Council. The two bodies appeared at South Kensington to argue their case in front of Gorst with Donnelly, the secretary of the Science and Art Department, in the chair. Gorst directed the Science and Art Department to accept the application of the Technical Education Committee, making it the organization responsible for the promotion and organization of secondary education in London. This represented a major defeat for the London School Board; however, the Board remained in control of Science and Art teaching in schools already established.

When putting its case at South Kensington the London School Board claimed it could educate adults up to university standard and beyond in its evening schools under the Education Code (1890) Act. It also claimed that Section 3 of the 1870 Elementary Education Act, which stated the 'principal part' of education taught in an elementary school should be elementary, meant that so long as the majority of pupils in such a school were being taught elementary subjects the rest could be given advanced instruction. The above claims made by the London School Board alarmed Gorst. He told Dr. William Garnett, Secretary of the Technical Education Board of the London County Council, that the London School Board's interpretation of the Education Code (1890) Act was new to the Education Department. Gorst asked Garnett "how an authoritative interpretation of that Act could best be obtained. Garnet suggested a challenge of London School Board accounts before the District Auditor".⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

Every School Board had to have its accounts audited every year, and if any item of expenditure was not sanctioned directly, "or by

necessary implication by some Act of Parliament, it was to be disallowed".⁽¹⁴⁸⁾

In the case where an item of expenditure was disallowed by the district auditor, but the money had already been spent by the School Board, then whichever authority or person approved the payment was surcharged. The surcharge was equal to the amount spent on the disallowed item. The person who was surcharged could appeal to the Local Government Board, and the latter would re-examine the case, and confirm or reject the auditor's decision. Even if the Local Government Board upheld the auditor's decision it could, unlike the auditor, remit the surcharge. A member of a School Board who was surcharged could have the case dealt with in a court of law instead of appealing to the Local Government Board.

In an attempt to get an authoritative interpretation of the Education Code (1890) Act, Gorst took Garnett's advice of having the accounts of the London School Board challenged before Cockerton, the District Auditor. Gorst, Garnett and Sidney Webb,⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ who was Chairman of the Technical Education Board, arranged that Black, headmaster of the Camden School of Art, acting as a ratepayer, should challenge the School Board's accounts at the next audit. Black received legal assistance from Hales, a solicitor and a governor of the Camden School of Art. The challenge of the London School Board accounts took place during April and May of 1899, when Camden School of Art and ratepayers' representatives objected to the London School Board's "expenditure on Science and Art schools or classes".⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ In June, Cockerton, the District Auditor, decided against the London School Board. Hales, as a ratepayer, had challenged the Board's expenditure on evening schools. Cockerton allowed it.

The London School Board decided to contest Cockerton's decision to disallow its expenditure on Science and Art classes in a court of law. The Local Government Board and the permanent officials at the Education Department were reluctant to fight the case. "Gorst", we are told,

"had no such hesitation. At his direction a letter was written to the Local Government Board officials begging them 'most earnestly' to take the case up and have the Law Officers instructed to argue it"(151) After some hesitation the Local Government Board did as Gorst asked. Gorst detached himself from the case, and, indeed, misled the House concerning the Board of Education's role in the Cockerton affair. He informed "as to the Cockerton judgment the Board of Education had nothing to do with either the case, the judgment or the prosecution of the appeal".(152)

In the Court case the London School Board was represented by H.H. Asquith and Llewelyn Davies, the Local Government Board engaged Lord Robert Cecil as counsel. The appeal was heard in November 1900, and judgment was pronounced by Wills on the 20th December. He declared the evening school regulations merely stated the conditions upon which the Education Department were prepared to make grants "but to argue that such action on the part of the department sets the school board free to teach at the expense of the ratepayers to adults and to children indiscriminately the higher mathematics, advanced chemistry (both theoretical and practical), political economy, art of a kind wholly beyond anything that can be taught to children, French, German, history I know not what, appears to me to be the ne plus ultra^(A) of extravagance."

Wills continued:-

"therefore the fact that grants have been paid for more than 20 years to schools of this class is immaterial. We must ask what and to whom did the Acts of 1870 and later authorize the School Boards to teach at the expense of the rates. It is clearly stated that children are to be given elementary education, and this cannot be held to cover teaching foreign languages and advanced science to adults."

.....

(A) should be written in italics.

Justice Wills' judgment was interpreted as meaning that "school boards could not, out of the rates, either teach adults or teach science and art classes (under the Directory)".⁽¹⁵³⁾ At a further appeal, A.L. Smith, Master of the Rolls, in 1901, upheld this judgment:-

"it was not within the power of the Board to provide Science and Art classes of the kind referred to in this case either in the day schools or in evening continuation schools out of the School Board rate or School Fund."

The decision was generally accepted as putting an end to the teaching of adults at evening continuation schools and to meaning that higher grade schools could no longer teach courses from the Science and Art Directory. The future of higher grade schools was really determined, however, prior to the Cockerton case. The Higher Elementary Schools Minute of 6th April 1900, was the outcome of a meeting of South Kensington and Whitehall officials, with Morant acting as secretary and playing a prominent role in the drafting. The effect of the Minute, when implemented, was "that it would both prevent any expansion of the higher schools under school boards and take from them some of their most attractive features".⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ The Minute at least gave higher grade schools official recognition, and it restricted the upper age limit of scholars to fifteen. The Government in an attempt to reduce the number of higher grade schools decided that "only a selection of existing higher grade schools would be approved by the Board of Education as entitled to the status of higher elementary school." Moreover, the higher elementary schools were to be limited "to a narrow range of pupils, subjects and equipment".⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ The government also decided that higher elementary schools were to provide advanced elementary education but not to give its scholars a secondary education. Therefore if a pupil was deemed suitable for a secondary education he would not attend a higher elementary school.

Government allowed School Boards to continue evening schools and higher grade work for a further year. A speech by Gorst to the House in March 1901 made it clear, however, that the days of the School Boards were numbered. He declared: "I will ask leave to establish in every part of England and Wales a Local Education Authority which is intended to supervise education of every kind, and which it is hoped may ultimately have the control and supervision of all schools, whether elementary, secondary or technical".⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

The 1901 Education Act, then, enabled School Boards for a period of a year to use ratepayers' money to support higher grade work and evening classes but only if they had the permission of the County Councils to continue the activities. Such permission was necessary, for the Act enabled County Councils to restrict School Board activities in the given field "to such an extent and on such terms as may be agreed on". Moreover, the Act gave County Councils, and not School Boards, the power to decide how much ratepayers' money was to be spent on providing evening classes and supporting higher grade work under the Science and Art Directory. Thus the 1901 Education Act transferred control of evening classes and the stated higher grade work from School Boards to County Councils. The School Board era finally came to an end as a result of the 1902 Education Act which established Local Education Authorities. It declared "the Council of every County and every County Borough shall be the Local Education Authority". Under part II of the Act the latter were to "take such steps as seem to them desirable to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education". Part III of the Act declared that non-county boroughs with a population of more than 10,000 and urban districts with more than 20,000 were to be responsible for elementary education within their district.

CHAPTER FIVE: NOTES

- (1) J. Lawson, Primary Education in East Yorkshire, 1560-1902, page 28.
- (2) M. Sturt, The Education of the People, page 308.
- (3) J. Lawson, *ibid.*, page 27.
- (4) M. Sturt, *ibid.*, page 209.
- (5) J. Lawson, *ibid.*, page 26.
- (6) *Ibid.*, page 26.
- (7) Rubinstein, 'School Attendance in London 1870-1904', page 28.
- (8) Wardle, Education and Society in 19th Century Nottingham, page 83.
- (9) A. Gill, 'The Leicester School Board 1871-1903, in, Education in Leicestershire 1540-1940, ed. by B. Simon, page 162.
- (10) B. Simon, 'Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920', page 148.
- (11) J.S. Hurt, 'Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes 1860-1918', page 91.
- (12) B. Simon, *ibid.*, page 151.
- (13) B. Simon, *ibid.*, page 152.
- (14) J.S. Hurt, *ibid.*, page 82.
- (15) J.S. Hurt, *ibid.*, page 83.
- (16) J.S. Hurt, *ibid.*, page 84.
- (17) J.S. Hurt, *ibid.*, page 84.
- (18) A. Gill, *ibid.*, page 163.
- (19) A. Gill, *ibid.*, page 166.
- (20) A. Gill, *ibid.*, page 165.
- (21) A. Gill, *ibid.*, page 165.
- (22) D. Wardle, Education and Society in 19th Century Nottingham, page 84.
- (23) A. Gill, *ibid.*, page 167.
- (24) Davies, Barnsley School Board 1871-1903, page 97.
- (25) Rubinstein, *ibid.*, pages 30-31.
- (26) Rubinstein, *ibid.*, page 31.
- (27) Wardle, *ibid.*, page 86.
- (28) Wardle, *ibid.*, page 86.

- (29) Bradford Corporation, 'Education in Bradford since 1870', page 19.
- (30) Ibid., page 19.
- (31) Ibid., page 21.
- (32) The Nottingham School Board, School Management Committee 1882, quoted also by Wardle, page 131.
- (33) Rubinstein, *ibid.*, page 33.
- (34) J. Lawson and H. Silver, A Social History of Education in England, pages 328-9.
- (35) M. Sturt, *ibid.*, page 363.
- (36) Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education 1895, Vol.VII, pages 162-3; also quoted in Simon, Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920, page 179.
- (37) Simon, *ibid.*, page 179.
- (38) Wardle, *ibid.*, page 132.
- (39) T. Cluderay M.Ed. thesis, Hull University, page 118.
- (40) *ibid.*, page 118.
- (41) *ibid.*, page 118.
- (42) *ibid.*, page 127.
- (43) *ibid.*, pages 353-4.
- (44) Beverley Guardian, November 19th 1892.
- (45) Cottingham School Board Minutes, Vol.2, Beverley Records Office.
- (46) Cottingham School Board, *ibid.*
- (47) Cottingham School Board, *ibid.*
- (48) Cottingham School Board, *ibid.*
- (49) Cottingham School Board, *ibid.*
- (50) P. Horn, 'Education in Rural England 1880-1914, page 77.
- (51) R. Rich, 'The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the 19th Century', page 236.
- (52) Wardle, *ibid.*, page 97.
- (53) *ibid.*, page 97.
- (54) *ibid.*, pages 97-8.
- (55) *ibid.*, page 98.
- (56) *ibid.*, page 98.

- (57) R. Rich, *ibid.*, page 240.
- (58) Cross Commission, 2nd Report, page 653.
- (59) *ibid.*, page 654.
- (60) *ibid.*, page 654.
- (61) *ibid.*, page 654.
- (62) *ibid.*, page 654.
- (63) Barnsley Chronicle, 9th April 1892, Quoted in Davies, 'Barnsley School Board, 1871-1903.
- (64) Barnsley Chronicle, *ibid.*
- (65) Barnsley Chronicle, 15th June 1894.
- (66) Quote in T. Cluderay, *ibid.*, page
- (67) The Board and the School Management Committee disagreed as to how much the new instructors of the pupil teachers were to receive in payment. The Board had allowed £500 for the cost of implementing the extra instruction for pupil teachers, but it received a letter from the Finance Committee of the Hull Corporation asking the Board to revise its financial estimates for the coming year; following the arrival of this letter the pupil teacher scheme was dropped.
- (68) Rubinstein, *ibid.*, pages 36-7.
- (69) Hurt, *ibid.*, page 189.
- (70) Hurt, *ibid.*, page 189.
- (71) T. Cluderay, *ibid.*, page 211.
- (72) Cross Commission 2nd Report, page 762.
- (73) Rubinstein, *ibid.*, pages 99-100.
- (74) Rubinstein, *ibid.*, page 99.
- (75) Rubinstein, *ibid.*, page 102.
- (76) Quoted in Rubinstein, page 102.
- (77) Cross Commission 2nd Report, page 762.
- (78) *ibid.*, page 762.
- (79) Hull School Board's fourth triennial report 1880-83.
- (80) Industrial Schools Act 1866, section 5.
- (81) *ibid.*, section 12.
- (82) Elementary Education Act of 1870, section 27.
- (83) *ibid.*, section 36.

- (84) Industrial Schools Acts Amendment Act 1880.
- (85) Elementary Education Act of 1876, section 12.
- (86) In the period April 1890 to March 1891, 1,356 cases of truancy appeared before the magistrate of the Hull Police Court, 1,148 of these gave information concerning the number of previous appearances they had made at the Court - Tables Seven and Nine being based upon this information.
- (87) I.D. Cowan, 'Industrial Schools and Training Ships with special reference to the Humber Training Ship Southampton', M.Ed., Hull University, page 5, 1980.
- (88) *ibid.*, page 7.
- (89) *ibid.*, page 9.
- (90) Hull School Board, Committee Minutes, 1871-1892, page 189. Documents concerning the Hull School Board are kept at the Hull Records Office.
- (91) Hull School Board Meeting, 21st February 1872, Committee Minutes.
- (92) Special Committee Meeting, 22nd April 1872, Hull School Board Committee Minutes 1871-1892.
- (93) Special Committee Meeting 22nd April 1872, *ibid.*
- (94) Hull School Board, Committee Minutes, 1871-1892, page 191.
- (95) *ibid.*, page 191.
- (96) *ibid.*, pages 191-2.
- (97) Special Committee Meeting, 13th September 1872.
- (98) I.D. Cowan, M.Ed., *ibid.*, page 29.
- (99) *ibid.*, page 30.
- (100) *ibid.*, page 30.
- (101) Hull School Board, Committee Minutes, 1871-1892, page 192.
- (102) *ibid.*, page 184.
- (103) I.D. Cowan, *ibid.*, page 37.
- (104) *ibid.*, page 37.
- (105) Hull School Board, Committee Minutes, *ibid.*, page 192.
- (106) *ibid.*, page 192.
- (107) Hull School Board, Committee Minutes, page 284.
- (108) Articles of Agreement: Hull School Board and Managers of the Industrial School and Ship, December 1st 1879, Hull Records Office.

- (109) Hull School Board, Committee Minutes, *ibid.*, page 295.
- (110) *ibid.*, page 289.
- (111) Hull School Board, Third Triennial Report.
- (112) *ibid.*, Fourth Triennial Report.
- (113) *ibid.*, Fourth Triennial Report.
- (114) Hull School Board, Committee Minutes, March 12th 1885.
- (115) Hull School Board, Committee Minutes, *ibid.*
- (116) Journal Vol.I, of Hull School Board Girls Industrial School.
- (117) Hull School Board Report 1886-89, First series.
- (118) *ibid.*
- (119) Hull School Board Report 1892-95, First series.
- (120) *ibid.*, Special Committee meeting.
- (121) *ibid.*
- (122) *ibid.*
- (123) T. Cluderay, M.Ed., Hull University, *ibid.*, page 253.
- (124) Hull School Board Report 1892-85.
- (125) Hull School Board, Second General Series, Reports and Returns 1901-1903.
- (126) *ibid.*
- (127) Hull School Board Report 1892-95.
- (128) Hull School Board, Second General Series, Reports and Returns 1901-1903.
- (129) *ibid.*
- (130) *ibid.*
- (131) I.D. Cowan, M.Ed., 1980, *ibid.*, page 30.
- (132) Hull School Board, Fourth Triennial Report.
- (133) Hull School Board, Fifth Triennial Report.
- (134) Cross Commission 2nd Report, page 769.
- (135) Hull School Board, Sixth Triennial Report 1886-89.
- (136) Cross Commission 2nd Report, page 769.
- (137) Elementary Education Act of 1876, Section 14.
- (138) Cottingham School Board Minutes.

- (139) Eric Eaglesham, *From School Board to Local Authority*, R.K.P., 1956, page 53.
- (140) *ibid.*, page 54.
- (141) Quoted in Eaglesham, *ibid.*, page 54.
- (142) 1888 Education Code, Article 113B (IV).
- (143) For more detailed treatment, see Eaglesham, *ibid.*, pages 54-56.
- (144) Eaglesham, *ibid.*, page 57.
- (145) *ibid.*, page 105.
- (146) *ibid.*, page 108.
- (147) *ibid.*, page 114.
- (148) *ibid.*, page 65.
- (149) According to Brian Simon, Robert Morant was "clearly involved in instigating" Camden Art School's challenge of the accounts of the London School Board before Cockerton; but this view is not accepted by Eaglesham, see:
 - (a) Brian Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920*, page 194.
 - (b) Eric Eaglesham, *From School Board to Local Authority*", pages 114-119.
- (150) Eaglesham, *ibid.*, page 119.
- (151) *ibid.*, page 120.
- (152) Hansard, 4th Series, XCIII, 984.
- (153) Eaglesham, *ibid.*, page 131.
- (154) Eaglesham, *ibid.*, page 51.
- (155) Eaglesham, *ibid.*, pages 51-52.
- (156) Hansard, 4th Series, XCIII, 970.

CHAPTER SIX

TRUANCY AND THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE COMMITTEE

School Attendance Committees, as noted in the previous chapter, were formed to enforce school attendance in areas not covered by a School Board. This chapter is divided into two sections, the first considers the parliamentary debates on Sandon's proposal to establish School Attendance Committees, the second constitutes a case study of the Sculcoates Lane School Attendance Committee.

Speaking in the House of Commons on May 18th 1876, Viscount Sandon, Vice President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, introduced his Elementary Education Bill. He claimed the major difficulty in educating the working classes was to get their children to attend school regularly. He declared:-

"this, then, is the present state of the case; the kind of education which the country wants is ready for all the children of the country. We have schools open for all the children of the country. We have teachers, and in almost all the schools the teachers are well able to give instruction. Everything is there ready except the children to whom we wish to give the benefit of this education."(1)

Sandon informed the House 3,250,000 children should be attending school, but only 1,800,000 did so, leaving 1,450,000 to be accounted for. "I think", he declared, "we could not account for them in the Private Adventure Schools, even if we granted that attendance at these schools was generally of any real value; and I am at a loss to say where these children are".(2) The problem facing Sandon was that in the areas not covered by a School Board there was no means of compelling children to attend school. It is true the maze of regulations governing the employment of child labour had made it law that employed children had to be educated. The Factory Act of 1844, stated no child under eight was to be employed, and children between eight and thirteen "were to be employed for a maximum of six and a half hours daily, or for a maximum of ten hours a day on three alternate days in the week. If employed daily, they were to spend three hours of the rest of the day at school;

if employed on alternate days, they were to attend school for five hours a day on the days in between, excepting Saturdays".⁽³⁾ The 1844 Factory Act covered the following: textiles, woollen, cotton, flax, hemp, lined worsted, silk, tow and netting mills. In 1845 the Act was extended to cover print workers.⁽⁴⁾ In 1860, the Act was again extended, this time to cover bleaching and dyeing works. In 1861 the Act was amended so as to cover lace works, and in 1864 its coverage was again extended to take into account the following industries: earthenware - except for brickmaking⁽⁵⁾ - matches, percussion caps, cartridges, paper staining and fustian-cutting factories. In 1867 the Act was made to apply "to blast furnaces, foundries, mills, forges and factories for the manufacture of metal, machinery, india rubber, gutta percha, paper, glass, tobacco, to letter-press printing, book-binding, and, finally, to any other premises employing fifty or more persons".⁽⁶⁾ The Factory Act of 1874, which took effect from 1876, stated no child under ten could be employed. At the age of ten the child could be put to work even if he had not passed any of the standard examinations. Sandon declared:-

"next, passed by the present Government, comes the Textile Factories Act (1874) by which no child under 10 years can be employed. No certificate is needed at 10, so that the child may begin to work at 10 in complete ignorance".⁽⁷⁾

The 1874 Factories Act raised the time a child had to continue in half-time education by one year - from thirteen to fourteen - unless a child had passed Standard IV, then he could leave at thirteen.

Concerning mining, the Mines Act of 1860, was the first to contain an educational provision. It prohibited the employment of boys under ten. Moreover a boy between ten and twelve could only be employed if he had been "certified 'under the hand of a competent schoolmaster', to be able to read and write".⁽⁸⁾ Once employed, the boy had to attend school for three hours a day, two days a week. The Act applied to Coal

and Iron mines only. The Coal Mines Act of 1872, applied to coal, iron and slate mines. Concerning the provision of half-time education the Act declared:- "A boy between the ages of ten and twelve must attend school for at least 24 hours in every two weeks during which he was employed, weekly certificates of school attendance being obtained by the employer from the principal teacher of the school".⁽⁹⁾ The Metalliferous Mines Act, which was also passed in 1872, applied to mines not covered by the Coal Mines Act; it contained "no regulations regarding the education of boys".⁽¹⁰⁾

In agricultural districts the employment of children in the fields was dealt with under the Agricultural Childrens Act of 1873, but which did not come into operation until 1875. It stated no child under the age of eight years could be employed in agriculture. Children between eight and ten could only be employed if they produced a certificate of 250 attendances at school in the preceding twelve months; children between ten and twelve had to produce a certificate of 150 attendances before they could be employed. However, any child between eight and twelve, who had passed Standard IV, could be employed on a full-time basis. The Agricultural Childrens Act became a dead letter, for no person or body was authorised to make sure that the provisions of the Act were implemented. This fact was realised by Sandon and the President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon. Sandon told the House, "as no one is bound to enforce the Act, it is put in force very partially, in fact in only 11 or 12 counties; in these counties it is generally worked by the Police".⁽¹¹⁾ Thus "as a means for compelling the attendance of children at school", noted the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, "the Agricultural Childrens Act became practically a dead letter".⁽¹²⁾ The view held by Sandon and Richmond on the Agricultural Childrens Act was given support by the Report of the Royal Commission on the Factory and Workshops Acts,

published in the spring of 1876. "All the evidence which has been laid before us", the Commissioners declared, "agrees in stating that the Act is a dead letter; ..."(13)

Sandon held the view that the maze of regulations governing the employment of children, failed to get all children into the classroom, but then they were not designed to do this. Moreover he thought that these regulations were confusing to both parents and employers. Therefore he told the House, "What we want in these matters is, as far as possible, simplicity and uniformity of arrangement".(14) This he could have achieved if he had adopted the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Factory and Workshops Acts, which declared:-

"the school attendance of all children, whether they are at work or not, should be enforced by law the regular school age should be from 5 to 13; the rule of attendance should be full time, or five hours daily and 25 hours weekly; no child under 10 should be allowed to begin attending half time, and no child under ten should be employed in regulated labour;"(15)

The Commission further recommended half-time attendance should only be allowed if children were beneficially and necessarily employed. The Commission suggested there should be an alternate day system for children who worked in a 'dirty occupation', and for those whose school was a considerable distance from their workplace. Sandon was not prepared to accept the recommendation that children should by law be forced to attend school. He thought it wrong for the Government to compel parents to send their offspring to school, because this would "be affecting very largely the English people, who have always prided themselves on their independence and self-reliance, which have been most essential elements of our national strength".(16) He thought it the duty of the parent and not the government to make sure children attended school. Sandon wanted to see local authorities given the power to introduce bye-laws compelling school attendance, and each area would decide for itself whether it was or was not going to have such bye-laws.

The problem with this idea was twofold. Firstly, areas that were not covered by a school board, had no local authority which had the power to pass bye-laws compelling attendance. Secondly, allowing local areas to decide whether or not to pass bye-laws meant some would not bother, therefore the school attendance problem would continue.

To solve the problem of those areas which had no local authority which could pass bye-laws, Sandon could have introduced a system of universal school boards. After saying that the school boards "have done a great work; they were called upon by Parliament to do it, and it would be exceedingly shabby, because of a little wave of unpopularity not to acknowledge their labour to be generally honest and good",⁽¹⁷⁾ he pointed out why he thought it unwise to have universal school boards:-

"But surely no one would think of establishing all over the country so costly a machinery, inflicting everywhere the turmoil, the expense, the animosity of feeling, and perhaps the disturbance of triennial elections, in order to create what is in fact a new, and a sort of rival municipality, merely for the simple object of getting the children of a place to school."⁽¹⁸⁾

Sandon was also against the formation of universal school boards on the grounds that it would be very injurious to voluntary schools, possibly fatal:-

"... I have surely good cause for expressing my firm belief, that, if the Government were to propose a universal system of school boards (and) to confine them only to the duty of securing the attendance of the children at the schools, they would be sounding the knell of every voluntary school in the country."⁽¹⁹⁾

If the Government had established universal school boards, which could only compel children to attend school and not build and run schools, it is highly unlikely that these boards would have caused the downfall of the voluntary school system. Sandon was also against universal school boards, because he thought in time it would result in a purely secular curriculum. He told the Commons, the proposal for universal school boards "would probably lead in the long run to the one thing

which I am confident the country would detest and abhor if it was put in black and white before them - namely, one general system of secular instruction".⁽²⁰⁾ A universal system of school boards would not have solved the school attendance problem, because some of the boards would not pass the necessary bye-laws enforcing compulsion of attendance. Moreover the fact that a school board had passed the said bye-laws did not mean that they were enforced, for example a "Commons Return in 1873 showed that of the 172 boards, excluding London, which up to 25 March 1873, had adopted bye-laws, 70 had not so far taken any official action, either sending out warning notices or initiating court proceedings".⁽²¹⁾

In areas not covered by a school board, Sandon had no intention of creating a new local government body to deal with the problem of school attendance; he proposed town councils and boards of guardians should deal with it:-

"town Councils, and Boards of Guardians, on the requisition of a Parish will be given the power to pass bye-laws just as school boards now can; providing for compulsory school attendance for full or half-time, but they will have no power to establish or maintain schools."⁽²²⁾

Sandon told the House that Town Councils on their own accord could pass bye-laws enforcing school attendance, but Boards of Guardians, whom he regarded as "practically Rural Municipalities", were to "be entrusted with the passing of bye-laws, not on their own spontaneous suggestion, but for any parish in the Union which asks for such bye-laws"⁽²³⁾ The rate-payers of a parish in order to get the bye-laws had to hold a meeting and at it agree to the following resolution:-

"We should like to have bye-laws for compulsion at the present time. We ask the Board of Guardians to pass those bye-laws, and we wish to have them without the burden of a school board."⁽²⁴⁾

Several Liberal members of the House were critical of Sandon's proposal to give Boards of Guardians an educational role. They were formed as a result of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act to administer

poor relief, and they had as A.J. Mundella, Liberal member for Sheffield, pointed out "no kind of educational proclivities".⁽²⁵⁾ Only property owners and ratepayers were eligible to vote in the elections of Boards of Guardians,⁽²⁶⁾ thus many parents would have no representation on the Boards. This was also the case for minorities, because unlike school board elections, there was no cumulative vote. Commenting on a Board of Guardians, Mundella declared "it was not elected by numbers, there was no cumulative vote in that case either; it was election by property, and not by numbers".⁽²⁶⁾ The fact that magistrates acted as ex-officio members of Boards of Guardians greatly concerned Mundella, for in his view 'county magistrates' had opposed the cause of popular education.

Mr. H. Richard, Liberal member for Merthyr Tydfil, although critical of the Boards of Guardians, stated they "are in many ways an utterly unsatisfactory authority for education purposes - their mode of election is one which gives the dominant influence to a class who are not immediately or personally interested in the schools"⁽²³⁾ - was prepared to accept them as local education authorities because "the want of rural municipalities is one of our greatest administrative defects".⁽²⁹⁾ Another Liberal, Mr. E. Jenkins, member for Dundee, reiterated the point that parents would have no representation on Boards of Guardians. He argued:-

"under the school board, or in the town, parents whose children were to be educated had a voice in the selection of those who were to superintend their education. In County districts the enforcement of education was to be placed in the hands of boards who were utterly irresponsible to the class from which the children were taken,"⁽³⁰⁾

Clare Reed, Conservative member for South Norfolk, was at first critical of the Boards of Guardians' ability to carry out the proposed educational role. He later, however, changed his view on the matter to one which was in line with the Government's declaring "as to the Education Bill, objection was taken to the fact that it proposed to vest

power in the Boards of Guardians, all sorts of duties were thrust on them which they had not to discharge a few years ago. They had now to look after the health of a district, and he did not see why they could not look after the education of their Union,"⁽³¹⁾ Mr. A Mills, Tory member for Exeter, noted objections had been made concerning the Government's proposal to use the Boards of Guardians as a local education authority. He supported the proposal, for "he doubted whether, on the whole, the Government could have found any existing body better qualified to carry out tentatively the experiment which was proposed by this Bill".⁽³²⁾

Sandon in his introductory speech made it clear that if a Board of Guardians failed to carry out its educational duties then the Education Department could appoint a committee, for a period not exceeding two years, to undertake the duties. During the Bill's Committee Stage Sandon successfully moved an amendment, which compelled Boards of Guardians and Town Councils to appoint a Committee which would act as the local education authority. The Committees were termed School Attendance Committees, and were to be elected annually. In boroughs, the members of the Committee were appointed by the Town Council, and in a parish, "by the guardians of the Union comprising such parish".⁽³³⁾ A School Attendance Committee had to consist of not less than six but no more than twelve members of the Town Council or Board of Guardians appointing it. In the case where an Attendance Committee was appointed by Guardians, one-third of its members had to consist of ex-officio Guardians. The establishment of School Attendance Committees was a sound move, because they, unlike Town Councils and Boards of Guardians, would concentrate solely on implementing the provisions of the Act. Sandon amended the Bill so that instead of Town Councils and Boards of Guardians, the School Attendance Committees had the power to pass by-laws enforcing school attendance. Section 21 of the Act declares:-

"in a school district not within the jurisdiction of a school board, if it is a borough the school attendance committee may, if they think fit, and if it's a parish the school attendance committee for the Union comprising such parish on the requisition of the parish, but not otherwise, shall make byelaws respecting the attendance of children at school ..."

A School Attendance Committee appointed by Guardians was to act for every parish in the Union not covered by a school board. Each attendance committee could, if it so wished, appoint local committees "for different parishes or other areas in their district for the purpose of giving the school attendance committee aid and information in the execution of this Act".⁽³⁴⁾ A local committee had to have a minimum of three members and it had no power to pass bye-laws. Moreover, the school attendance committee could if it wished "from time to time add to or diminish the number of members, or change the members of any local committee appointed by them, or may dissolve any such committee".⁽³⁵⁾ Later, Sandon successfully moved another amendment which enabled some sanitary authorities to appoint a school attendance committee. Section 33 of the Act states:-

"On the application of the urban sanitary authority of an urban sanitary district which is not and does not comprise a borough, and which is co-extensive with any parish or parishes not within the jurisdiction of a school board, containing a population of not less than five thousand, the Education Department may be order authorise the sanitary authority of that district to appoint, a school attendance committee."⁽³⁶⁾

When a sanitary authority appointed a school attendance committee, then the guardians could not appoint a committee in the same area - obviously it would be pointless having two school attendance committees serving the same district. A school attendance committee appointed by a sanitary authority had the same powers as one established by either a Board of Guardians or a Town Council. However, unlike a school attendance committee appointed by a Board of Guardians, it had the right to decide for itself whether it was going to pass bye-laws enforcing school attendance.

In a situation where the population in the urban sanitary district was less than 5,000, and the district did not include a borough, and was not wholly within the jurisdiction of a school board, the urban sanitary authority "may from time to time appoint such number as the Education Department allow, not exceeding three, of their own members to be members of the school attendance committee for the union and such members, so long as they are members of the sanitary authority, and their appointment is not revoked by that authority, shall have the same powers and authorities as if they had been appointed by the guardians".⁽³⁷⁾

It has been noted earlier in this chapter that Sandon was unwilling to accept a measure of compelling all children by law to attend school, but he was prepared to pass legislation preventing the employment of children under the age of ten. On the same theme he proposed children between the age of ten and fourteen could only be employed if they had earned a certificate from school. Sandon informed the House there were to be two school certificates. Firstly, a certificate of efficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic; secondly, a certificate of attendance, which a child would automatically earn after making a certain number of attendances in a given number of years - see Table One.

Table One

<u>Year</u>	<u>Certificate of Efficiency</u>		<u>Certificate of Attendance</u>	
	<u>Pass the Standard Examination</u>		<u>No. of attendances</u>	<u>No. of Years</u>
	<u>Normal</u>	<u>Half-time</u>	<u>per annum</u>	<u>attendances Req'd</u>
1877	2	1	250	2
78	2	1	250	2
79	3	2	250	3
80	3	2	250	4
81	4	3	250	5

Source: Elementary Education Bill, 1876, No.155, First schedule.

Table One reveals that until 1881, when the Act became fully operational, there was a gradual increase in the requirements a child had to meet to get either of the certificates. Sandon realised that not every child would be able to pass the certificate of efficiency; therefore he also introduced a certificate of attendance, which the less able child could obtain. When a child had gained either of the certificates, he/she could be employed on a full-time basis. Commenting on the certificate of attendance, Sandon declared, "the reason for this alternative certificate will be obvious. It is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that there are a great number of stupid children".⁽³⁸⁾ Sandon, however, during the Bill's Committee stage in the Commons, accepted Lord Frederick Cavendish's amendment permitting a child over the age of ten, without either a certificate of efficiency or attendance, to be employed in industries regulated with provisions for half-time schooling under the Factory Acts.

Sandon held the view that the system of certificates would reduce truancy and lead to children having a better education. He had reached this conclusion by arguing parents were desirous for their children to go to work as soon as possible, therefore they would make sure that their offsprings attended school in order to gain the necessary certificate enabling them to start work. Sandon informed the Commons:-

"... we believe that the strongest pressure will be put indirectly upon parents by this certificate system to give their children good and regular instruction it will be not only his interest to compel the child to go to school, but to question the child as to how he is getting on with his reading, writing and arithmetic, because as he will tell the child - 'I want the help and support of your labour as soon as you become 10 years old'. The effect of this clause would therefore be said to be the very key of the Bill".⁽³⁹⁾

The provisions of the Act concerning the employment of children did not apply if a child resided more than two miles away from the nearest school. A child could be employed during the holidays, "or during the

hours during which the school is not open" so long as this did "not interfere with the efficient elementary instruction of such child, and that the child obtains such instruction by regular attendance for full-time at a certified efficient school or in some other equally efficient manner".⁽⁴⁰⁾ Sandon had proposed that a reasonable excuse for a child not attending school would be that he or she were undertaking "necessary domestic employment at its own home".⁽⁴¹⁾ Sir John Lubbock, Member for Maidstone, pointed out that under this clause a child could lawfully be kept at home "minding the baby, or keeping the house clean", and thus "the Act would become a dead letter".⁽⁴²⁾ Sandon later admitted that "there was no doubt that would be running a risk if the words 'necessary domestic employment' were retained in the clause".⁽⁴³⁾ Accordingly the clause was removed from the Bill.

Any person who employed a child in contravention of the Act was liable when brought before a magistrate, to a penalty not exceeding forty shillings. The task of enforcing the provisions of the Act respecting the employment of children was given to the school boards and school attendance committees. But in the case of regulated industries, such as factories, workshops and mines, Sandon proposed the Factory Inspectorate were to be solely responsible for seeing the provisions of the Bill were adhered to. MacDonald, the Liberal member for Stafford, was critical of the proposal arguing the Inspectorate of Mines were unable to carry out their present duties. Thus it would be ridiculous to expect them to discharge properly the duties placed upon them by Sandon's Bill. MacDonald declared:-

"By the 5th clause the Mines Inspectors were the persons upon whom the duty would devolve of seeing that the children in the mining districts were educated; but, considering the many duties which they had already to discharge, the Bill in that respect was a deliberate farce. They would not be able to do what was expected of them even if their number was doubled or trebled."⁽⁴⁴⁾

During the Bill's Committee stage, the O'Connor Don, Member for Roscommon, moved that with regard to the regulated industries it should be the duty of school boards and school attendance committees to assist the Factory Inspectorate in enforcing provisions of the Act. He remarked that if the clause remained unaltered, it would place upon the inspectorate a duty they were unable to perform, "and the consequence would be that in a great portion of the country the Act would be inoperative".⁽⁴⁵⁾ Mr. W.S. Stanhope and Mr. A. Mc'Arthur supported the amendment and nobody spoke against it. Sandon admitted "it would be imperilling too much the interests of education if they relied solely upon the Inspectors, and he would therefore accept the Amendment".⁽⁴⁶⁾

Sandon realised the certificate system would be ineffectual in respect of getting street arabs - sometimes termed gutter children - into schools. To solve this problem he was prepared to use the courts of summary jurisdiction, with the magistrate ordering the child to attend a public elementary school. Section II of the Act reads:-

If either -

- (1) the parent of any child above the age of five years who is under this Act prohibited from being taken into full time employment, habitually and without reasonable excuse neglects to provide efficient elementary instruction for his child; or
- (2) any child is found habitually wandering or not under proper control, or in the company of rogues, vagabonds, disorderly persons, or reputed criminals;

it shall be the duty of the local authority,^(A) after due warning to the parent of such child, to complain to a court of summary jurisdiction, and such court may, order that the child do attend some certified efficient school willing to receive him

.....

(A) School boards and School Attendance Committees.

The first time a child did not comply with an attendance order, and the local education authority brought this to the attention of a magistrate, he could order as follows. If the parent "does not appear before the court, or appears and fails to satisfy the court that he has used all reasonable effort to enforce compliance with the order, the court may impose a penalty not exceeding with the costs five shilling; but if the parent satisfies the court that he has used all reasonable efforts as aforesaid, the court may, without inflicting a penalty, order the child to be sent to a certified day industrial school,"⁽⁴⁷⁾ If there was not a day industrial school in the area the child could be sent to a residential industrial school instead.

In the second and any subsequent case of a child not complying with an attendance order, the magistrate had the power to order the child to attend a day industrial school and fine the parent. Sandon regarded sending truants to a day industrial school as an experiment, for he advocated the government had to be willing to try new methods to end the problem. He declared:-

"the truth was that the subject was one in which every alternative treatment possible must be adopted. One mode of treatment would not suffice, and it was necessary that they should have many strings to their bow, because they had to deal with a multitude of evils."⁽⁴⁸⁾

It was during his introductory speech that Sandon proposed that persistent truants could be sent to an industrial school. Mr. Lyon Playfair, Liberal member for the University of Edinburgh, thought it was incorrect to send a truant to an industrial school, when it was the parent who was at fault in neglecting to make sure the child attended school regularly. He also questioned the sense of sending truants to industrial schools where they would associate with children who according to him were "on the verge of crime".⁽⁴⁹⁾ During the Bill's second reading in the Commons, Playfair, reiterated disapproval of

Sandon's proposal to send persistent truants to an industrial school. He was critical of it because "instead of promoting parental responsibility for which the noble Lord argued, it destroys it. The State is placed in loco parentis,^(A) and the parent is rewarded for his improvidence by being relieved of the care and charges of the child".⁽⁵⁰⁾ Moreover, he thought, by "using penal schools as the chief engine of compulsion, you connect compulsory education with crime, and go far to render enforced attendance idioms to the community".⁽⁵¹⁾ W.E. Forster, architect of the 1870 Elementary Education Act and former Vice President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, remarked the State did not have the right "to take hold of these children (truants) and say they should associate with the general run of the children that got into the Industrial Schools".⁽⁵²⁾ Sandon's proposal alarmed Forster because he thought "it would be a great temptation to parents to allow their children to go to an Industrial School where they would not only be educated, but fed and clothed at the expense of the State".⁽⁵³⁾ Sandon did not comment upon the criticism of his proposal to send persistent truants to an industrial school. He did, however, hint that the Government were willing to accept modifications to the proposal;

".... the Government had formed no opinion on the point, whether some modifications with respect to those schools might not be introduced into this Bill."⁽⁵⁴⁾

He also defended the proposal, by asserting the measures used to enforce school attendance, after a certain point lost their bite and it was impossible 'to fine and fine ad infinitum' the parents of truants. Therefore the Government had reached the opinion that "some use of Industrial Schools in this matter might be found to be very valuable".⁽⁵⁵⁾

It was the Tory government and not the opposition which altered the proposal to send truants to an industrial school. The government proposed

.....

(A) Italics in original.

instead of sending persistent truants to a residential industrial school they should be sent to a day industrial school. Sandon informed the Commons the day industrial schools would "be almost identical with the lodging industrial schools, minus the lodging. A certain amount of industrial training would be given, exactly as in the lodging industrial schools. Clothing might be given just as in the lodging schools, and one simple meal in the day would be provided".⁽⁵⁶⁾ Day industrial schools as well as taking persistent truants were also to accept children sent to them under the Industrial School Act of 1866. Forster was deeply concerned the day industrial schools, instead of helping to end truancy, would encourage it, because some parents would want their children to attend such schools where the State fed them. "It was," remarked Forster, "a system of out-relief, and the danger was that it would be a temptation to the hard-working poor to make use of it, ..."⁽⁵⁷⁾ Although critical of Sandon's proposal, Forster was prepared to accept it, "though he candidly confessed he had considerable fears as to the result. The most that could be said in its favour was that it was an experiment but as far as he could see the Government were fully justified in making it".⁽⁵⁸⁾

On religious grounds there was opposition to Sandon's Bill from both sides of the House. Several Tories were annoyed the Bill contained no provision that would force all school boards to teach religious education. Sir John Kennaway, Member for East Devonshire, thought the time had arrived when all school boards should be compelled, "to adopt religious education as a part of the instruction to be given to the children; ..."⁽⁵⁹⁾ He therefore thought "the House might call on Her Majesty's Government to consider whether this important matter should not be introduced in the Bill".⁽⁶⁰⁾ During the Bill's second reading, Mr. Herbert Birley, Tory Member for Manchester, reiterated the demand that Sandon should "add a clause to the Bill providing that the

board schools should give some elementary religious instruction that would be suited to the capacity of children of from 5 to 10 years of age".⁽⁶¹⁾ Another Conservative, Mark Stewart, Member for Wigton and the Burghs, stated that the only reason why he was speaking in the debate "was to express his sincere regret that it (the Bill) contained no clause with regard to religious education. He was certain there would be no difficulty in carrying it out if it were passed. The Bible ought to be read in every school that received money or aid from Parliament, ..."⁽⁶²⁾ Section 14 of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, states "no religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught"⁽⁶³⁾ in a school provided by a school board. Cowper-Temple wanted school boards to be able to teach the Apostles' Creed, so he moved the following amendment:-

(The Apostles' Creed not to be deemed a formulary as in Section fourteen of Act of 1870)

"Whereas doubts have arisen as to whether the Apostles' Creed is a formulary within the meaning of section fourteen, subsection two, of 'The Elementary Education Act, 1870', be it enacted, that the Apostles' Creed shall not be deemed to be a religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination within the meaning of the said section."⁽⁶⁴⁾

Sandon rejected the amendment and pointed out that the Bill "did not touch in any way upon the question of religious teaching in our schools; the Government must therefore entirely decline to enter upon a discussion of this most important subject which was not within the four corners of the Bill".⁽⁶⁵⁾ Mr. A.W. Hall, Tory member for Oxford, simply ignored Sandon's statement and moved that "in any school in which no provision is otherwise made by the School Board or Managers for Religious Instruction, it shall be required of such School Board or Managers in order to obtain an annual Parliamentary grant, that provision shall be made for the instruction in Scripture knowledge of those children whose parents may signify their desire for the same".⁽⁶⁶⁾ Sandon informed Hall that he could not assent to the proposal, he then told him what he had earlier

told the Committee, namely, that "the question of religious teaching did not come within the scope of the Bill, and that therefore the Government must decline to enter upon a discussion respecting it"⁽⁶⁷⁾ Sandon proceeded to try and pacify Conservatives who were anxious the Bill should contain some provision forcing school boards to teach scripture. He argued that in the majority of board schools religious instruction was given. He remarked:-

"Happily, however, at present, religious teaching and Bible instruction was the rule in our schools. Some 40 or 50 School Boards were, it was true, purely secular, excluding all religion from the schools, and some others reduced it to a miserably small and grudging amount; but the portion of the population under this treatment was comparatively very small and in the great majority of Board schools Bible teaching and religious instruction was a real part of the daily schooling."⁽⁶⁸⁾

He again attempted to reassure fellow Conservatives by claiming if teachers "began to put religious teaching in the background, there would be such an outburst of feeling throughout the country as would make it necessary for the State to interfere, and secure by legislation this blessing to its people".⁽⁶⁹⁾ Several Conservatives spoke out in favour of Hall's amendment; C.T. Ritchie, Tory Member for Tower Hamlets, hoped Hall would press his amendment to a division for he would vote for it. Viscount Emlyn, Mr. J.G. Hubbard and Mr. J.M. Holt declared their support for the amendment. Seeing this backbench revolt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was anxious to explain "there should be no misunderstanding as to the view the Government took on this question. They did not oppose the Amendment because they were indifferent or hostile to the proposal of his Hon. Friend - on the contrary, they attached the highest importance to religious education in schools"⁽⁷⁰⁾ However, he thought that to deal there and then with the question of religious education in schools "would lead them too far afield".⁽⁷¹⁾ He argued it was "impossible to adopt this clause by itself as a satisfactory mode of dealing with the question. It would be necessary, for instance, to

provide again for a system of inspection to ascertain that the religious instruction was satisfactory".⁽⁷²⁾ Moreover, he remarked, the government found it impossible "to treat a question of this kind, upon which there was such a difference of opinion, in a measure introduced for other objects, ..."⁽⁷³⁾ The Committee divided on the amendment, it was rejected, with 96 votes in its favour and 190 against.

The final attempt to get a religious clause included in the Bill was made during Committee stage in the House of Lords. Lord Stanley of Alderley moved, "nothing in clause 14 of the Act of 1870 shall be construed, as excluding the 'ten Commandments', the 'Lord's Prayers', and the 'Apostles' Creed', from the teaching in schools provided by school boards".⁽⁷⁴⁾ The President of the Education department, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, declined to accept the amendment, remarking, "in the great bulk of board schools throughout the country, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer were already taught ..."⁽⁷⁵⁾ He was also of the opinion that even if the amendment became part of the Bill, it would "not advance religious teaching at all, Those who did not desire religious teaching would remain as they were now, and would not give religious teaching, while those who gave religious education now would not be benefitted by the clause".⁽⁷⁶⁾ The Archbishop of Canterbury wanted the amendment to be withdrawn on the grounds that it "might throw doubt on that on which he hoped there was no doubt whatever - namely, that it was competent to any school board to teach the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed under the existing law. As a matter of fact they were now taught in board schools".⁽⁷⁷⁾ Lord Stanley of Alderley complied with the wishes of the Archbishop of Canterbury and withdrew his amendment.

Like some Tories, a group of non-conformist Liberals, on religious grounds, objected to the Bill. The objection was that the Bill would, in areas which only had a church school, force the children of non-

conformists to attend it. Moreover, non-conformists claimed, when their children attended the church schools, the teachers and clergy tried to convert the children to the Anglican faith. Richard, for example, remarked that some Anglicans "were more anxious to make the children good Churchmen than they are to make them good Christians".⁽⁷⁸⁾ He supported his claim by giving the following quotation from National Society's monthly paper:-

"In the present condition of Church Schools it is more than ever necessary that they should be made nurseries of Church principles. All that is happening in the matter of education is a call to the Church to put out her strength and do valient battle for her principles in our schools. Our work, then, is to teach children the facts of our religion, the doctrines of our religion, the duties of our religion. The object at which we are uniformly to aim - the training of the young Christian for full communion with the Church, and, as a preliminary to that, a training for confirmation. The whole school time of a child should gradually lead up to this. They ought to know why they should be a good Churchman and not Dissentors. Why they should be Anglicans and not Romanists."⁽⁷⁹⁾

The 1870 Elementary Education Act, however, stated that all schools receiving government aid had to operate a Conscience clause, thus enabling a parent to have his child removed from religious instruction lessons. But Richard and other non-conformists contended it was common for schools to evade the Conscience clause. He remarked:-

"but it is said - 'You have the Conscience Clause to protect you against this great evil'. My answer is that the clause is a mockery, a delusion and a snare. It is repeatedly evaded."⁽⁸⁰⁾

This view was echoed by another non-conformist, McArthur, Liberal member for Leicester. He accepted the conscience clause was often fairly acted upon, "but he was equally certain that very frequently it was the reverse and that the law was, if not broken, at all events evaded."⁽⁸¹⁾ Samuel Morley, Member for Bristol, went so far as to claim "in many of our villages the conscience clause was a dead letter".⁽⁸²⁾ Richard stated the poor parent hesitated to use the conscience clause because "he knows very well he will incur the displeasure of the squire or the squire's lady".⁽⁸³⁾ Morley went further, expressing the opinion

that "people dare not expose themselves to the fear of social consequences if, in a small village, they availed themselves of the conscience clause and withdrew their children from religious teaching".⁽⁸⁴⁾ Jenkins asked the Tory Members of Parliament if they would be prepared to support the Bill, supposing that every national school was taken over by the Roman Catholic Church. He thought they would not. Mundella reiterated the point, declaring:-

"if there were only 100 purely Roman Catholic schools in the 14,000 parishes in the country to which the children of Church people must be sent or not be educated at all, would hon. Gentlemen opposite pass this Bill without further safeguards? (Yes, Yes!) Not they. He did not believe they could honestly answer this question in the affirmative."⁽⁸⁵⁾

Richard asserted the government had no right to compel children to attend school "unless the state at the same time takes care to provide such schools as shall not trench on the right of conscience and the principles of religious freedom".⁽⁸⁶⁾ He therefore moved the following amendment:-

"That in the opinion of this House, the principle of universal compulsion in education cannot be applied without great injustice unless provision be made for placing public elementary schools under public management."⁽⁸⁷⁾

Richard contended the best way to put schools under public management was to adopt a system of universal school boards. He was, however, aware a system of universal school boards was unacceptable to government, therefore he proposed town councils and boards of guardians in areas not covered by school boards should act as the public management of schools. He wanted to see their authority extended, so as to give the guardians and town councils, "power to see that, so far as the secular instruction is concerned, it is administered at least in accordance with law".⁽⁸⁸⁾ He went on to add, "let some representative authority be appointed who shall secure the parent against the extravagances of Ritualism or the arbitrariness of clerical government".⁽⁸⁹⁾

Cowper-Temple defended the conscience clause, pointing out to its critics that the clause restricted religious instruction in schools receiving a government grant, to the beginning and/or end of the school day, "consequently parents could with the greatest ease, arrange that their children should arrive at the school in time to be entered on the role after the religious instruction was over, or leave the school before it began;"⁽⁹⁰⁾ Mr. R.H. Paget, Tory Member for Somerset, told the Commons the non-conformist grievance concerning religious instruction in schools would, when examined, prove "to be entirely imaginary".⁽⁹¹⁾ Sandon was of the same opinion and he could not accept the view that the conscience clause had been frequently evaded. He argued "so many watchful eyes are looking out for any breaches in the Conscience Clause in our schools that he could not but think that those which did take place are generally made known to us by newspapers, or by letters to the Department, and so far as the public and the Department knew, the cases were, happily, certainly very few"⁽⁹²⁾ Forster on this issue supported the Tory stance, stating "he did not believe that the Conscience Clause of 1870 had been often infringed. Indeed, he was not himself aware of any such case".⁽⁹³⁾

Sandon made it clear he was against voluntary schools, in areas not covered by a school board, being placed under any form of public managements as demanded by Richard. The only experience of public management in the field of elementary education, was the school board system which according to Sandon, "had not worked remarkably well".⁽⁹⁴⁾ Moreover, he "doubted very much whether they could in future rely on good men joining the school boards to undertake the drudgery of managing board schools".⁽⁹⁵⁾ This led him to conclude - "as practical experience went, it was doubtful whether elective bodies were likely to be the best managers of schools".⁽⁹⁶⁾ Forster, like Sandon, was against schools being placed under public management. He informed the Committee that

he "could not vote last evening for the Amendment of the hon. Member (Mr. Richard), believing that it would not work well if the schools were put under the management of the local authority".⁽⁹⁷⁾

Sandon tried to show the Committee the conscience clause was being used by parents in order that their children did not attend religious instruction lessons. The implication being that if the conscience clause was being used, then generally speaking, the question of religious injustice in schools did not arise and the non-conformist grievance would be shown to be imaginary as Sandon had earlier claimed. Sandon told the Committee that in the autumn of 1875 the Education Department sent out a circular to all board and voluntary schools to ascertain whether or not parents were making use of the conscience clause. The answers to the circular revealed that from 12,188 schools, a total of 3,378 children had been withdrawn from religious instruction. This evidence, Sandon thought, confirmed the view that "the Conscience Clause had not proved nugatory, but had to a large extent done the work it was intended to do".⁽⁹⁸⁾ The figures in fact show that in less than a quarter of the schools the conscience clause had been used, therefore it is possible that the non-conformist grievance as outlined by Richard was a real one. Commenting on village schools in Devon, Sellman remarks, "the conscience clause of the 1870 Act seems to have been rarely honoured in the observance. Even in the most strongly non-conformist areas of North Devon, hardly ever was a child marked in the Admissions Register as withdrawn from religious instruction in a church school, in villages where no British school was accessible".⁽⁹⁹⁾ Sellman explains the lack of use of the conscience clause in these areas, as a result of parental ignorance "or unwillingness to stand in isolation against the local powers".⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

S.D. Waddy, Liberal Member for Barnstaple, did not accept Sandon's assertion that the non-conformist grievance was imaginary. He further added that the reason why the non-conformists "objected to the Bill was

because it was a continuation of a course of legislation which was exceedingly destructive of the religious liberties of the country".⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Richard's amendment was soundly defeated, but at least it had enabled the non-conformists to voice their objections to the Bill. The conscience clause issue was again to be brought to the Committee's attention when Forster moved an amendment which aimed at making sure all evasions of the conscience clause, and any complaints received by a local education authority concerning the operation of the conscience clause, be forwarded by the authority to the Education Department. Sandon gave his support to the amendment, believing it might be "an additional assurance to persons that their conscientious scruples would not be interfered with,"⁽¹⁰²⁾ although he doubted the need for such an amendment, as there were few complaints that the conscience clause was being broken.

It is clear the government's acceptance of Forster's amendment did not satisfy several non-conformist Liberals in respect of the conscience clause issue. Sir Henry Havelock, Member for Sunderland, showed his dissatisfaction when he moved that no bye-laws "shall compel any child to attend at any school, with regard to which an objection, on grounds of conscience, made in writing and signed by the parent of such child, has been lodged with the clerk of the local authorities".⁽¹⁰³⁾ Richard supported the amendment, advocating "a parent ought to have the power of withdrawing his child from a school in which religion was taught contrary to his conscientious opinions and belief".⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Sandon trusted the Committee would reject the amendment, on the grounds that if it became law "it would enable a parent to allege conscientious objections, though he might entertain none, in order to get his child exempted from attendance at school".⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Forster again supported Sandon remarking, "the parents of children of conscientious Dissenters had every security in the Conscience Clause. They would not take advantage of the proposed Amendment; advantage would be taken by those only who had no conscience

at all".⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The amendment was pressed to a division, and heavily defeated, with only 25 votes in its favour and 128 against.

It has been noted that on the conscience clause issue the Liberal party was not united, Forster and some others supporting the government's stance, while Richard, Havelock, Waddy and others were extremely critical of the working of the clause. This was not the case, however, when Sandon accepted an amendment proposed by a fellow Tory, Mr. A. Pell, Member for Leicester, which seemed to threaten the very existence of school boards. During the debates, the demand to get rid of school boards was first made by J.G. Talbot, Tory Member for West Kent. He remarked, "the extinction of boards deserved attention, and a provision to that effect ought to be included in the Bill".⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Sandon replied by pointing out "the Bill did not contain any provision for the abolition of existing school boards; if it had, he should have been certain to mention it".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ During the second reading of the Bill in the Commons, the Secretary of State for War, Gathorne Hardy, remarked he "infinitely preferred voluntary schools to board schools".⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ He claimed school boards "were distasteful to the country on many grounds. They were unnecessarily expensive, and they often caused conflicts of opinion which led to expense, and rose bitter questions, which when once invoked, were not easily got rid of".⁽¹¹⁰⁾ According to another Tory, A.W. Hall, the 'ordinary average Englishman' detested school boards because he associated them with "needless extravagance, a good deal of petty tyranny, and a great deal of ungodliness".⁽¹¹¹⁾ The Tory attack on school boards continued, with Paget arguing the Bill ought to be altered so as to include an amendment which would enable school boards to be dissolved:-

"another Amendment which was ...necessary, was that there should be absolute power to dissolve school boards, for their very name was beginning to stink in the nostrils of the people, who ought to be afforded an opportunity of getting rid of what they declared to be useless".⁽¹¹²⁾

When in Committee, Sandon unexpectedly accepted part of an amendment proposed by Pell, which allowed the rate payers of a school district with a majority of only one, to secure the dissolution of their school board, but only if the board had no schools, no site for a school, and the district had sufficient school accommodation. At this point, according to Sutherland, "Sandon ran into trouble with Disraeli, who with his usual incomprehension of the passions aroused by education issues, refused to be a party to 'a sacerdotal plot' against school boards. Sandon had to summon both Salisbury and Northcote to his aid in order to prevail".⁽¹¹³⁾ The Liberal opposition to the amendment was fierce, with the debate lasting five nights. Sandon attempted to reassure the Liberals that the government's acceptance of part of Pell's amendment did not in any way constitute an attempt to end the school board era. He did, however, think it proper that those who chose to establish a school board should have the right to rid themselves of it if they so wished:-

"there was no reason, however, why the place which once elected a school board should be saddled with it for all time. If they wanted to get rid of it they ought to be allowed to do so, and to act otherwise would be to go contrary to all their English ideas of reform."⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Sandon remarked the acceptance of part of Pell's amendment was not "one of these occasions on which it was necessary for any one to get excited".⁽¹¹⁵⁾ He could not have been more wrong, for the Liberals vigorously and at times passionately defended the school boards their creation. Sir William Harcourt thought Sandon's acceptance of the amendment amounted to an act of war. He remarked:-

"when they found the noble Lord (Sandon) declaring open war, and acting up to, if not declaring openly, the principles of the Amendment, when he was accepting alterations in his Bill which would overthrow the Act of 1870, they were entering upon a war of which two could play,"⁽¹¹⁶⁾

Sandon refused to entertain the Liberal demand that the amendment should not be included in the Bill. He did, however, accept alterations to Pell's amendment. Firstly, he accepted Forster's proposal which

prevented the dissolution of any school board which had been compulsorily formed under Section 10 of the 1870 Elementary Education Act. Sandon himself, successfully moved that the Education Department was to have final say in whether or not a school board was to be dissolved. To prevent people from constantly trying to get a school board dissolved, Sandon accepted an amendment from G.J. Shaw-Lefeuere, Member for Reading, which stated "no application shall be made for the dissolution of a school board except within three months of the expiration of the period for which the School Board has been elected;"⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Mr. Ernest Noel, Liberal member for Dumfries, successfully moved that a school board could only be dissolved if two-thirds of the rate payers of the district agreed to such an undertaking. Sandon also agreed to Forster's amendment that in an area where the school board had been dissolved, and the Education Department found out there was insufficient school accommodation, then the Department were to take steps so that a school board was again formed. In the East Riding of Yorkshire, the Sutton and Stoneferry School Board was the only one which was dissolved. On the 19th May 1896, the Education Department sanctioned the dissolution of the School Board:-

"... the parish meeting applied for the dissolution of the School Board under Section 41 of the Elementary Education Act of 1876 and the application was supported by the parish Council. All the conditions of that Section being satisfied my Lords accordingly ordered the Board to be dissolved."⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Section 41 of the 1876 Act applied to school boards which solely acted as the agent forcing children to attend school, for a board which had a school, or had plans to build a school to meet a deficiency in school accommodation could not be dissolved. Ironically eight years after the passing of the Act, in 1884 Hornsea decided to have a school board, even though there was no shortage of school places; its role was simply to compel children to attend school. Concerning the Hornsea School Board, Bamford remarks:-

"throughout the period of its life there was no lack of school places in the area of Hornsea itself and the minutes indicate that the board did not spend any money on schools at Hornsea or anywhere else The only reason for the Board's existence would appear to be in its activities over school attendance."(119)

It has been noted that the Liberals were opposed to the government accepting part of Pell's amendment, they were also critical of the Bill because it did not compel all children to attend school. Forster, during the Bill's first reading in the Commons, regretted Sandon had not "been ready to declare that there was to be an enforced attendance throughout the Kingdom".⁽¹²⁰⁾ During the early stages of the Bill's second reading, Mundella asserted that the truancy problem was mainly located in areas which were not covered by a school board. "Where school boards did not exist", he remarked, "we had absenteeism, irregularity, with all the consequences of ignorance and neglect".⁽¹²¹⁾ Mundella was in favour of using direct compulsion to bring an end to the school attendance problem. He supported the view of the Royal Commission on the Factory and Workshop Acts, which had recently published its report, recommending that all children between the ages of five and thirteen, should by law be compelled to attend school. With this in mind he moved the following amendment:-

"that in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that the recommendations contained in the recent Report of the Factory and Workshops Acts, Commission, relating to the enforcement of the attendance of children at school, should be introduced in any measure for improving the elementary education of the people."(122)

Mundella's amendment was seconded by Evelyn Ashely, Liberal Member for Poole. He contended the Bill affirmed instruction and not work "ought to be the business of children up to the age of 10",⁽¹²³⁾ but he added the Bill prevented children from working but did not compel them to attend school. Another Liberal, Davies, Member for Cardigan, told the Commons the school attendance problem would be brought to an end only if children were compelled by law to attend school. He also added

that a school should not receive a government grant unless its scholars were compelled by law to attend it. Another ardent supporter of universal direct compulsion was Lyon Playfair. He, like his colleague Mundella, on the issue of school attendance supported the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the working of the Factory and Workshops Acts. He praised the work of the school boards in this field, pointing out that "in England, 10,000,000 out of a population of 22,000,000 are under the compulsory bye-laws of school boards. Hence we have a large experience of the working of direct compulsion, and full justification for its extension".⁽¹²⁴⁾ Playfair suggested it was highly probable in many rural parishes ratepayers would not request the Board of Guardians to pass bye-laws compelling children to attend school. Therefore in large areas of the country, school attendance would remain voluntary and truancy would remain a serious problem. The Liberal member for Birmingham, George Dixon, thought a simple way of ending the non-attendance problem, would be to add a provision to the Bill, which empowered all school boards, town councils and Boards of Guardians to pass bye-laws compelling children to attend school:-

"It would be much better if, having fixed upon the local authority, they were to say simply that they would give to that authority the power of enacting bye-laws which was given by the Act of 1870; but with this difference, that they would make it obligatory upon all local authorities, whether school boards, Town Councils, or Boards of Guardians, to make and enforce compulsory bye laws."(125)

Dixon's support for direct compulsion in respect of school attendance was echoed by Kay Shuttleworth. Shuttleworth thought it unlikely those Boards of Guardians who had not been asked by ratepayers to pass bye-laws would enforce the Act's provisions regarding the illegal employment of children. "Is there any hope", Shuttleworth declared, "that a Board of Guardians will enforce non-employment of a child under 10 years of age in a parish which does not ask for, and which has not bye-laws? I do not think they will have the courage to enforce it, when they have no

law compelling attendance at school".⁽¹²⁶⁾ Shuttleworth, however, did support the Bill, in the belief it would be altered to include a provision which would compel all children between the ages of five and thirteen to attend school, as recommended by the Royal Commission on Factories and Workshops. He remarked:-

"I may be asked this question, whether I think the Bill can be made a good and useful measure in Committee, and whether, therefore, I can support the Bill at all. I am glad to be able to answer these questions in the affirmative. We must, however, criticise its provisions: we must advocate such additions as will complete it; we must endeavour to graft upon it the recommendations of the Royal Commission."⁽¹²⁷⁾

It was his view that the indirect measures contained in the Bill would not solve the problem of non-attendance. He likened the situation to a game of chess where, if Sandon made three or four correct moves, the School attendance problem would be solved. But he feared Sandon was making the wrong moves:-

"this is a great chess problem; and the problem of making the children attend school might be solved in three or four moves. But if you take a wrong move, it will require a great many more. I am afraid that my noble Friend (Viscount Sandon) is not now taking the right move. Instead of advancing a queen to the point of attack he is advancing a pawn; and in place of solving the problem in three or four moves, I am afraid that at his rate of progress he will have to take many, and that he will have to retrace his false steps and then to take the right ones."⁽¹²⁸⁾

The majority of Tories were against using direct compulsion to force all children into the classroom. D.R. Onslow, Tory Member for Guildford, "objected strongly to the principle of compulsion contained in the Bill of 1870, and considered the Government had acted wisely in excluding it from the (now) Bill".⁽¹²⁹⁾ Moreover, he thought it the government's duty "to guide parents rather than force them to educate their children,"⁽¹³⁰⁾ M.W. Ridley, Tory Member for North Northumberland, argued that a system of universal school boards would not solve the non-attendance problem, for he pointed out only one-third of the school boards then in existence had passed the necessary bye-laws compelling school attendance.

This point was reiterated by the member for Westmeath, Lord Montague. He claimed that of the 133 boroughs which had school boards, ninety-six^(A) of these boards had enacted the necessary bye-laws. But in the case of the 1,100 school boards formed in parishes only 113 had enacted bye-laws. Later in his speech Montagu contradicted himself by declaring "we have seen that only 316 School Boards in all the parishes, have passed bye-laws for compulsion".⁽¹³¹⁾

Kay Shuttleworth used the point first made by Ridley, that a large proportion of school boards had not passed bye-laws, as an argument for Parliament to pass legislation compelling children to attend school:-

"the hon. Member for North Northumberland (Mr. M.W. Ridley) says that where there are rural school boards, those school boards do not pass bye laws. Well, this may be true in many cases; but surely that is the strongest argument which the hon. Member could have adduced against permissive bye laws, and in favour of our doing in the House what we are proposing to delegate to local authorities. It is the strongest argument against our leaving any option to local authorities."⁽¹³²⁾

The Tories counter attacked, arguing the non-attendance problem still existed in areas which had adopted bye-laws whose purpose was to end the said problem. W.H. Smith, Secretary to the Treasury and a former member of the London School Board, asked the question: 'What was the result of the efforts of the London School Board to enforce the principle of direct compulsion?' He attempted an answer using information obtained from the Clerk of the London School Board:- "at the present moment for 614,670 children, the Board think it necessary to provide 469,048 school places. The average attendance last Midsummer was 287,033 and last Christmas, after a very bad half-year, 288,497".⁽¹³³⁾ From this information, Smith concluded, "the London School Board, with all its zeal and activity, could not get more than half of the children who ought to be at school in regular attendance".⁽¹³⁴⁾ Smith was not against the use of direct

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(A) This does not include the London School Board, which did pass bye-laws enforcing school attendance.

compulsion, but with regard to some parents he thought it ineffectual. Sandon rejected Mundell's amendment on the grounds it was the parents and not the government's duty to see their children regularly attended school. He remarked:-

"the hon. Member for Hastings (Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth) had supported the proposal (Mundella's amendment) by asking why Parliament should not do the forethought for parents. That was exactly the thing which the Government objected to, for they did not think it healthy that Parliament should do the forethought for the parents of the country. They held that to be one of the false principles of legislation, which was doing a great deal of harm in the present day, when Parliament was frequently asked to do the forethought for the people in regard to food, or drink, or morals. The House must not be led by the hon. Member for Sheffield into this most dangerous course."(135)

Forster pointed out the Government was quite prepared to stop a parent sending his child to work, but it was not prepared to compel such children to attend school. He remarked: "Members on the other side of the House appeared to think that indirect compulsion was a less stringent and a more English proceeding than direct compulsion. The more this subject was considered, however, the more it would be found that this was a mistaken view. It was just as great an interference with the liberty of the subject to prevent a child from earning money as to require him to go to school".(136)

Sandon, like Smith, held the view that direct compulsion would not solve the non-attendance problem. To support this conclusion, he claimed "in London there were something like 180,000 children not in attendance at school, 25,000 in Liverpool, something like 16,000 at Birmingham"(137) These three cities had school boards which had adopted bye-laws enforcing school attendance. Some Tory backbenchers, however, were prepared to accept a measure in the Bill which would use direct compulsion to get children into the classroom. The Tory Member for Wigan, Thomas Knowles, moved that town councils should be compelled to pass bye-laws enforcing school attendance. Knowles' proposed amend-

ment did not apply to the Board of Guardians; it received support from three Tory backbenchers, Ritchie, Brise and Hammond. C.F. Hammond, Tory Member for Newcastle, stated he "considered it most important that some compulsory powers should be given to local authorities to insist on the children being educated, and therefore he had much pleasure in supporting the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wigan".⁽¹³⁸⁾ Sandon, as expected, rejected the amendment, remarking the government "did not think that the principle of direct compulsion would be a good thing in itself. No doubt a great evil was to be met, but to say to every poor man that his children were, under all circumstances, to attend school every day would be a bad and undesirable thing".⁽¹³⁹⁾ Sandon's outburst seems to be at odds with the purpose of the Bill, for it was designed to get children to attend school on a regular basis. Knowles' motion did not survive a division. Mundella rose and moved the Board of Guardians, like Town Councils, should be able to pass bye-laws without first receiving a requisition from the ratepayers of the parish asking for such bye-laws. He argued where compulsory bye-laws were needed, it was likely that there would not be a requisition for them:-

"the more compulsory bye-laws are needed the less likelihood was there of a requisition for them being forthcoming from the parish. This would especially be the case in some of the 'God-for-saken' parishes in the agricultural and mining districts."⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

Sandon told the committee the Government would not accept the amendment, "as they desired that a community, or people of any school district, should have the power of saying whether there should be compulsion or not".⁽¹⁴¹⁾

Several Tories who represented agricultural areas were critical of the section of the Bill which prevented children from being employed in agriculture until they were ten.⁽¹⁴²⁾ Clare Reed, Member for South Norfolk, particularly objected to this. He contended there was "certain work on the farm which was done cheaper and better by children than by anybody else, and probably would not be done at all if they did not do

it".⁽¹⁴³⁾ He was extremely critical of Sandon's proposal concerning half-time education for children between ten and fourteen who had not passed either a certificate of efficiency or attendance:-

"the idea of half-time in the agricultural districts was simply preposterous and ridiculous. It would never work."⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

Preventing children from being employed in agriculture until they were ten would, according to Storer, the Member for Nottingham, cause "great dissatisfaction in the agricultural districts, because it would greatly reduce the incomes of poor persons, many of whom were widows with barely sufficient means to maintain their families".⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ It would also, he suggested, mean that farmers would have to pay out more in wages, for adults would have to undertake tasks previously done by children.

Moreover, the prevention of child labour in agriculture under the age of ten would add to the shortage of labour, which according to E.L. Jones, had existed for some time in rural areas.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Furthermore, an increase in the scarcity of labour would probably result in an increase in the price of labour. Sandon was not prepared to see children under the age of ten working full time in agriculture. He was, however, prepared to accept an amendment put forward by Clare Reed which enabled school attendance committees to allow children to work in agriculture for a period not exceeding eight weeks in a year:-

"The local authority may, if it thinks fit, issue a notice declaring the restriction of this Act on the employment of children to be suspended, for the necessary operations of husbandry and on the in-gathering of crops, for the period to be named in such notice, and during such period such restrictions shall not (some as to any proceedings commenced before the date of the notice) be of any force within the jurisdiction of such local authority. Provided, that the period or periods so named by such local authority shall not exceed in the whole eight weeks between the first day of January and the thirty-first day of December in any year."⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

Sandon wanted the period children were to be allowed to be employed in agriculture reduced from eight to six weeks in a year. Clare Reed assented to the change. The amendment was criticised by several Liberals: one claimed agricultural work even if it were only for six

weeks, could be detrimental to the health of very young children. This view was reiterated by Henry Fawcett, Liberal Member for Hackney. He declared, "the effect of the Amendment would be to injure the children employed in agriculture ('No, no!') It would be injurious to a child of the age of 5½ or 6 years to employ it even in summer weather."⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Sir Walter Barttelot, Member for West Sussex, suggested the following settlement, firstly the period children could be employed in agriculture should be nine weeks in a year, and no child under eight could be so employed. Sandon, however, had already made it clear that the government would not go beyond six weeks in respect to the period children could be employed in agriculture. Clare Reed settled the matter by altering his amendment so that the period children could be employed in agriculture was six weeks per annum, and during this period or periods no child under eight years of age could be employed in agriculture. The Sculcoates Lane School Attendance Committee put this section of the Bill into practice when on the 4th September 1877, it resolved "that for the purpose of the necessary operation of husbandry children above the age of 8 years within the district of the Committee be exempted for the prohibition of the act for the period of five weeks".⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

The Sculcoates Lane School Attendance Committee was one of eleven that flourished in the East Riding of Yorkshire. At a meeting held on 17th April 1877, the Board of Guardians of the Sculcoates Lane Poor Law Union elected a School Attendance Committee. The following Guardians were elected to serve on the Committee.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Parish in Union he represented</u>
John Ramsdale	West Ella
Joseph Watson	Kirk Ella
J. Percy Clark	North Ferriby
David Coulson	Hessle
Jesse Leonard	Marfleet
R.D. Brough	Welton

The ex-officio members of the committee were W.H. Harrison-Broadley, M.P., John Todd, and John Smyth-Egginton. The records of the meetings of the attendance committee are incomplete. However, the records that are available show that no ex-officio member of the committee attended a meeting of the committee. The first meeting of the committee took place on 6th June 1877; it offered the position of school attendance officer to a Mr. George Blaskill. He informed the committee he must decline their offer, and the committee then offered the position to William Barron who resided in Hessle. He accepted, and was given a salary of forty pounds per annum. The committee posted a hundred hand-bills and delivered to households a pamphlet entitled 'Instructions to Parents', both of these explained the 1876 Education Act.

Barron supplied the committee with the following figures concerning the number of children who attended the schools in its district:-

Hessle National School	131
Hessle British School	96
North Ferriby Church of England	66
Welton National Boys School	78
Welton National Girls School	74
Swanland Congregational School	92
Kirk Ella School	183
Marfleet School	<u>39</u>
	<u>759</u>

At first some of the schools seemed not to have been keen on Barron's visits. The Rev. B. Paget, manager of the Welton School, wrote to the Attendance Committee, "expressing his disapproval of the visit lately made by the officer of the Committee to the elementary school at Welton and his desire that W. Barron should not enter the school without first obtaining his permission". (150) The committee wrote back to Paget informing him they thought it "the duty of the officer to visit the school for the purpose of obtaining information necessary for carrying

out the objective of the Elementary Education Act".⁽¹⁵¹⁾ At a meeting of the committee held on the 4th September 1877, Barron "reported that he had been unable to obtain information from the Schoolmaster of the Hessle School, as to the number, names and ages of the scholars and that he was given to understand that the Rev. W. Mandall had desired the Schoolmaster not to furnish the information required".⁽¹⁵²⁾ The committee wrote to Rev. Mandall, informing him of the duties of the committee as empowered by the Elementary Education Act of 1876.

In general schoolmasters did supply the school attendance officer with the information he required and to encourage teachers to do this, the committee, on 2nd October 1877, resolved, "that the Schoolmasters of the Elementary Schools be paid at the rate of one penny per head of the children, for information given by them (teachers) to the School Attendance Officer as to their (scholars) attendance".⁽¹⁵³⁾ However, the committee as they were to later realise, had no power under the 1876 Act to make payments to teachers who supplied the attendance officer with information. The committee, at a meeting held on the 13th May 1879, had received letters from ^{the} schoolmaster asking "for remuneration for their trouble in supplying attendance schedules. W. Barron was instructed to inform them that the Committee were advised that they had no power to pay money for the purpose".⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

In order to find out the names of children who were not attending school the committee at a meeting on the 2nd October 1877, resolved to undertake a census of the population of their district. At the committee's next meeting, held on the 16th October 1877, Barron was "authorised to employ such persons as he may find necessary for effectively completing a census of the district, and that the sum of 5 pounds be granted to him on account of the necessary expenses".⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ On 22nd January 1878, Barron informed the committee he had completed the census at a cost of £8.1s.0d. It revealed the number of children in the

district, between the ages of five and twelve, totalled 2,200 but the number of children attending schools in the committee's district in 1877 was only 759. The committee did not attempt to solve the problem of non-attendance by resorting to the passing of bye-laws. But then the committee could only have passed such bye-laws if asked for by a majority of ratepayers in the district, and this did not occur. In an effort to combat truancy, the committee implemented section 11 of the Elementary Education Act. It states:-

"the parent of any child above the age of five years who is under this Act prohibited from being taken into full time employment, habitually and without reasonable excuse neglects to provide efficient elementary instruction for his child ... it shall be the duty of the local authority after due warning to the parent of such child, to complain to a court of summary jurisdiction,"

On the 11th of December 1877, Barron told the committee that Martha Fenwick "continued to allow her two sons to absent themselves from (Welton) school and it was ordered that she be summoned before the justices to show cause why an order should not be made upon her".⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ At a meeting of the committee held on 23rd July 1878, Barron declared "the attendance of the children in his district was regular with few exceptions".⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ This was not the truth for the log books of Hessle National, Swanland Congregational and North Ferriby National Schools reveal that as a result of several factors a significant portion of the children attended irregularly. Moreover, it seems that the Attendance Committee during the period 2nd June 1877 to 23rd July 1878, was not serious in its attempt to combat non-attendance for it had only taken two parents in front of a court of summary jurisdiction and issued warning letters to another six. The 1876 Elementary Education Act empowered School Attendance Committees to take to court an employer who illegally employed a child. The minutes of the meetings of the Sculcoates Lane Attendance Committee up to February 1880, give only one instance of the committee taking action against an employer for illegally

employing a child. On the 17th February 1880, the committee "ordered that the attendance officer obtain a summons against Mr. William Coulson for his employment of ... James Gilby". (158)

Mundella's Elementary Education Act of 1880, empowered those Attendance Committees which had not passed bye-laws compelling school attendance to do so. The objective of Mundella's Act of 1880, was to use direct compulsion throughout the country to compel children between five and ten to attend school. The Sculcoates Lane School Attendance Committee at a meeting on the 20th October 1880, resolved that at its next meeting on the 2nd November 1880 it would tackle the problem of drafting bye-laws in accordance with the Elementary Education Act of 1880. This it did, and on the 2nd March 1881, the bye-laws were approved by the Education Department. In May 1881, Mr. Richard Attenborough replaced William Barron as the school attendance officer. The minutes of the meetings of the School Attendance Committee reveal that it vigorously enforced the bye-laws. At nearly every meeting the Attendance Officer read out a list of truants, the committee then ordered that the parents of the truants be either warned or summoned to appear before a magistrate. For example, the minutes of a meeting of the committee on the 1st November 1892, state: "The list of defaulters were (sic) presented to the Board by the Attendance Officer when it was resolved that summons be issued against them". (159)

The enforcement of the bye-laws by the Sculcoates Lane School Attendance Committee failed to bring an end to truancy in its district. The schoolmaster of Kirk Ella school writing in the school log, on 26th July 1889, noted, "the attendance this month has been very irregular particularly in the upper classes. This is owing partly to the stormy wet weather and partly to the fruit picking having commenced". (160)

Some children at Kirk Ella school during the 1880's and 1890's did not regularly attend school throughout the whole week and some others got

into the habit of taking Friday afternoon off. The schoolmaster's entry in the log, dated 7th November 1890, reads, "there is I find a tendency to make Friday aft (sic) a holiday the attendance last Friday was only 85, ave: for week 102".

The annual statement for Kirk Ella school for the year April 1898 to March 1899, reveals truancy was a major problem:-

"much more however, would be earned if only the attendance of the children was better than it is. There is great room for improvement in this respect, and we trust that the parents, in the interest of the children as well as in the interests of the school generally, will exert themselves to remedy this very great defect."

The schoolmaster of Kirk Ella noted that the Attendance Officer, Mr. Attenborough, visited the school regularly, but the parents of truants took little notice of him. On three separate occasions the schoolmaster wrote in the school log, "had a visit from Attenborough but he does not seem to be any good".⁽¹⁶¹⁾ The schoolmaster of North Ferriby school, Mr. Probert, had come to the same conclusion as his colleague at Kirk Ella school about the value of Attenborough's visits. Probert wrote in the school log, the entry being dated November 28th to December 3rd 1887, "Attendance Officer visited, but find his visits of no use".⁽¹⁶²⁾ Seven months later in July 1888, he wrote in the school log, "The visits of the Attendance Officer, which are perhaps once in six weeks or two months, produce no good results what so ever".⁽¹⁶³⁾ Parental disregard of the bye-laws in North Ferriby is shown by the following entry in the North Ferriby school log, made by Probert for the week 23rd to 28th July 1888, "Parents seem to do as they please as to sending their children to school. Today, Friday, at least twenty children are absent".⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ The causes of non-attendance at North Ferriby National school is the subject of the next chapter. At Swanland Congregational school, the problem of non-attendance was not solved by the Sculcoates Lane Attendance Committee passing and enforcing bye-laws. The schoolmaster

at Swanland, R. Witty, noted in the school log on 28th October 1881, "several boys have returned to the school after a prolonged absence. The parents have these things very much as they choose".⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ A month later, on 18th November 1881, Witty wrote in the school log, "The Attendance Officer has called on the parents of some Absentees. Compulsory attendance is certainly not the rule here".⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ Witty did admit, however, that the taking of the parents of truants to court by the School Attendance Committee, had resulted in an improvement in school attendance. The entry in the school log for 13th October 1882, states, "The attendance is now good. The fines inflicted on one or two parents in the month of August have had a good effect".⁽¹⁶⁷⁾

On 10th August 1883, Witty retired and Mr. William Beynon was appointed master of Swanland Congregational school. It seems that truancy remained a problem, for Beynon wrote in the log dated 23rd May 1884, "the attendance not so good latter portion of this week. The cause is neglect on the part of parents".⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ During the 1890's the problem of truancy at Swanland school continued. In August 1895, Beynon noted in the school log, "the attendance is again getting as bad as ever. Visited by the Attendance Officer yesterday, who states that beyond calling at the parents he is powerless".⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ By the beginning of 1898, the non-attendance problem at Swanland school had reached such a level as to force the Managers of the school to take steps to try and reduce the scale of the problem. At a meeting of the Managers held on 19th January 1898, the problem of truancy was discussed and it was resolved the Secretary was "to have printed a suitable notice to parents threatening prosecution as the law directs - a copy to be sent to such parents as he deemed delinquent".⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ At the next meeting of the Managers held on 23rd February 1898, the Secretary declared no notices had been sent to parents respecting the attendance of their children. He said he had taken this course of action for two reasons:

firstly, Beynon "expressed his belief the parents would pay no attention to the notices, but that a personal visit of the Managers to parents deemed delinquent would be much more effectual".⁽¹⁷¹⁾ Secondly, he stated the School Attendance Committee was re-modelling its bye-laws, therefore it was advisable to take no action on the truancy issue until these new bye-laws had been published. The Managers resolved at the end of the meeting they would call upon the parents of truants in an effort to get children to attend regularly. This the Managers did, and Beynon claimed in respect to school attendance the visits proved beneficial. The log entry for 28th February 1898, states: "The Attendance today having greatly improved. The visit of the Managers having had the desired effect".⁽¹⁷²⁾

Financial problems at both Hessle National school and Kirk Ella National school came near to forcing the two parishes to form a school board each. Once a school board had been formed a school rate could be levied thus giving the school financial security. Neither a School Attendance Committee nor the Managers of a Voluntary School could call upon the rates if a school got into financial difficulties.

Table Two

The Balance Sheet of Kirk Ella School, 1879 to 1895

<u>Year</u>	<u>Month</u>	<u>Debt of Profit</u>			
1879	March	67.	16.	11½.	Debt
1880	February 28th	13.	13.	5¾	Debt
1881	ibid	63.	9.	8.	Debt
1882	ibid	47.	3.	10.	Debt
1883	-	-	-	-	
1884	-	-	-	-	
1885	March 1st	59.	7.	3¾.	Debt
1886	February 28th	55.	14.	7.	Debt
1887	ibid	51.	16.	2½.	Debt
1888	ibid	40.	2.	9½.	Debt
1889	ibid	57.	19.	2.	Debt
1890	ibid	85.	7.	5.	Debt
1891	ibid	70.	14.	2.	Debt
1892	March 31st	48.	18.	5.	Debt
1893	March 31st	18.	6.	1.	Debt
1894	March 31st	3.	17.	11.	Profit
1895	ibid	35.	1.	10.	Profit

Table Two reveals Kirk Ella National school was financially in the red throughout the 1880's. At the end of the financial year, April 1879 to February 1880, the school was in debt to the amount of £13. 13s. 5³/₄d. By February 1890, the debt had increased to £85. 7s. 5d. At a meeting of the Kirk Ella school Managers on the 17th March 1879, it was realised the school could not continue to function unless the school could increase its income and therefore reduce its debt, which then stood at £67. 16s. 11¹/₂d. It was decided by the Managers to send the following circular to ratepayers in the district who did not subscribe to the upkeep and maintenance of the school:-

KIRK ELLA NATIONAL SCHOOL
To Non-Subscribing Ratepayers

Dear Sir,

We, the Managers of Kirk Ella National School, beg to inform you that your name does not appear upon the List of Subscribers to the said School. The Funds do not at present meet the Annual Expenditure, and it is evident to us that the time has come when ALL ratepayers, who, under a School Board would be compelled to contribute, should do so under the Voluntary System, under which we are now working.

Would you please tell us whether you will do so or not on or before April 6th?

We wish you distinctly to understand that if you do not, we shall be unable to meet the requirements of the Education Department, and thus be compelled to make the application necessary for a Board School.

The circular seems to have been a success for at the end of the next financial year, April 1879 to March 1880, the debt amounted to only £13. 13s. 5³/₄d. But a year later, March 1881, the amount of the school

debt had increased to £63. 9s. 8d., and thus the size of the debt was nearly back to the March 1879 figure of £67. 16s. 11½d.

H.M.I., after visiting Kirk Ella school in 1887, informed the Managers of the school additional accommodation was required as the school was too small to cater for the number of children attending it. The Managers had no funds to build an extra classroom, the school being in debt to the amount of £51. 16s. 2½d. They decided to call a meeting of ratepayers of Kirk Ella, Willerby and West Ella, to decide what steps to take concerning the need for a new classroom. The meeting of the ratepayers took place on Monday, May 23rd, with the Rev. J. Foord in the Chair. Foord, a School Manager, informed the ratepayers they had to agree to one of the following:- to subscribe not less than £100, so that a new classroom could be built; or, to refuse entry to the school to boys who lived in Anlaby. The latter would reduce the attendance by forty, and there would no longer be a need for a new classroom. This course of action however would lose the school about £54, for that was the amount the Anlaby boys obtained for the school in the government grant and school pence. Thirdly, the ratepayers could agree to the formation of a School Board. After a long discussion it was evident that the ratepayers were opposed to the establishment of a School Board. It was resolved that "the question of increasing the Accommodation of this School stand over until it be known what are the intentions of the Managers of Anlaby School in respect of making that school a mixed one, and thereby taking from this School the boys who at present attend it". (173)

The ratepayers thus decided on a course of action that would cost them nothing, namely, to see if the Managers of the Anlaby Girls and Infant school would agree to start educating boys at their school. The Kirk Ella school Managers were still keen to enlarge an existing classroom, they also were prepared to allow the boys from Anlaby to continue to attend the school, on the understanding that "the Anlaby ratepayers

do subscribe to help toward the Enlargement of our Existing Classroom".⁽¹⁷⁴⁾
At a meeting on 11th November 1887, the Managers of Kirk Ella school were informed that the Managers of Anlaby school refused "to provide for the Education of the boys of Anlaby now seven, and asserting that they had power to compel the Managers of Kirk Ella School, to enlarge its school to provide for them."⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ The Managers of Kirk Ella school wrote to the Education Department asking if "the parish of Anlaby" could compel the Managers of Kirk Ella school to enlarge Kirk Ella school in order that Anlaby boys might attend it. The Education Department replied that the parish of Anlaby had no power to compel the Managers of Kirk Ella to extend its school. The Managers of Kirk Ella school informed the Managers of Anlaby school, "in the Event of the average attendance at Kirk Ella school exceeding the limit allowed (171 scholars) we shall be compelled to refuse admission to any or all those boys who at present come from Anlaby to this School in order to keep within the Average allowed to attend"⁽¹⁷⁶⁾

In 1888, the Managers of Anlaby school decided to turn their school into a mixed one, the result being that Anlaby boys no longer attended Kirk Ella school. The loss of Anlaby boys, accompanied by a reduction in the number of subscribers and fencing off the boys playground from the mistress's garden, resulted in the school debt increasing from £40. 2s. 9½d. in February 1888 to £57. 19s. 2d. in March 1889. In an attempt to reduce the school's expenditure, the Managers at a meeting held on 14th March 1889, decided to reduce the salaries of the teaching staff. The salary of the Assistant Mistress, for example, was reduced from £40 to £35 per annum. This reduction in the teachers' wage bill failed to have any impact on the size of the school debt. In fact it increased: in March 1889 the school debt was £57. 19s. 2d., by March 1890 it stood at £85. 7s. 5d. If the debt continued to increase, the Managers realised the school would have to close and a School Board be

established. At a meeting of the Managers on 15th May 1890, it was decided, "to do without an assistant mistress until after the Summer holidays". Moreover, it was agreed all subscribers would be asked if they would give an extra donation to the school, its amount being equal to their annual subscription. These measures achieved some success for the school debt fell from £85. 7s. 5d. in March 1890 to £70. 14s. 2d. in March 1891. During the next two years the school debt continued to fall and for the financial year April 1893 to March 1894, the school was in the black to the amount of £3. 17s. 11d. It is difficult from the records that are available to give the reasons why the financial position of the school was transformed in the early 1890's from debt to profit. Table Three does show, however, that the school in 1893 had earned a higher government grant than in 1891, and the amount of subscriptions had also increased.

Table Three

School Income: Kirk Ella National

	<u>Financial year ending</u> <u>28th February 1891</u>	<u>Financial year ending</u> <u>March 1893</u>
Government Grant	£80. 14s. 10d.	£92. 15s. 2d.
Subscriptions	£76. 7s. 6d.	£90. 13s. 9d.

The wage bill for the teaching staff for the financial year March 1889 to February 1890, amounted to £160. 18s. 9d., for the financial year April 1892 to March 1893, the wage bill came to £154. 11s. 4d. Thus there was no major reduction in the 1890's of the teachers' wage bill, therefore it at best played only a very minor role in the school's financial transformation from debt to profit.

H.M.I. in his 1893 Report on Kirk Ella National School, stated the classroom was too small for the number of Infants that were taught in it. At a meeting held on 9th October 1893, the Managers agreed to proceed with the drawing up of plans for a new classroom and cloakroom. These plans were approved by the Education Department; the Managers then

invited tenders from builders for its construction. The Managers, however, had no funds to pay for the construction of the new building. To overcome this shortage of funds a circular was sent to each ratepayer to see how many would 'pay his or her share' of the cost of building the new classroom. It seems the response to the circular was not a favourable one, for the Managers on the 26th April 1894, resolved that as a result of a decrease in the number of infants attending, which proved to be only temporary, and "in view of the New Local Government Act, the question of building a new infants department be deferred for 12 months".⁽¹⁷⁷⁾

In 1895, the government grant to Kirk Ella National School was reduced as a result of the classroom being inadequate for the number of infants taught in it. The Annual report, for the year 1894 - 1895, remarked "so long as we have not a proper room for the Infants, and by our failing to meet the requirements of the Department (of Education) in this respect we are losing money. This year at least £7. 10s. Od. has been lost, being virtually grant earned but withheld owing to the requirements of the Department not being fulfilled". For another two years nothing was done about constructing a new classroom, the major difficulty being shortage of funds. At a meeting held on 18th May 1897, the Managers of Kirk Ella school again debated what steps had to be taken in order to end the shortage in school accommodation in their district. Three options were open to them. The Managers could ignore the problem of inadequate school accommodation, the result of this action being that a School Board would have to be formed to supply the deficiency. However, the Rev. Foord hoped a Board school "would be kept out of the parish". It was proposed that a voluntary school for infants be built between Willerby and Kirk Ella. Mr. A. Egginton moved the following amendment to the proposal: "that the necessary Extension of accommodation for Infants at Kirk Ella School be proceeded with".⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

The Managers then voted and the amendment was carried with nine votes in

its favour and four against. The Minutes of the Managers Meeting held on 4th August 1897, reveal that the plans for the Kirk Ella school extension had been passed by the Department of Education and regarding the alterations the Managers had accepted a tender for £165.

The problem facing the school managers was the raising of the money to pay for the extension. In 1894 the Managers had plans passed by the Education Department for a new classroom and cloakroom and had advertised for tenders from builders, when a lack of funds forced them to abandon the project. But the Minutes of the Managers Meeting of 22nd November 1897, reveal that ratepayers had subscribed £225. 10s. Od. to the building fund, of which all had been received except for £13. 2s. Od. Thus the Managers on this occasion had no difficulty in raising the money required to pay for alterations to the school.

In Hessle, at the beginning of the 1880's, a shortage of school accommodation coupled with the ratepayers' unwillingness to provide funds to enable the deficiency to be met, nearly resulted in a School Board being formed. Stromberg, notes "about the year 1881-2 the school accommodation in Hessle was barely sufficient to meet the requirements, and there was some likelihood of a School Board being established, which would have necessitated the laying of a rate"⁽¹⁷⁹⁾. On the 6th December 1879, Woodford, the schoolmaster of the Hessle National School, informed the School Managers the building was "insufficient for the accommodation of all the pupils which at times attend"⁽¹⁸⁰⁾. Three years later, July 1882, the Managers decided to take steps to put an end to the accommodation problem. They asked Messrs Smith and Broderick to prepare plans for a school which was to accommodate two hundred scholars. On the grounds of cost, the Managers later decided to extend the present school as this was cheaper than building a new one. This plan however was scrapped in November 1882, when it was realised that ratepayers were not willing to meet the cost of the extension. The

Managers resolved "that a letter be forthwith sent to the Clerk of the (School) Attendance Committee informing him of our inability to carry out the plans sanctioned by the Education Department".⁽¹⁸¹⁾

Therefore the problem of insufficient school accommodation remained. A poll of the ratepayers took place to see if they wanted a School Board for Hessle. The majority of the voting papers were returned unsigned, but of those which were signed a majority favoured the continuance of the voluntary schools. The school accommodation problem was eased when a school for girls and infants was established in 1883, "in premises belonging to the Primitive Methodists in Southgate".⁽¹⁸²⁾ The opening of this school did not, however, end the deficiency in school accommodation in Hessle, and with this in mind the Managers of Hessle National school successfully extended their school in 1886.

The Sculcoates Lane School Attendance Committee was powerless in respect to meeting a deficiency in school accommodation that existed in its area; however, it was the Committee's duty to enforce the provisions of the 1876 Elementary Education Act regarding the employment of children, namely, that children under the age of ten, or any child ten years old 'or upwards' who did not have either a certificate of efficiency or attendance could not be legally employed, "unless such child, being of the age of ten years or upwards is employed, and is attending school in accordance with the provisions of the Factory Acts,"⁽¹⁸³⁾ The Minutes of the meeting of the Sculcoates Lane Attendance Committee reveal that it very rarely enforced its duties regarding illegal employment of children even though such employment was common in the parishes of Swanland, Kirk Ella and North Ferriby. The Education Department in 1883 wrote to the Sculcoates Attendance Committee, informing them that farmers were illegally employing children in the Kirk Ella area. The Minutes for a meeting held on 2nd May 1883, read:-

"A letter from the Education Department ... was read dated the 14th April 1883, as to the Employment of School children at Kirk Ella by Farmers in agricultural labour. Ordered that the employers and parents of the children be informed that if the practise is continued legal proceedings will be taken."

Thus the letter from the Education Department resulted in the Attendance Committee attempting to enforce its duties regarding illegal employment of children. At a meeting of the committee on 31st July 1883, Attenborough reported the following children were illegally employed by local farmers:-

<u>Child</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Employer</u>
Alfred Lawson	N. Ferriby	Mr. J.P. Clark
Robert Wright	"	do
Amos Wright	"	Mr. Logan
Edmund Gilbertson	"	do
Martin Watson	West Ella	Joseph Watson
George Bunning	"	do
Henry Acey	Swanland	do
Joel Farnesy	"	Mr. J.P. Clark

J.P. Clark attended the Committee meeting and explained that the children "had been employed by his foreman in light work under his apprehension (sic) that at this period of the year when young persons were most useful in certain field work that strict school attendance was not required". (184) The Minutes do not state what action the Attendance Committee decided to take against the aforementioned employers of children. Moreover, the Minutes reveal that during the remainder of the nineteenth century, the Committee did not attempt to enforce the law in respect of child employment. Mr. W.M. Hurst, schoolmaster at Kirk Ella National School, noted in the school log, the entry being dated 9.6.1893, the Rev. J. Foord, "tells me that Attenborough applied to Sch At: Com: (sic) of the Union for a Summons for a case of illegal employment of a boy attending this School but it was refused. There has not been a case since I have been here before the magistrates, altho' there have been many instances where proceedings ought to have been

taken. The Compulsory Clauses in consequence have lost their effect entirely".⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ At North Ferriby National school, the schoolmaster, Probert, in 1890 noted in the log that parents took more interest in their children's ability to pull peas than in their schooling. He wrote, "attendance again this week is poor or even worse than before. Pea pulling and turnip singling being the chief cause. No notice whatever is taken as to what standard the children have passed or what qualification is necessary. So long as they can pull peas it is sufficient".⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

The issue of school attendance is also considered in the next chapter when a detailed examination is made of the causes of non-attendance at North Ferriby National school during the 1880's.

CHAPTER SIX: NOTES

- (1) A Verbatim Report of the Debate in Parliament during the progress of the Elementary Education Bill 1876. Prepared by the National Education Union. No date of publication, page 5.
- (2) *ibid.*, p.4.
- (3) Gillian Sutherland, 'Policy-making in Elementary Education 1870-1895', Oxford Historical Monographs, 1973, Oxford University Press, p.116.
- (4) Edmund and Ruth Frow, 'A Survey of the Half-time System in Education', E.J. Morten, 1970, p.23.
- (5) *ibid.*, p.23.
- (6) Sutherland, *ibid.*, p.116.
- (7) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.6.
- (8) A.H. Robson, 'The Education of Children Engaged in Industry', Kegan Paul, Tench, Trubrier & Co. Ltd., 1931, pp.157-8.
- (9) *ibid.*, p.165.
- (10) *ibid.*, p.166.
- (11) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.6.
- (12) *ibid.*, p.462.
- (13) Sutherland, *ibid.*, p.128.
- (14) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.7.
- (15) *ibid.*, p.83.
- (16) *ibid.*, p.9.
- (17) *ibid.*, p.8.
- (18) *ibid.*, p.8.
- (19) *ibid.*, p.8.
- (20) *ibid.*, p.8.
- (21) *ibid.*, p.10.
- (22) *ibid.*, p.10.
- (23) *ibid.*, p.10.
- (24) *ibid.*, p.10.
- (25) *ibid.*, p.31.
- (26) William IV, 'An Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales (14th August 1834), Section XL.

- (27) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.31.
- (28) *ibid.*, p.140.
- (29) *ibid.*, p.140.
- (30) *ibid.*, p.143.
- (31) *ibid.*, p.98.
- (32) *ibid.*, p.69.
- (33) Elementary Education Act 1876, Section 7, subsection 2.
- (34) *ibid.*, section 32.
- (35) *ibid.*, Second Schedule, Rules as to a Local Committee.
- (36) *ibid.*, section 33.
- (37) *ibid.*, section 33.
- (38) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.11
- (39) *ibid.*, p.11.
- (40) Elementary Education Act 1876, Section 9, subsection 2.
- (41) Elementary Education Bill 1876, No.155, Clause 7.
- (42) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.97.
- (43) *ibid.*, p.200.
- (44) *ibid.*, p.103.
- (45) *ibid.*, p.189.
- (46) *ibid.*, p.189.
- (47) Elementary Education Act 1876, section 12.
- (48) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.118.
- (49) *ibid.*, p.21.
- (50) *ibid.*, p.52.
- (51) *ibid.*, p.52.
- (52) *ibid.*, p.112.
- (53) *ibid.*, p.112.
- (54) *ibid.*, p.118.
- (55) *ibid.*, p.118.
- (56) *ibid.*, p.231.
- (57) *ibid.*, p.233.

- (58) *ibid.*, pp. 232-3.
- (59) *ibid.*, p.19.
- (60) *ibid.*, p.19.
- (61) *ibid.*, p.54.
- (62) *ibid.*, p.72.
- (63) Elementary Education Act 1870, Section 14, subsection 2.
- (64) Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.342.
- (65) *ibid.*, p.342.
- (66) *ibid.*, p.343.
- (67) *ibid.*, p.344.
- (68) *ibid.*, p.345.
- (69) *ibid.*, p.345.
- (70) *ibid.*, p.351.
- (71) *ibid.*, p.351.
- (72) *ibid.*, p.351.
- (73) *ibid.*, p.351
- (74) *ibid.*, p.486.
- (75) *ibid.*, p.487.
- (76) *ibid.*, p.487.
- (77) *ibid.*, p.487.
- (78) *ibid.*, p.135.
- (79) *ibid.*, p.135.
- (80) *ibid.*, p.135.
- (81) *ibid.*, p.153.
- (82) *ibid.*, p.156.
- (83) *ibid.*, p.135.
- (84) *ibid.*, p.156.
- (85) *ibid.*, pp.163-4.
- (86) *ibid.*, p.139.
- (87) *ibid.*, p.129.
- (88) *ibid.*, p.140.

- (89) *ibid.*, p.140.
- (90) *ibid.*, p.160.
- (91) *ibid.*, p.161.
- (92) *ibid.*, p.172.
- (93) *ibid.*, p.188.
- (94) *ibid.*, p.172.
- (95) *ibid.*, p.172.
- (96) *ibid.*, p.172.
- (97) *ibid.*, p.188.
- (98) *ibid.*, p.173.
- (99) R. Sellman, 'Devon Village Schools in the 19th Century', David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1967, pp.44-45.
- (100) *ibid.*, p.45.
- (101) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.175.
- (102) *ibid.*, p.188.
- (103) *ibid.*, p.196.
- (104) *ibid.*, p.197.
- (105) *ibid.*, p.197.
- (106) *ibid.*, p.197.
- (107) *ibid.*, p.24.
- (108) *ibid.*, p.24.
- (109) *ibid.*, p.89.
- (110) *ibid.*, p.87.
- (111) *ibid.*, p.164.
- (112) *ibid.*, p.162.
- (113) Sutherland, *op.cit.*, p.142.
- (114) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.259.
- (115) *ibid.*, p.259.
- (116) *ibid.*, p.270.
- (117) *ibid.*, p.322.

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- (119) *ibid.*, p.40.
- (120) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.18.
- (121) *ibid.*, p.30.
- (122) *ibid.*, p.29.
- (123) *ibid.*, p.34.
- (124) *ibid.*, p.50.
- (125) *ibid.*, p.66.
- (126) *ibid.*, p.82.
- (127) *ibid.*, p.83.
- (128) *ibid.*, p.84.
- (129) *ibid.*, p.48.
- (130) *ibid.*, p.48.
- (131) *ibid.*, p.60.
- (132) *ibid.*, p.77.
- (133) *ibid.*, p.106.
- (134) *ibid.*, p.106.
- (135) *ibid.*, p.119.
- (136) *ibid.*, p.111.
- (137) *ibid.*, p.120.
- (138) *ibid.*, p.191.
- (139) *ibid.*, p.194.
- (140) *ibid.*, p.195.
- (141) *ibid.*, p.195.
- (142) *ibid.*, p.20.
- (143) *ibid.*, p.21.
- (144) *ibid.*, p.21.
- (145) *ibid.*, p.26.

- (146) E.L. Jones, 'Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution', Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1974, chapter 10.
- (147) A Verbatim Report of the Elementary Education Bill 1876, *ibid.*, p.201.
- (148) *ibid.*, p.206.
- (149) Minutes of the Sculcoates Lane School Attendance Committee Located at the County Records Office, Beverley.
- (150) *ibid.*
- (151) *ibid.*
- (152) *ibid.*
- (153) *ibid.*
- (154) *ibid.*
- (155) *ibid.*
- (156) *ibid.*
- (157) *ibid.*
- (158) *ibid.*
- (159) *ibid.*
- (160) Kirk Ella National School, School Log. Located at the Records Office, Beverley.
- (161) *ibid.*
- (162) North Ferriby Church of England School, School Log. Located at the school.
- (163) *ibid.*
- (164) *ibid.*
- (165) Swanland Congregational School, School Log. Located at the Records Office, Beverley.
- (166) *ibid.*
- (167) *ibid.*
- (168) *ibid.*
- (169) *ibid.*
- (170) The Minutes of the Meetings of the Managers of Swanland Congregational School. Located at the Records Office, Beverley.
- (171) *ibid.*
- (172) Swanland School Log.

- (173) The Minutes of the Meetings of the Managers of Kirk Ella School. Located at the Records Office, Beverley.
- (174) *ibid.*
- (175) *ibid.*
- (176) *ibid.*
- (177) *ibid.*
- (178) *ibid.*
- (179) L. Stomberg, 'Historical notes on the Church of England and Other Elementary Schools In Hessle'. Printed in Hessle, 1934, p.13.
- (180) The Minutes of the Meetings of the Managers of Hessle Church of England School. Located at the said school.
- (181) *ibid.*
- (182) L. Stomberg, *op.cit.*, p.13.
- (183) Elementary Education Act 1876, Section 5, subsection 2.
- (184) The Minutes of the Sculcoates Lane Attendance Committee.
- (185) Kirk Ella National School, School Log.
- (186) North Ferriby Church of England School, School Log.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CAUSES OF NON-ATTENDANCE AT
NORTH FERRIBY NATIONAL SCHOOL 1880-1902

In 1880, the Sculcoates Attendance Committee in response to Mundella's Elementary Education Act, passed bye-laws compelling children between the ages of five and ten to attend school. Thus attendance at North Ferriby National School and at other schools in the Committee district became compulsory. This chapter examines why truancy remained a major problem at North Ferriby National School throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

During the 1860's and 1870's it was common for scholars at North Ferriby National School to be employed by local farmers; one of the school managers, a J.P. Clarke, was guilty of using child labour when school was open. The then schoolmaster, J.G.A. Owencroft, wrote in the school log, the entry being dated July 27th 1876, "at 5 o'clock yesterday evening I saw the correspondent J.P. Clarke Esq., concerning several of the children who were going to work on his land to 'single turnips'. At 7.30 this morning Mr. Clarke's foreman came to my house and asked leave for Wm. Wright, in Stand III (sic). I objected and refused". It was not uncommon for a scholar to be kept at home to mind a baby or to undertake housework. Owencroft, on May 29th 1876, wrote in the School Log, "it seems Mrs. C. has been unwell and kept 'Jane' at home to assist her in the housework". For those children employed in agriculture attendance at North Ferriby National School was at best irregular. Owencroft noted in his log, the entry being dated 25.7.1876, "Alice Fletcher was absent all yesterday, she came this morning and said she was going potato picking again on Thursday". She was sent home and told not to return until she could attend regularly. Some children played truant. "Frederick Andrew played truant again this morning", noted Owencroft in the School Log. Punishment was swift; Owencroft called at Andrew's home "and informed his father the father sent word to my house that he (Frederick Andrew) had come to

dinner and had been beaten". Such swift action by a parent was not always forthcoming; in fact in some cases parents regarded 'school' as a burden which prevented children from earning a wage when local farmers wanted their labour.

Owencroft held the view that compulsory education was the way to tackle the problem of truancy. He stated in his log on November 15th 1869, "Compulsory Education wanted in this parish - the children very often being absent (for the most part) thro' trifling and frivolous causes - mere excuses". Two years later Owencroft, in the School Log, argued that compulsory education must be universal:-

"The attendance this week has been very irregular and daunting to the teacher, various causes are assigned for their absence viz - potato setting, stone picking, nursing the baby, mothers white washing, cleaning up - Compulsory Education must be universal."

In 1880, compulsory education became universal, but the problem of truancy at North Ferriby National School continued. It remained common practice throughout the 1880's and 1890's for scholars to be employed by local farmers. The children were employed, singling turnips, planting potatoes, picking potatoes, gleaning and pea picking. In 1886 the drift to the land started in early May, the then master a Mr. Probert notes in the log book for the week May 3rd - 7th, "Four or five of the elder boys absent half this week setting potatoes". In August some of the children were involved in singling turnips. In early October potato-picking commenced, the result being that several of the children did not attend school. The school log for October 15th states, "two Feirns and two Brabbs potato picking"; the Feirns did not return to school until November. Generally speaking the drift to the land started in May and children were needed until the end of September for various activities. Because of agricultural commitments certain children were at best irregular in attendance. To give one more

example, an entry in the log book dated July 11th - 16th 1887, declares "some ten or twelve children being absent all the week, most pea pulling".

Richard Attenborough, the Attendance Officer of the Sculcoates Attendance Committee, frequently visited North Ferriby National School, however a number of parents seemed immune to his efforts to get their children to attend school regularly. The gravity of the situation can be clearly seen in Probert's entries in the school log. The entry for the week 23rd - 28th 1888, declares, "Parents seem to do as they please as to sending their children to school. Today, Friday, at least twenty children are absent". Many of the children were employed on the land as the log entry of August 6th - 11th shows, "another very irregular week - children who have been turnip singling have not returned to school yet". A year later, July 1889, Probert repeated his comments about parents:- "Attendance this week very poor - as parents seem to please themselves whether they send their children to school or not". According to Probert some parents were more concerned about children's ability to pull peas than education; in 1890 he wrote in the log "attendance again this week as poor or even worse than before. Pea pulling and turnip singling being the chief cause. No notice whatever is taken as to what standard the children have passed or what qualification is necessary so long as they can pull peas it is sufficient". Probert realised the visits of the Attendance Officer were of little value - "Attendance Officer visited, but find his visits of no use". (School log entry, November 28th - December 3rd 1887). He restates his position in July 1888, "The visits of the Attendance Officer, produce no good results whatsoever".

One parent, a Mr. Escort, came to the school and informed Probert of his displeasure in hearing his son had been punished for pea-pulling when he should have been at school. Probert remarks "had to endure

much insolence from the man Escort whose child - ten years just being second standard, a very troublesome lad - was slightly punished this morning - vows to tell managers and do (the) worst he can do. But to me it seems as if he was only wishful to make it an excuse to send his lad off to pull peas, from which he was caught by the Attendance Officer yesterday afternoon". Probert's assertion concerning Escort was proved to have an element of truth in it, because in the following week "Escort's lad has gone 'pea pulling', there are at least a dozen others absent, singularly engaged".

In North Ferriby one truly anti-school family was the Brabbs. In the academic year 1882/3, their children were very irregular attenders. The newly appointed teacher, Probert, noted in the log on May 19th, "Mary Jane Brabbs again absent from school during the whole week". The ensuing week she and her sister Martha were absent. The Monday following, Martha asked Probert for the day off; her request "was refused as she had taken the whole of the previous week". She ignored the niceties and "was absent, although leave had been refused". On Tuesday May 30th, Martha returned to school and was punished for disobedience, Mary Jane being still absent. Probert enquired as to why she was still absent and he notes "in (the) afternoon received a very insulting note from the Father, who knows rules and regulations better than anyone else in the village, and can, therefore, do as he pleased". The result was that the Brabbs were absent from school on Wednesday and thereafter; Martha did not return to school until June 19th. On January 25th 1883, Probert wrote in the log "some little complaint from the Brabbs of the brickyard, who are undoubtedly the most troublesome children I have, have on several occasions brought from their parents - whom I have never seen - very imprudent messages - both on paper and by word of mouth" Martha continued to be absent on a fairly regular basis, as did Fanny and Ann Marie Brabbs. The

following entry was written in the log on May 6th 1883, "attendance pretty good but Fanny Brabbs, Jane Braithwaite, Marth Brabbs are very irregular, and Ann Marie Brabbs has been absent very nearly a whole quarter." Ann Marie returned to school on Monday May 28th, after an absence of nearly four months. The Brabbs affair drew to a sudden conclusion on July 30th 1883, as the family left the parish.

Despite compulsion of attendance, employment on the land of children continued in North Ferriby as in other rural areas of England and Wales. Pamela Horn remarks that "in the majority of country districts the truancy problem was severe. Indeed, even in high-wage Yorkshire, on the Wolds where arable farming was carried on, children's schooling was neglected in favour of bird-tenting, weeding, setting and lifting turnips and potatoes, and harvesting".⁽¹⁾ The National Union of Teachers in 1887 created a special committee on rural and half-time schools to consider the attendance issue. Fifty-seven out of one hundred and forty-four district associations submitting returns to the special committee, considered that illegal employment of children in field labour or domestic work was the major obstacle "to regular attendance in Rural schools".⁽²⁾ In North Ferriby in 1895, the school master, a Mr. Hornby, noted in the school log, dated 14th November, that a pupil John High, before attending Ferriby school, had not attended any school for seven months. High had been working on the farm of one of the members of the Sculcoates Attendance Committee.

Irregularity of attendance must have to some extent affected negatively a child's progress at school. In March 1881, the school-master at North Ferriby National School, a Mr. Whitly, commented about the childrens' performance in the standard examinations, "as usual the children who have failed are those who have attended most irregularly. This afternoon Amos Wright, a boy who failed to pass Standard II is absent without leave. His mother says he is at work in the garden of

a gentleman in the village". In the same year Whitly wrote in the log, "Elizabeth Drake, Mary Jane Brabbs, Fanny Brabbs, Amos Wright - all very weak in their standard work - are absent working in the potato fields". Probert, who in 1882 replaced Whitly as schoolmaster, expressed similar views to that of his predecessor. Commenting on the Brabbs, he remarked, "they are of course behind all the others in their respective standards". Probert was not, however, being entirely honest, because in the same year, 1883, he wrote in the log, "Martha Mary Brabbs still continues absent, but having passed a high standard (VI) can not be compelled to attend although under age".

A second factor which resulted in irregular attendance of pupils was ill health. Pamela Horn writes: "in the stuffy over-crowded atmosphere common to most village schools where the smell of unwashed bodies and often filthy clothing, was combined with the unhygienic practice of spitting on slates to clean them, disease spread rapidly. Measles, whooping cough, diphtheria and scarlet fever were all major killers of children to the end of the Victorian era".⁽³⁾ Reading through the log books of North Ferriby National School, the detrimental effect ill health had upon attendance is immediately noticeable, a common occurrence being the outbreak of disease often to near epidemic proportions. The school on these occasions would virtually close. On March 10th 1875, measles prevented three children from attending the school and the outbreak spread rapidly. Owencroft noted in the log on March 12th, "quite ready for the examination - except 7 or 8 of the children who are sick - measles and colds". On March 24th a children's concert had to be postponed because so many of them were ill with measles. The scale of the outbreak is demonstrated by the following two quotations from Owencroft's entry in the log. The entry for the 25th March states, "during the seven years I have been here there has not been such a sick time". On April 5th, Owencroft wrote in the log,

"Mary absent through the measles which is still in the parish - nearly all the children have had it". In 1874 three children died within the space of three weeks:-

Edith Peat - (Typhoid) Fever	- 23rd April	Stand. III
H. Anderson - croup	- 2nd May	Stand. II
Alf Bearpark - croup	- 15th May	Stand. I

During the 1880's, North Ferriby suffered seven major outbreaks of disease, each had a detrimental effect on school attendance. Whitly noted in the log on July 9th 1880, "several of the children are absent this week with the measles". The outbreak spread rapidly and the school was closed. The entry in the log for 29th July states: "the measles are still spreading and in consequence the attendance is very small. Having broken out in my own family the school was closed this morning". On August 20th it was noticeable the outbreak was at last nearing a conclusion. Its duration had been six weeks and it brought school life to a standstill.

The measles outbreak was quickly followed by one of typhoid fever. The school closed for harvest holidays on August 27th, and it re-opened on Monday the 8th October. The attendance was "very small as there had been a severe attack of typhoid fever in the village during the holidays". By December school life was once again getting back to normal. Thus in 1880, an outbreak of measles followed by one of typhoid fever had during their respective durations devastated school attendance. Whitly concludes:- "The attendance during the past year has been lower than usual. During the second and third quarters, whooping cough, measles and fever were very prevalent in the village and many of the children were unable to attend school".

It was a year and a month before another outbreak of typhoid fever occurred. The log entry for 3rd February 1882 notes, "several children have been absent this week with the measles, and it is rumoured that

some of them have got the fever". The rumour was correct and typhoid fever became prevalent in the village. The master noted on February 23rd, "sickness is still spreading amongst the scholars. In one standard half the children have been absent for a few weeks". Annie Gledstone, a girl in Standard VI, died on the 22nd, "after only a few days of illness". On February 28th the trustees agreed to close the school. When it re-opened on March 10th, several of the scholars were still absent with the fever, although the government examinations were only ten days away. The Inspector remarked in his report, "there has been considerable amount of sickness which has probably prevented the results of the examination equalling those of last year". The remaining weeks of 1882 and 1883 were virtually illness free. Some children suffered from colds but there was no outbreak of fever or other disease. With regard to 1884, the attendance was distorted by children suffering from bad colds and coughs in early February. The log entry dated February 4th to 9th, states, "the attendance this week has been rather more irregular than usual, but the cause is perfectly clear, several have bad colds and coughs, was obliged to send James Richardson home on that account".

In late June 1885 after a period of three years without a major outbreak, whooping cough became common in the village. The following note suggests, however, that it was not too detrimental on school life. The entry is dated July 6th - 11th:- "whooping cough is very bad in the village", but only, "Reginald Cuthbert, Jason Wilson, Anne Toes, each absent with it". The atmosphere in the classroom was far from conducive to work or health as the masters comment shows:- "several others in school are coughing very badly". The rest of 1885 was illness free. In March 1886, several children were absent on account of bad colds and coughs and three had scarlatina. Two months later, June 1886 measles re-appeared in the village, at first there were only a few cases but in August the disease developed a new potency. Initially

the school suffered little as it was closed for the harvest, but when it re-opened on October 4th, the attendance was very poor, measles still being prevalent. The outbreak of measles took its time reaching a conclusion. The master noted in his log book for the week November 29th to December 4th, "attendance still keeps poor, measles not yet out of the village". The last comment in the log referring to the measles outbreak was in the week December 13th to 18th, six months after the initial case in June. No major outbreaks occurred in 1887 and 1888. In December 1887 and January 1888, some children were ill with "the sickness".

A year later in January 1889 whooping cough broke out in the village. The entry in the log book for January 18th states, "during the week upwards of a dozen children have been absent, all ill with whooping cough". Attendance for the following week "continues miserably poor". Later in 1889, typhoid fever became prevalent in the village and the harvest holidays were extended because of it - "School has been closed an extra week principally owing to the spread of 'Typhoid Fever' in the village". When the school re-opened the fever was still common and accordingly had a negative influence on attendance. Probert remarked, "re-opened today - attendance shocking - several children down with the fever, and many others kept at home for fear of it". Towards the end of October, life at the school began to return to normal. The master concluded, "beginning to feel more like 'school' now". The aforementioned extract highlights the devastating effect a major outbreak had upon school life and attendance in particular. What is noticeable is the potency and frequency of epidemics in the decade 1880-90.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Major Outbreak</u>
1880	measles, typhoid fever
1881	
1882	typhoid fever
1883	
1884	colds and coughs (minor compared with other items)
1885	whooping cough
1886	colds and coughs, measles
1887	
1888	
1889	whooping cough, typhoid fever

Children who suffered a serious illness often never returned to school. Probert, for example, remarked that Charlotte Acey was "too ill in consumption to attend school again". Amos Wright after a long illness died, the log entry dated December 14th, commented, "poor Amos Wright who has been ill since the harvest holidays died on Saturday". In some cases death was swift; the death of Jackson Wright was both sudden and unexpected. Owencroft remarked in the log, "Jackson Wright aged 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ years died last Saturday night, the 3rd instance. He was sick and absent from school one week only". Alice Baldwin in 1889 was unable to attend school for a period of five months, the absence being caused by serious illness. Alfred Morton was absent through illness for three and a half months. Such a period of absence must to some extent have been detrimental to the child's education, if only in the short run. Many children were off school for short periods of time on account of colds and coughs. Arthur Gilberston, on two occasions was unable to attend because of swollen feet. Other causes of non-attendance being bad eyes, skin itch, toothache, scarlatina, ring worm and accidents, such as that undergone by John Wright who was absent for a short period as a result of him trapping his fingers in the playground gate.

A correlation between colds, coughs and cold wintery weather is noticeable. The entry dated February 26th 1886, notes, "weather very

bad this week, east winds, and bitterly cold. Several little ones absent, most ill with colds". These comments were repeated two years later, the entry being dated February 20th to 25th, 1888. Probert wrote, "again a very wintery week and eight or nine children absent during the whole week. Infants particularly thin, several ill with colds". The weather itself brought about non-attendance of pupils, especially the younger ones - some of them only being three and a half years of age. In early December 1882 the master wrote, "a heavy fall of snow and now freezing very keenly - consequently the attendance at school, especially the little (ones) class is much below that of former weeks". The following week he noted:- "The weather is still very cold and some of the little ones in the infant class are absent altogether while others have been very irregular". In the middle of February 1881, the extreme cold and a heavy snow fall disrupted school life. The entry made into the log for February 19th sheds light on the aforementioned:- "It has been very cold since Thursday last, a great quantity of snow has fallen and the ink in the inkwells were frozen. Today the snow is much drifted and none of the children below the railway station have been able to come". In February 1895, a heavy snowfall had a near identical result, Hornby commenting, "snow very deep on the ground, C. Gibson pupil teacher did not reach school until 9.45 a.m., and nearly 20 children were absent on that account". Heavy rainfall had, in respect of its effect on attendance, a result in some instances similar to that of deep snow, although the duration was shorter. The entry for July 14th, 1880, declares, "it is a very wet day, and a great many of the children are absent in consequence. The girls' playground is half full of water and the offices are inaccessible".

From the outset of keeping a school log in 1868, up to the 1902 Act when the period under investigation draws to a close, truancy resulting from children being kept at home for a domestic purpose was

relatively common. The impact of legislation attempting to enforce compulsion was not profound in this respect. Owencroft comments in the log on September 26th 1877 that, "Margaret Loft, aged 10 years 9 months has never been sent to school before, Kept at home to nurse whilst her mother goes out to work, although her father has constant work and good wages". A similar case was that of Mary Grimsby, aged eight and a quarter years. She was kept at home by her grandparents "to wash floors". In fact she had not been inside the school for nine months. On October 27th, 1883, the then master, Hornby, wrote in the log, "this weekly average is a poor one - 69.9 - on books 85. Some of the absentees are sick, but others are kept away for domestic purposes". The three main reasons why children were kept at home are, firstly, to nurse the baby, secondly, to help mother with household chores, or to attend to the chores because mother was unavailable on account of performing outside work, and thirdly, to help out at home because of illness within the family. Elder girls were chiefly at risk in this regard.

Mr. Hornby noticed that on July 16th 1897, attendance was lower than usual because of "some of the bigger girls being kept at home to help their mothers". For the week May 5th to 9th, 1890, the entry states; "Attendance still keeps very poor many of the elder girls being kept at home to 'clean up'." E. Hines was absent for the week June 7th to 12th 1886, as she was "wanted at home to mind the baby". On May 16th 1890, a parent sent word to the master "that her daughter Fanny, having passed the 5th standard, although 12, would not return to school, being kept at home to nurse baby". Children were kept at home to help out when there was illness in the family. In November 1896, colds and coughs were prevalent in the village, the result being that "some of the older scholars are kept at home, as mothers, or other relations are ill". In March 1884, Edith Whiteley's school days came

to an end owing to her father having gone blind. The entry into the log states, "Edith Whiteley has, I believe, left school owing to her father having gone blind, saw her mother and she says the girl is required to lead her father about, so that he may do some little work".

In the aforementioned cases, the children had some reason for being truant, but others took time off simply to play in the streets and fields. Henry Loft was caught in this act by the Attendance Officer, who spotted him playing. The boy's excuse for being absent from school was that he was sick. In May 1877, the three Ward brothers were caught playing truant. The entry for May 1st states:- "I sent the P.T. (pupil teacher) to their home to make an enquiry. Mrs. Ward said her son Henry was unwell and in bed, but she was surprised to hear that her other two boys, Sam and Thomas William, were not at school. Mrs. Ward stated, "They were sent yesterday (to school) and that they returned home about 10 o'clock and said there was no school, that the master had gone out". Owencroft concluded, "every year, about this time, when the sun begins to shine, and the little birds are busy building their nests - this truant-playing nuisance and trouble occurs".

When commenting on truancy, an annual problem was that of Hull Fair which seemed to act like a magnet on several of the scholars, who absented themselves from school. As late as 1901, Mr. Hornby, wrote in the log, "several children are absent today - some potato picking, some at Hull Fair". Owencroft had an intense dislike of Hull Fair regarding it as a nuisance. His entry in the school log for October 12th, 1876, in red ink states: "The nuisance 'Hull Fair' is now being held, several children are absent to attend it. No holiday given". Ferriby Fair, which took place annually for a day in either late May or early June, had little impact on attendance as the children were usually given the day or half day off to attend it.

CHAPTER SEVEN: NOTES

- (1) Pamela Horn 'Education in Rural England 1800-1914', page 139.
- (2) *ibid.*, page 139.
- (3) *ibid.*, page 137.

The rest of the quotations come from the Log Books of North Ferriby National School.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SCHOLARS, PARENTS, TEACHERS
AND CONFLICT

In the previous chapter it was mentioned that truancy at North Ferriby School sometimes led to a conflict situation developing between the truant's parent(s) and the schoolmaster. The theme of conflict within the classroom is examined in this chapter, also commented upon is the use of corporal punishment at North Ferriby School, Chiltern Street School Girls Department, Clifton Street School Infants Department and Constable Street School Junior Department.

David Rubinstein, in writing about the London School Board has commented: "it was the teachers who had to face the brunt of parental and child opposition to school and who on occasion were assaulted in the streets".⁽¹⁾ One example of such confrontation is given in the log book of the Nichol Street School, a building located on the edges of Bethnal Green and Shoreditch. Mr. Tomlinson in 1879 wrote in the school log:-

"a little boy, James Monday, 8 years old, was brought into the school yard crying, but refusing to go into the ranks, had to be carried into the classroom. He then screamed, kicked, and so tried to run out, that his master sent for me, but nothing would make him move but the cane. He got four or five strokes on his back, but continuing to scream, I removed him to my private-room, when his Mother rushed in, and cursed and swore and threatened to a fearful degree. With much difficulty I got her out the School, but a mob assembled in the yard and street, which was only dispersed by the arrival of the police."⁽²⁾

Tomlinson further remarked, that the above was the first 'annoyance' to have occurred since the opening of the new school buildings in January 1879, "such interruptions were common enough in the Old School three years ago. Let us hope they are fast dying out".⁽³⁾

On the 17th September, 1868, Mr. J.G.A. Owencroft was appointed master of North Ferriby National School. He started his duties as master on the 5th October 1868, and immediately cautioned the scholars that he "would not have the stonework at the doors, nor any part of the premises defaced - and especially the desks and books - stone throwing forbidden".⁽⁴⁾ In several cases Owencroft's words fell upon deaf ears.

Six weeks later, a scholar, William Andrews, broke a school window with a stone - the window nearest to the boys' entrance. Andrews was again caught throwing stones, this time with a fellow scholar Frederick Gledstone. Owencroft's entry in the school log dated 24.1.1873., notes, "Administered Corporal Punishment to William Andrews and Frederick Gledstone for throwing stones and breaking two tiles (school-roof) on Saturday last".⁽⁵⁾ On June 31st and July 2nd, 1875, stone throwing was again in fashion, this time with tragic results. On July 1st George Watson was "slightly caned for throwing stones last night - he hit Robert Witty, on the left eye-lid, and cut it open - it ought to have been served by a surgeon".⁽⁶⁾ At 1.35 p.m. on July 2nd George Bentley was caned for throwing stones, "he hit William Wright on the back of his head and cut it. George Parrish - PT (Pupil Teacher) washed the blood off at the narrow lane pump".⁽⁷⁾

In November 1868, little more than a month after Owencroft had warned the children against acts of vandalism, an iron grate over the drain was smashed. Owencroft declared in the school log that the "Iron grate to the drain in the boys yard was purposely broken (having a mischievous propensity) by Chas Bassingdale - who, acknowledged to picking it up and letting it fall several times for amusement until broken - 3 Corners Demolished".⁽⁸⁾ The children were cautioned about doing similar acts in the future. Five months later, in March 1869, Owencroft received a complaint from a Mr. Reimer, concerning an act of vandalism carried out by some of the scholars who attended North Ferriby National School. Reimer accused several scholars of "picking the mortar out from between the Bricks in Narrow Lane".⁽⁹⁾ Owencroft questioned the boys and Henry Gledstone "acknowledged doing a part of it - with a stick - the first Class Boys said most of it was done before I (Owencroft) came - the last time the wall was pointed".⁽¹⁰⁾

Owencroft, and the teacher he replaced a Mr. J. Cockin, had to use diplomacy and tact when dealing with Mrs. Wawm from the Vicarage, remembering that the Vicar was one of the School Managers. Mrs. Wawm frequently made complaints about the misconduct of pupils. On May 20th 1868, Cockin wrote in the school log, "Mrs. Wawm, from the Vicarage called at the house during the dinner hour to request that the children might be warned against coming so early to school and making such a noise outside the Vicarage".⁽¹¹⁾ Cockin informed her he was compelled to withhold his consent to her proposal. Two months later, Mrs. Wawm, at twelve a.m. entered the school with a boy, demanding that he should be caned "for being rude to her little daughter. She stated that she saw him do it - but on applying to the girl herself, and the rest of the children in the afternoon, it was discovered that he (the boy) had merely pulled at her dress in passing".⁽¹²⁾ Mrs. Wawm, when complaining, in Owencroft, found a more sympathetic ear; she mentioned to him about children making a noise opposite her house. Unlike Cockin, Owencroft took notice, and the scholars were told accordingly.

On January the 11th, 1869, Mrs. Hodgson, whose children attended North Ferriby National School, sent a note to Owencroft, "complaining of Mrs. Wawm's son (Blue Coat-boy) having anything to do with the children in school".⁽¹³⁾ The boy during his holidays had been assisting Owencroft by looking after the infants. Master Wawm was informed by Owencroft his help was no longer required. The following day Mrs. Wawm entered the school at 10 a.m. and "threatened the boys for calling her son names".⁽¹⁴⁾ Three months later Mrs. Wawm again complained, this time about alleged bad behaviour of several boys in front of her house, especially at nights. She was horrified by "their disgusting language", and had "box'd Arthur Hodgson's ears for pushing one of her little girls into a dyke".⁽¹⁵⁾ According to the school log, the next

complaint made by Mrs. Wawm did not occur until August 14th 1871. On this occasion she voiced her discontent about boys breaking a fence and running about the Vicarage garden.

If for some reason a parent wanted to keep a child from school, according to the school rules he had to seek permission of the master. The school log states:- "It is a rule of the school that all children desirous of being absent for the day or half day must seek the permission of the master".⁽¹⁶⁾ (7.5.1868). In a case of truancy the scholar was usually sent home until the master had received an apology from the parents concerned. Generally boys were caned for playing truant. An entry to the school log, dated 10.6.1869, declares "At 9.30 (a.m.) administered (Owencroft) Corporal punishment to John Thos Harper, for playing truant yesterday afternoon - he was seen by the Schoolmistress in the street with his slate (on her way to the school)".⁽¹⁷⁾ Five months later, John Harper played truant again and was punished. On the 17th February 1875, Frederick Gledstone, would not go to school. At ten a.m., George Parrish the pupil teacher and C. Marshall were sent to collect him: "they brought him, in ten minutes he was slightly caned for playing truant".⁽¹⁸⁾

The administration of corporal punishment to a pupil did on some occasions lead to confrontation between teacher and parents. One such example is the Frederick Andrews affair. On the 29th April 1875, at 10 a.m., G. Parrish was sent to enquire after a scholar, called Frederick Andrews, because Owencroft thought correctly he was playing truant. Frederick Andrews was found with Mary Gledstone, "in the late Miss Bolton's garden - stealing onions and mint".⁽¹⁹⁾ Owencroft immediately went to the Andrews' home, brought Frederick to school, and caned him. Frederick said his sister had sent him to steal the onions; it was only eight days since he had previously played truant. Two months later, on June 7th, Owencroft wrote in the school log,

"Frederick Andrews again played truant he scraped his boots but did not come inside" (the school).⁽²⁰⁾ Owencroft went in search of him leaving Parrish, temporarily in charge of the school. The Master declared, "I found him in one of Mr. Clark's fields and brought him to school exactly at 9.45, the boy was set to slate work and made to stand against the door until 12 o'clock - after dismissal, he was taken into the Classroom and caned in the presence of G. Parrish, and three or four of the senior boys".⁽²¹⁾ At approximately ten past twelve, Owencroft, when walking home, was threatened by Mr. Henry Andrews, the boy's father. That night a Mr. W.R. King, one of the school Managers went to see Owencroft, because King had received a complaint from Mr. Henry Andrews. Andrews had informed King that Owencroft had "unmercifully severely caned",⁽²²⁾ his boy Frederick for playing truant. Owencroft and King went to the house of another school Manager, Mr. Clarke. The three discussed Andrews' complaint. Owencroft defended his actions and they decided to dismiss "Andrews two boys - pro-term".⁽²³⁾ A week later both Frederick and Mark Andrews arrived at the school and Owencroft immediately sent them home.

Three months later on September 20th 1876, the Andrews boys were re-admitted to the school, at the request of Mr. Clark, one of the school Managers. Frederick Andrews had, however, not changed his ways, for on the morning of the 29th September he played truant. Owencroft noted in the school log; "Frederick Andrews played truant again this morning - directly after, I called at his home and informed his father,"⁽²⁴⁾ Mr. Andrews, unlike the previous occasion, supported Owencroft and he promised to beat the boy. When Frederick Andrews returned to school, Owencroft, "again lectured and warned him; and said that I would cane him the next time he so offended - also, said that I should report his conduct to Mr. Clark, the (correspondent) Manager".⁽²⁵⁾ Frederick Andrews took little notice of Owencroft's lecture, for a few

days later the schoolmaster caught the boy stealing apples. "During (Sunday) School time, on Sunday 1st October - caught Frederick Andrews stealing apples from the Vicarage. I took seven apples from him, and immediately went to his home".⁽²⁶⁾

On the night of February 19th, 1873, a Mr. Edward Bearpark, whose boy attended North Ferriby National School, had a verbal confrontation with Owencroft. The school log states, (20.2.1873):- "At 9.15, sent Edward Bearpark's boy Alfred home - with a note - refusing to have him in the school - until Edward B (Bearpark) makes an apology for his insult and abuse last night".⁽²⁷⁾ On March the 10th, Edward Bearpark, sent his son Alfred to the school but Owencroft sent him home, because he had not received an apology from the boy's father. On March the 14th, at 8.45 a.m. - the day of the annual inspection - Mr. Bearpark arrived at the school, "threatening to see the Inspector because the master refused his boy Alfred, - The Master did not see him - the mistress found him at the Girls door when she came to the school. She informed Bearpark that he was not allowed to enter the building, and that he should go home, he obeyed".⁽²⁸⁾

The Corresponding Manager, Mr. J.C. Clark, arrived outside the school at 4.15 p.m. on May 12th, and Owencroft was sent for and asked "to see Mr. King, and likewise Mr. Reimer, when the train came in concerning Edward Bearpark's boy".⁽²⁹⁾ Owencroft agreed to the meeting, having little option to do otherwise. Mr. Reimer visited the school at 5 p.m. The Master again informed Reimer that his servant Bearpark's, "abuse and insult was so gross and disgraceful that he felt compelled to refuse to take his boy again".⁽³⁰⁾ The next morning at 8.30 a.m. Owencroft went to Mr. King's house. Owencroft informed King of what was said in the school room during the previous evening between himself and Reimer. Owencroft stood firm and reiterated his view on the Bearpark affair. He informed King "consequently the Teachers will

never have him (Bearpark's son, Alfred) in their school, under their care and instruction again".⁽³¹⁾ Six days later, at 9 a.m. on the 19th May, Alfred Bearpark stood outside the entrance to the school, with a note from his father. Owencroft would have nothing to do with the boy, and told the pupil teacher, Parrish, to give the note back to the boy and then send him home. Later that morning, at approximately 10.30 a.m., King visited the school, having in his possession Bearpark's note. "The Master (Owencroft) remonstrated and told Mr. King - that the mistress refuses to teach him - and that she dare not have anything more to do with such a violent and dangerous character. Mr. King asked the Master to reconsider the matter and let him know as soon as possible".⁽³²⁾ At 4 p.m., Clark and King visited the school, and with Owencroft, reconsidered the Bearpark affair. "The Managers (Clark and King) ... considered the apology (written by Bearpark to the Master) sufficient - ample".⁽³³⁾ Below is a copy of Bearpark's letter of apology.

North Ferriby Lodge
May 19th, 1873.

Mr. Owencroft,
Sir,

I write to ask if I may be allowed to withdraw the letter I wrote to you a short time ago. And to say I did it being much provoked by the message my boy brought to me when turned out of school. The Trustees say you never sent such a (message) message. So I apologize (apologise) for writing the letter - And do ask you if you will take my boy back to school. As you are well aware running about the streets lead to no good.

I remain, Sir,
Yours respectfully
Edwin Bearpark.

Source: North Ferriby National School Log, Vol.I, p.333.

Owencroft decided to accept Bearpark's apology, for it would have been foolish of him to have continued to disregard the views of King and Clark. He declared "In consideration of the Managers kindness and desire to make peace - the matter entirely in their hands,"⁽³⁴⁾

Alfred Bearpark was accordingly reinstated as a scholar at the school. Seven months later the boy played truant, his mother having stated, "sent him at 9.30 to school".⁽³⁵⁾ The boy was located and brought to the school, "he had his slate, with the string round his neck - Corporal Punishment was administered".⁽³⁶⁾

Under Owencroft's mastership, the school log gives only a few examples of confrontation between pupils. On May the 9th, 1872, Owencroft administered Corporal Punishment to Arthur Hodgson and Frederick Gledstone for spilling ink and striking each other at 4 p.m. "Chas Wm Acey, was caned (23.4.1874) in the presence of George Parrish, for biting M.E.K. Grimsby".⁽³⁷⁾ A policeman and a Mr. Nicholson arrived at the school at 9.45 a.m. on October 27th, 1869, demanding to see two boys - J. Spencer and J.T. Harper - for setting on fire and burning to the ground a "hovel, the night previous - also said that two other fires had been lighted - one on Mr. Nicholson's coal heap - setting fire there to".⁽³⁸⁾ However, Spencer and Harper were not at school. In 1877, Owencroft wrote in the school log a list of the names of troublesome parents:-

Troublesome Parents

- | | |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| (1) Wright | (5) Frank Brabbs (Brickyard) |
| (2) Whisker | (6) Janson |
| (3) Hardwick | (7) Briskham |
| (4) Whisker | |

Source: North Ferriby National School Log, Volume 2, page 140.

In the above list, is the name Whisker; Mrs. Whisker on the 9th November 1877, refused to send her children to school because it was raining and their shoes would get wet. She stated, "it was a wet (rainy) day - and would wet their shoes, and that she should keep them at home all day",⁽³⁹⁾ even though she lived only three hundred yards away from the school. One unique confrontation occurred on the 31st

January, 1866, at Bishop Burton National School. The school log notes: "The Reverend G. Drake after being in school about 3 minutes made a violent attack on Sam Lythe, striking him over the temple twice, causing an immediate swelling. As I (headmaster, Mr. B. Swann) have had a formal complaint from M. Peston, further to one of the children, I wished Mr. Drake to desist - he did so - rushing out of the school".⁽⁴⁰⁾ On February 2nd, two days after the incident, the village had a new vicar - the Reverend G. French.

The post of pupil teacher was created in 1846, as a result of action by the Committee of Council on Education under the guiding hand of Kay Shuttleworth. One of the objectives behind the introduction of the pupil teacher scheme, was an attempt to raise the general quality of teaching in elementary schools, by ending the monitorial system and introducing a system of apprenticeship. The pupil teacher system was in fact "a five year apprenticeship for youths from thirteen to eighteen years of age".⁽⁴¹⁾ In theory, a pupil teacher, per day, performed five and a half hours teaching, and each week he or she received seven and a half hours instruction. Once the five year apprenticeship had been completed satisfactorily, the pupil teacher could sit a competitive examination for a Queen's Scholarship in the hope of entering a training college. An unsuccessful candidate had, from July 1852, the option of continuing to teach in a school as an uncertificated assistant; or in the early years of the scheme, he might be admitted to a post in the lower branches of the Civil Service. This option was brought to an end in May 1852. In order to encourage young people to take up the scheme, the Government offered a grant to the pupil teacher during each of his or her training years, ranging from £10 a year for a first-year student to £20 a year for one in the fifth and final year. "Head teachers also secured grants ---- amounting to £5 a year for training one pupil teacher, £9 for two, £12 for three, and £3 per student per annum for higher numbers".⁽⁴²⁾

The following extract lays down the entry requirements of the pupil teachers scheme.

Regulations for the Education of Pupil Teachers (1846)

Pupil Teachers - Qualifications of Candidates They must be at least 13 years of age, and must not be subject to any bodily infirmity likely to impair their usefulness

Candidates will also be required:-

1. To read with fluency, ease and expression.
2. To write in a neat hand with correct spelling and punctuation, a simple prose narrative read to them.
3. To write from dictation sums in the first four rules of arithmetic, simple and compound; to work them correctly, and to know the table of weights and measures.
4. To point out the parts of speech in a simple sentence.
5. To have an elementary knowledge of geography.
6. In schools connected with the Church of England they will be required to repeat the Catechism, and to show that they understand its meaning and are acquainted with the outline of Scriptive history. In other schools the state of the religious knowledge will be certified by the Managers.
7. To teach a junior class to the satisfaction of the Inspector.
8. Girls should also be able to sew neatly and to knit.⁽⁴³⁾

With regard to the medical qualifications for entry into the Pupil Teacher Scheme, a child would be rejected if it was suffering from scrofula, fits, asthma, deafness, great imperfections of the sight or voice, the loss of an eye from disease. Furthermore, a child would be disqualified from entry if there had been a history of insanity in his/her family. The character of the prospective pupil teacher and his family background were taken into account by the H.M.I. If the pupil

teacher's family background did not meet the required standards, the candidate was expected to find lodgings which met with the approval of the school managers and the H.M.I.

Nevertheless, some pupil teachers failed to follow the prescribed path, and were far from punctual, diligent or obedient. In Somerset a desparate head listed a whole catalogue of charges against his male pupil teacher:-

1. Absenting himself from his duties without permission.
2. Sending scholars during school hours for Whisky.
3. Drinking Whisky in the present of his class.
4. Taking and claiming for his own a book belonging to Sidney Rossiter.
5. Being in possession of, and using, duplicate key to school cupboards and Sunday school Harmonium.
6. Breaking open a cupboard in the school from which a missionary box was lost (contents included)".⁽⁴⁴⁾

During 1852, at Sunbury in Suffolk, two apprentices, Thomas Herbert and Frederick Nichols, absconded with payments made to them on the faith of their completing their engagement as pupil teachers. At North Ferriby National School, Miss Mary McCleverty, a monitress* on the 6th May 1868 used her position in an inappropriate manner, when she "put Mark Andrews into the closet".⁽⁴⁵⁾ Cockin, the then Master, cautioned her "about such a dangerous and foolish practice".⁽⁴⁶⁾

On the 4th February 1884, Crowle Street boys school was opened, the headmaster being a Mr. J.W. Dickinson, who held the position until replaced by a Mr. Sharp on the 30.1.1898. Crowle Street boys' school was constructed by the Kingston Upon Hull School Board. Under Dickinson's

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* Before a child could become a pupil teacher, the child had to see and be approved by the H.M.I., at the annual Inspection, therefore prior to approval the child was employed as a monitor or monitress, according to its sex.

headmastership, conflict within the classroom was fairly common. The conflict more often than not involved a pupil teacher and one or more of the scholars, even though the regulations of the Hull School Board forbid staff, except for the headteacher, from striking a pupil. The regulations state: "Corporal Punishment shall only be administered by the Head Teacher and then only in special Cases".⁽⁴⁷⁾

J.W. Sleight, a monitor at Crowle Street Boys School, on the 25th June 1884, punished Thomas Heslop, a scholar at the school, "for making a nonsense". Heslop was then sent back to his place, when Sleight offered him his reader, he refused to take it. This action was repeated with the result that the book fell to the floor. Sleight then told Heslop to pick up the reader, "for (an) answer, T. Heslop stepped into the middle of the class - doubled his fists in a fighting attitude and said, 'come on you bugger'. On this Sleight fetched him a sound box on the ear".⁽⁴⁸⁾ Three years later, Sleight was involved in a similar event. Dickinson was notified by the Board's School Management Committee, that it had received "... letters from Mr. W. Clark, gate keeper at Hull Prison, Hedon Road, complaining that his son aged eight, had been struck by J.W. Sleight, fourth year pupil teacher at Crowle Street Boys' School, on Friday the 27th May, the blows causing the boy's nose to bleed".⁽⁴⁹⁾ Sleight, Mrs. Clark and her son, and another boy, were seen by the School Management Committee "and after a lengthy investigation of the matter Sleight admitted to having struck the boy but not on the occasion reported Sleight was severely reprimanded and cautioned as to his future conduct".⁽⁵⁰⁾

Unlike Sleight, who only received a reprimand as a punishment for hitting a pupil, George Hudson, a monitor at Crowle Street Boys' School, had his position terminated by the School Management Committee for striking a boy across the head and also because his general conduct was very unsatisfactory. During July 1892, the School Management Committee

informed Dickinson, that a complaint had been made against T. Moss, a pupil teacher at his school. The complaint stated, "that on the 13th June, William H. Petty was struck a severe blow on the nose by T. Moss".⁽⁵¹⁾ Moss admitted guilt and was reprimanded. Three years later Thomas Moss was again in trouble with the School Management Committee, this time he had misbehaved at a central class, "having expressed his very great regret and given this committee (School Management Committee) a distinct promise that he will not be guilty of any similar misconduct in the future"⁽⁵²⁾, he was allowed to continue as pupil teacher at the said school. Just over a year later, Moss, on July 1st 1886, absented himself from attending a central class and again he was reprimanded. In February 1896, the School Management Committee, reformed head teachers that it had "received complaints respecting corporal punishment at several schools, the committee would be glad if head teachers will exercise special care to see that the Board Regulations on this subject are more strictly observed by the subordinate teachers"⁽⁵³⁾ - in other words, to make sure that only head teachers administered Corporal Punishment. This, however, did not result in an ending of confrontations between pupil teachers and scholars at Crowle Street Boys School.

On the 24th April 1896, Walter Gilchrist, pupil teacher at Crowle Street Boys School, "at the Police Court (was) fined 5/- (25 new pence) and costs of £2.1.6., (£2.7½ new pence) for assaulting a boy named Brainway O'North, whilst in attendance at the school".⁽⁵⁴⁾ Gilchrist's position at Crowle Street School was not terminated by the school management committee. A similar incident occurred at Blundell Street School, except that in this case the pupil teacher, a Miss Agnes Horsley, was assaulted. The Hull School Board School Management Committee, informed the Clerk of the Board "to take proceedings in the Police Court against Mr. Tom Isles of Lome Street, for assaulting

Agnes Horsley, second year pupil teacher at the Blundell Street School".⁽⁵⁵⁾
On November the 7th, at the Police Court, Isles was "ordered to enter into his own recognizances to keep the peace and to pay the costs (8s. Od.) for assaulting Miss Horsley".⁽⁵⁶⁾ In May 1897, the School Management Committee, received a letter from a Mrs. Procter, in which she complained corporal punishment had been administered to her son by John R. Rogerson, pupil teacher at the Crowle Street Boys School. She stated that as a result of the punishment, her son's head was "considerably swollen in two places".⁽⁵⁷⁾ Rogerson pleaded guilty to the offence, was severely reprimanded and went on Special Report. Nine months later the "conduct of the pupil teacher Rogerson causes considerable anxiety",⁽⁵⁸⁾ wrote the headmaster in the school log. A report was sent to the School Management Committee by Mr. P. Sharp, the new Headmaster of Crowle Street Boys School, in which Sharp expressed concern over the treatment of a boy by Rogerson. On March 23rd 1898, Rogerson was temporarily suspended from his duties at the school. The School Management Committee considered Rogerson's case, and after receiving a letter from Sharp which stated, "that John R. Rogerson, second year pupil teacher, had been guilty of inflicting Corporal Punishment on three or four recent occasions",⁽⁵⁹⁾ decided to dismiss him and that his future services would not be required by the Board.

Parents also complained about the severe punishment pupils had received from Mr. Dickinson, the head of Crowle Street School, in the period 1884 - 1898. During December 1890, the School Management Committee received a letter from a Mr. Wharton of Ferns Street, Hull, "complaining of the excessive punishment of his son Albert, by Mr. Dickinson,"⁽⁶⁰⁾ The School Management Committee interviewed Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Wharton and his son, and, "after a careful consideration of the case it was resolved that this Committee are of (the) opinion

that the complaint is not substantiated".⁽⁶¹⁾ On the 6th of December, 1894, a Mr. Clark complained to the School Management Committee about his son being severely punished by Dickinson who then, according to Mrs. Clark, informed her "that he wished the boy would not come to school any more".⁽⁶²⁾ The issue was resolved, but Dickinson did not come out of it blameless. Mrs. Burton, whose son attended North Ferriby National School, complained to the Vicar (a School Manager) about the misconduct of the school master, Mr. J. Probert. She accused him of unnecessarily beating her son. Probert's version is somewhat different. He wrote the following in the school log, dated 26.9.1890., "... Walter, for being wilfully obstinate and stupid in his arithmetic yesterday afternoon was slightly punished - received (the boy) two or three taps of the cane, after being cautioned several times, on the back, for his stupid temper, myself (Probert) sitting beside him in the desk, and did not stand over him or had any idea of hurting him, ..."⁽⁶³⁾

The regulations of the Kingston Upon Hull School Board stipulate Corporal Punishment could only be administered by a head teacher and then only in special cases, and that "a separate book must be kept in which every case of corporal punishment inflicted in the school should be entered".⁽⁶⁴⁾ Table 1 is an extract from the Punishment book of Clifton Street School, Infants department, during the period 1901 to 1906 inclusive. The column entitled 'offence' illustrates the wide range of causes that resulted in Corporal Punishment being administered, such as stealing, playing in a drain, playing truant, indecency, etc. Turning to Table II, the column entitled 'frequency of corporal punishment in the Period 1901 - 1906', highlights the number of instances children at Clifton Street School, Infants department, were caned. It is clear that the most common cause resulting in corporal punishment being administered was that of scholars playing truant. In fact the column entitled 'The frequency of each cause as a percentage of the total

Table 1

Kingston Upon Hull School Board

School: Clifton Street School, Infants Department, Punishment Book
1901 - 1906

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Offence</u>	<u>Punishment</u>
9.1.1901	Rolleson Herbert	Running into the street	Caned on hand
9.1.1901	Carr Frank	" " " "	" " "
9.1.1901	Bumby John	" " " "	" " "
9.1.1901	Love George	" " " "	" " "
7.2.1901	Binus Willie	Stealing	" " "
14.5.1901	Armstrong George	Matches to School	" " "
14.5.1901	Norman John	" " "	" " "
13.6.1901	Marr Bernard	Indecency	" " "
19.6.1901	Meyer Edds	Playing in the drain	" " "
19.6.1901	Turner Arthur	Teasing one of the girls	" " "
19.6.1901	Leach Freeman	" " " " "	" " "
26.6.1901	Smith Harry	Playing truant	" " "
1.7.1901	Shepherd Percy	Chalking on the wall	" " "
1.7.1901	Smith George	Playing in the drain	" " "
21.8.1901	Shepherd Percy	Disobedience	" " "
9.9.1901	Gill George	Running into the street	" " "
9.9.1901	Mayerison John	" " " "	" " "
9.9.1901	Allison Albert	" " " "	" " "
9.9.1901	Colley Wilfred	" " " "	" " "
9.9.1901	Robertson Donald	" " " "	" " "
11.9.1901	Armstrong George	Playing truant	" " "
19.9.1901	Jewitt Lawrence	Truanting	" " "
3.12.1901	Bumby John	Disobedience	" " "
11.12.1901	Shepherd Percy	"	" " "
6.1.1902	Thi Aching Leonard	Disobedience	" " "
7.1.1902	Underwood Frank	Swearing	" " "
11.1.1902	Thi Aching Leonard	Telling an untruth	" " "
20.1.1902	Robertson Donald	Truanting	" " "
29.1.1902	Watson Fred	Stealing	" " "
30.1.1902	Loft Arthur	Whistling	" " "
24.4.1902	Armstrong Henry	Absent twice without excuse	" " "
30.4.1902	Armstrong Henry	Disobedience	" " "
23.5.1902	Bell Ernest	"	" " "
2.7.1902	Chapman Arthur	Not going home to dinner	" " "
29.7.1902	Robinson Fred	Stealing	" " "

Table 1 - continued..

18.11.1902	Smith Walter	Stealing				Caned on hand
18.3.1903	Burrows Frank	Obstinate & Disobedient	"	"	"	
25.8.1903	Jewitt George	Hitting a boy in the eye	"	"	"	
3.9.1903	Speckman Vincent	Truanting	"	"	"	
3.9.1903	Speckman Willia	"	"	"	"	
21.9.1903	Smith Harry	"	"	"	"	
21.9.1903	Smith Walter	"	"	"	"	
28.9.1903	Elvin Charles	Dirty habits	"	"	"	
22.10.1903	Luddington Robert	Truanting	"	"	"	
23.11.1903	Montell Clarence	Unpunctuality	"	"	"	
23.11.1903	Montell Norman	"	"	"	"	
27.11.1903	Brewsen Percy	Playing with matches	"	"	"	
27.11.1903	Young Albert	" " "	"	"	"	
27.11.1903	Appleyard Lawrence	" " "	"	"	"	
25.3.1904	Morton Arthur	" " "	"	"	"	
19.4.1904	Speckman Vincent	Truanting	"	"	"	
29.4.1904	Colley Stanley	Copying his sums	"	"	"	
5.5.1904	Lawrence James	Spoiling a reading book	"	"	"	
12.5.1904	Walter Herbert	Dirty habits	"	"	"	
13.5.1904	Peddie Arthur	Truanting	"	"	"	
20.6.1904	Norton Fred	Playing at the gate	"	"	"	
24.6.1904	Smith Benjamin	Truanting	"	"	"	
27.6.1904	Waiter John	"	"	"	"	
29.6.1904	Ricketts Laurice	Playing with matches	"	"	"	
8.7.1904	Mercer Willie	Truanting	"	"	"	
30.8.1904	Burnett Arnold	"				4 Strokes on the Hand
7.9.1904	Lister Walter	Copying	4	"	"	" " "
7.9.1904	Norton Fred	Destroying a book	4	"	"	" " "
7.9.1904	Tate Charles	Stealing	4	"	"	" " "
7.9.1904	Elvin Charles	Stealing	4	"	"	" " "
6.10.1904	Speckman Vincent	Fighting	4	"	"	" " "
6.10.1904	Tate John	Fighting	4	"	"	" " "
30.11.1904	Holmes Robert	Fighting	4	"	"	" " "
30.11.1904	Thompson Dick	Throwing Caps in water	4	"	"	" " "
30.11.1904	Hewitt Alfred	" " " "	4	"	"	" " "
30.11.1904	Lockwood Arthur	" " " "	4	"	"	" " "
30.11.1904	Garner Norman	" " " "	4	"	"	" " "

Table 1 - continued ..

15.3.1905	Norton Fred	Playing with matches	4	Strokes of the cane
15.3.1905	Tate Charles	" " "	4	" " " "
31.5.1905	Steil Peter	Truantiing	4	" " " "
30.6.1905	Lagger Annie	"	4	" " " "
30.6.1905	Cross Arthur	"	4	" " " "
1.12.1905	Lagger Willie	Being late	1	stroke on the hand
14.12.1905	Norton Fred	Truantiing		New head teacher
26.3.1906	Turner Henry	Disobedience	1	stroke on the hand
27.3.1906	Ladler John	"	1	" " " "
28.3.1906	Ashton Norman	Sliding in yard	1	" " " "
28.3.1906	Wright Arthur	" " "	1	" " " "
28.3.1906	Lawler Willie	" " "	1	" " " "
1.5.1906	Marshall H.	Inattention	1	" " " "
1.5.1906	Ayer George	"	1	" " " "
10.5.1906	Thompson Herbert	Disobedience	1	" " " "
21.6.1906	Lawler William	Taking sweets	1	" " " "
4.7.1906	Watson William	Disobedience	1	" " " "
4.7.1906	Peddy Arthur	"	1	" " " "
9.7.1906	Nicholson C.	Throwing stones	1	" " " "
9.7.1906	Fox Ernest	" "	1	" " " "
11.7.1906	Sadler Jack	" "	1	" " " "
20.9.1906	Sadler Jack	Touching Lr's bicycle	1	" " " "
20.9.1906	Watson William	Dirty habits	1	" " " "
19.10.1906	Wright Arthur	?	1	" " " "

Table II: The Causes of Corporal Punishment being Administered at Clifton Street Infants Department 1901 - 1906

<u>Offence</u>	<u>Frequency of Corporal Punishment</u>	<u>The Frequency of each Offence as a % of the Total Number</u>
Running into the street		3.125
Stealing		9.376
Matches in school		6.26
Indecency		1.56
Playing in the drain		3.125
Teasing girls		1.56
Truanting		23.4376
Vandalism *		4.6875
Disobedience		15.625
Swearing		1.56
Telling an untruth		1.56
Whistling		1.56
Arriving late - Absent without excuse		4.6875
Not going home to dinner		1.56
Fighting		3.125
Dirty habits		4.6875
Copying		3.125
Playing at the gate		1.56
Throwing caps in water		1.56
Sliding in the yard		1.56
Inattention		1.56
Throwing stones		1.56
Touching a bicycle		1.56

* Vandalism refers to destruction and defacing of school property.

number of Punishments inflicted', reveals that truancy accounted for just under twenty three and a half per cent of the total number of corporal punishments administered in the period 1901-1906. Disobedience was the second most important cause of corporal punishment being administered, however, unlike most offences, disobedience is an umbrella term, covering various items of misbehaviour. The third most important factor according to Table II which resulted in corporal punishment being administered was stealing.

The scholars of Clifton Street School, Infants department, who brought matches to school, if caught, received corporal punishment. In fact that offence accounted for six and a quarter per cent of all canings in the period in question - see table II. The dangers of bringing matches to school is illustrated in the following example. At Crowle Street Boys School, which came under the jurisdiction of the Kingston Upon Hull School Board, on Thursday, the 28th April 1887, "James Frindell (Scholar) dropped a match thro' (the) ventilator which set fire to some paper and rubbish. I, (Mr. J.W. Dickinson, the head master) had the fire hose in, and soon had the fire out. The morning attendance cancelled in consequence".⁽⁶⁵⁾ On June 3rd, Dickinson received notice of a Hull School Board resolution concerning matches: "that the clerk (of the Hull School Board) be instructed to inform the Head Teachers that the children are not to be permitted to bring matches into the schools"⁽⁶⁶⁾

The column entitled 'Punishment', on Table 1, shows that up to 6.10.1904, corporal punishment consisted solely of the use of one measure, caning on the hand. On the 6.10.1904, however, Vincent Speckman's punishment for fighting was 'four strokes of the cane', and as the punishment book gives no further information it is possible the four strokes were still administered to the hands. Those punished after Speckman all received 'four strokes of the cane', and this was to

continue until a new head of the Infants department at Clifton Street School was appointed in 1905. The new head, for whatever the crime, gave the offender one stroke on the hand.

Table III, entitled 'The frequency of Corporal Punishment administered to pupils in the years 1901-1906, at Clifton Street School, Infants Department', reveals how often individual scholars received corporal punishment in each of the years during the period in question. It is not possible to undertake such an analysis for the period as a whole, because the stay of scholars in the Infants department was not uniform in the period 1901 - 1906. For example, scholar Smith might have been caned six times in the period, while scholar Simpson only four. Comparison would be meaningless, however, as it is possible that Simpson only spent one year of the period 1901 - 1906 in the infants department, while Smith spent three. Table III reveals that in 1901, Percy Sheperd received corporal punishment on three separate occasions. This was unique, as no other scholar at Clifton Street Infants department had received corporal punishment more than twice in any single year during the period 1901 - 1906. The table bears witness to the fact that scholars who had received corporal punishment usually did not return for a second dose - the point is also made clear in Table IV.

Table IV, reveals that the percentage of scholars caned twice in a year, in the period in question, fluctuated considerably, for example, in 1903 no scholar was caned twice, yet in 1906 30.8 per cent of the scholars who received corporal punishment were caned twice. The table also shows that of those scholars who received corporal punishment, the average number of canings, per pupil, per year was between 1 and 1.7, and the average number of canings per pupil, for the period as a whole was 1.27 per annum. These figures support the previously made statement that generally scholars did not return for a second dose of corporal punishment in the school in question.

Table III: The Frequency of Corporal Punishment Administered 1901 - 1906
at Clifton Street School, Infants Department

<u>Pupils Name</u> <u>1901</u>	<u>Frequency</u> <u>of C.P.</u>	<u>Pupils Name</u> <u>1903</u>	<u>Frequency</u> <u>of C.P.</u>
Rolleson Herbert	1	Burrows Frank	1
Carr Fran	1	Jewitt George	1
Bumby John	2	Speckman Vincent	1
Love George	1	Speckman Willie	1
Binus Willie	1	Smith Henry	1
Armstrong George	2	Elvin Charles	1
Norman John	1	Luddington Robert	1
Marr Bernard	1	Montell Norman	1
Meyer Edd	1	Montell Clarence	1
Turner Arthur	1	Brewster Percy	1
Leach Freeman	1	Young Albert	1
Smith Harry	1	Appleyard Lawrence	1
Sheperd Percy	3	<u>1904</u>	
Smith George	1	Morton Arthur	1
Gill George	1	Speckman Vincent	2
Magerison John	1	Colley Stanley	1
Allison Albert	1	Lawrence James	1
Colley Wilfred	1	Walter Herbert	1
Robertson Donald	1	Peddie Arthur	1
Jewitt Lawrence	1	Norton Fred	2
<u>1902</u>		Smith Benjamin	1
Thi Acting Leonard	2	Waites John	1
Underwood Frank	1	Ricketts Laurice	1
Robertson Donald	1	Mercer Willie	1
Watson Fred	1	Burnett Arnold	1
Loft Arthur	1	Lister Walter	1
Armstrong Harry	2	Tate Charles	1
Bell Ernest	1	Elvin Charles	1
Robinson Fred	1	Tate John	1
<u>1905</u>		Thompson Dick	1
Norton Fred	2	Hewitt Alfred	1
Tate Charles	2	Lockwood Arthur	1
Steil Peter	1	Garner Norman	1
Lagger Annie	1	<u>1906</u>	
Cross Arthur	1	Turner Henry	1
Lagger Willie	1	Ladler John	1
<u>1906</u>		Ashton Norman	1
Wright Arthur	2	Laneer Willie	2
Marshall H.	1	Ayer George	1
Thompson Herbert	1	Watson William	2
Peddy Arthur	1	Nicholson C.	1
Fox Ernest	1	Sadler Jack	2

Table IV

Year	Average No. of Canings for those who received C.P.	No. of Scholars who received C.P. Once	No. of Scholars who received C.P. Twice	No. of Scholars who received C.P. Thrice
1901	1.2	17	2	1
Percentage		85%	10%	5%
1902	1.36	7	2	-
Percentage		77.8%	22.2%	-
1903	1	12	-	-
Percentage		100	-	-
1904	1.09	18	2	-
Percentage		90%	10%	-
1905	1.7	5	1	-
Percentage		83.3%	16.7%	-
1906	1.31	9	4	-
Percentage		69.2%	30.8%	-

C.P. = Corporal Punishment

The method of calculating the percentages in Table IV, will now be demonstrated by example. In 1904, two pupils were each caned twice, by dividing two by 20, that being the total number of pupils who received corporal punishment in 1904, and then multiplying the result by 100, one gets the answer as a percentage - in this case, ten per cent. In other words, in 1904 ten per cent of the total number of scholars who received corporal punishment were caned twice.

Method of Calculation

Year			
1904	Number of Scholars caned twice	=	$\frac{2}{20} \times 100 = 10\%$
	Total number of Scholars caned		

At Clifton Street School, Infants department, in the period 1901 - 1906, the most common offence resulting in corporal punishment being administered was that of pupils playing truant - as shown on Table II. The punishment book for the Chiltern Street School, Girls department, 1901 - 1906 - see Table V, reveals that some of its scholars were punished

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Offence</u>	<u>Punishment</u>
24.1.1901	Doris Warl	7	Carelessness	One stroke
31.1.1901	E. Tomlinson	Na	Avoidable absence	One stroke
16.5.1901	F. Jacklin	11	" "	One stroke
12.9.1901	M. Berry	11	Writing on walls	One stroke
15.9.1901	E. Farey	11	" " "	One stroke
17.9.1901	Amy Hudson	10	Fighting	One stroke
5.3.1902	Eva Hanson	8	Avoidable absence and lateness	Two strokes
9.7.1902	Elisa Bitehall	10)		One stroke
	Annie Whittaker	10)	Pushing downstairs	One stroke
	Jane Whitton	9)		One stroke
28.11.1902	Minnie Morball	12	Habitual lateness	One stroke
20.1.1903	M. Fretmayen	11	Lateness through loitering	Kept in at playtime
	Kate Crow	11)	" " "	" " " "
	Lilly Simms	10)	" " "	" " " "
	Kate Foster	9)	" " "	" " " "
	Ethel Brown	9)	" " "	Caned Two strokes
19.6.1903	T. Jordon	9	Laziness	" " "
2.7.1903	E. Waters	13	Na	Detention and task
10.7.1903	Lydia Ward	11	Disrespect to teacher	Caned Two strokes
25.7.1903	Lilian Stows	9	Task set not learned	" " "
28.9.1903	(Ethel Ham	13	Scrawling on school walls	Caned Three strokes
	(Horsley Clark	12	" " " "	" " "
	(Daisy Patison		" " " "	Junior girls referred to
	(Ethel Langley		" " " "	Miss Schuman
12.5.1904	Gertrude Brown	12	Fighting	Caned Two strokes
20.9.1904	Elsie Cross	9)	Habitual lateness	" " "
20.9.1904	Vera Cross	12)	" "	" " "
21.9.1904	Hilda Sharp	12	" "	" " "
21.9.1904	Ada Sharp	10	" "	" " "
30.9.1904	Ethel Guymer	10	Bad behaviour	" " "
14.11.1904	Ethel Guymer	10	" "	" " "

Table V: Hull School Board - continued...

1.3.1905	Rose Wood	13	Stealing book	Book returned
10.3.1905	Phylis Cobby	8)	Defacing yard, corridor wall	Two strokes
10.3.1905	Pleasant Vinter	8)	and denying it	Two strokes
10.3.1905	Hilda Fell	11)	" " " "	Four strokes
22.3.1905	Phylis Cobby	8)	Theft from shop and school,	Detention
22.3.1905	Pleasant Vinter	8)	denied and proved	Severe rebuke
22.3.1905	Maria Hickerton	9)	" " " " "	Report to parent and officer
29.3.1905	Ethel Skoyles	12	Truant	Two strokes
2.6.1905	Rose Wook	13	Truantiing & leading others wrong	Report to parent and officer
23.1.1906	Clara Campbell	11	Careless absence	Cane One stroke
24.1.1906	Rose Duncan	10	Rudeness in class	Class teacher struck her with open hand. Complaint forwarded on childs return to school on the 28th.
11.7.1906	Fran Mumby	12	In the street during break	Caned Two strokes
11.7.1906	Carrie Allow	11	In the street during break	Caned Two strokes

for playing truant, but lateness on the part of the pupils was much more of a problem. The punishment book for Constable Street School, Junior department, 1901 - 1906, ^(A) similarly reveals that 'persistent late-coming' was a frequent cause of corporal punishment being administered. On the 30th April 1901, Henry Dickinson, a scholar of Constable Street School, Junior department, was caned for bringing matches to school, similarly Joseph Foulds, on the 18th December 1901 was caned for having brought matches into school. The punishment book (see Appendix three) of Constable Street School, Junior department, 1901 - 1906, gives several other examples of pupils having been caught with matches in their possession; in some cases the scholar was caught in the act of striking a match. The punishment book of Clifton Street School, Infants department, 1901 - 1906, gives various examples of pupils being caught with matches on them. In Table V, the column entitled 'Offence' shows that at Chiltern Street School, Girls department, there was not an instance of a girl having been caught with matches in her possession in the period 1901 - 1906 and the same is true of Constable Street School, Junior department.

The punishment books of Constable Street School, Junior department, Chiltern Street School, Girls department, and Clifton Street School, Infants department, in the period 1901 - 1906, all bear witness to scholars having been punished for defacing walls, or destroying school books. On the 2nd February 1904, at Constable Street Junior department, eight girls were caught writing on a school wall and each received as a punishment one stroke of the cane. At Chiltern Street School, Girls department, four girls on 28.9.1903 were punished for 'scrawling on school walls'. Two of the girls were from the Junior department, thus

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(A) A precise copy of the data from Constable Street School, Junior Department Punishment Book, 1901 - 1906, is given in Appendix three.

they received their punishment from the head of that department, the remaining two girls each received three strokes of the cane - remembering that the girls at Chiltern Street Girls department, for the same crime, had each received one stroke of the cane. This point demonstrates, and other examples could be given, that for a given offence the punishment scholars received varied from school to school. The punishment was determined, in fact, by each head teacher. At Chiltern Street School, Girls department, the punishment for defacing a school wall was not uniform. On 12.9.1901, M. Berry received one stroke of the cane for writing on a wall, however on the 28.9.1903, two girls each received three strokes of the cane, for the same offence. Phylis Cobby and Pleasant Vinter, on the 10.3.1905, each received two strokes of the cane for "defacing yard, corridor wall and denying it",⁽⁶⁷⁾ but Hilda Fell received four strokes of the cane.

Phylis Cobby and Pleasant Vinter twelve days later were in trouble again, this time for stealing. The pair of them, with another girl Maria Hickerton, were accused of stealing from a local shop and the school, which they denied. The punishment book states:- "theft from shop and school, denied and proved".⁽⁶⁸⁾ At Constable Street School, Junior department, 1901 - 1906, corporal punishment was administered to several scholars who had been caught stealing, but none were female. The destruction of school property by scholars was a common occurrence as is illustrated in the three punishment books commented on. Ethel Noris, of Constable Street School, Junior department, was, on the 24.5.1901, given four strokes of the cane on her hand for destroying a test card. Caroline Sutherland, on 6.7.1903, received one stroke of the cane for damaging a school book. Scholars were also punished if caught damaging the property of another scholar. Samuel Cousins, of Constable Street School, Junior department, was given three strokes

of the cane as a punishment, because he had spoilt the "examination work of some girl scholars". (69)

The average number of canings per pupil, per year, in the years 1901 - 1906 inclusive, as shown in table VI, has not been calculated by dividing the number of canings in a year by the number of children in the department, remembering that three departments are involved - Clifton Street School, Infants department, Constable Street School, Junior department, and Chiltern Street, Girls department - it has been calculated, however, as the number of canings in a year divided by the number of children caned, remembering that a child could have been caned more than once in a year; below is an example in figures.

Total number of canings in a year = 60 = 1.2
 Total number of pupils caned in a year = 50
 Therefore 1.2 is the average number of canings of those who received corporal punishment in the stated time period.

Table VI: Average number of canings of those who received corporal punishment and the standard deviation

<u>Schools</u>	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Clifton Street, Infants Dept.	1.2	1.22	1	1.09	1.7	1.31
Standard deviations (sx)	0.51	0.42	0	0.3	0.36	0.45
Chiltern Street, Girls Dept.	1	1	1	1.14	1	1
Standard deviations (sx)	0	0	0	0.346	0	0
Constable Street, Junior Dept.	1.625	1.27	1.15	1.11	1.6	1.64
Standard deviations (sx)	1.319	0.685	0.48	0.316	0.86	1.26

Table VI reveals that at the three institutions under examination, the average number of canings per pupil, per year, was generally higher at Constable Street School, Junior department, the reverse being true of Chiltern Street School, Girls department. The table demonstrates that at the three educational institutions during the period in question, of those who received corporal punishment, the average number of canings in any year did not reach two, per pupil. In fact an average of 1.7

canings, per pupil, in a year, was the highest achieved, that being at Clifton Street School Infants department in 1905. The average, or to be more precise, the mean is a very simple and convenient method of focusing upon the central tendency of the data under investigation. However, it "gives no indication of how far divergent from the mean were the individual observations in the data. It is therefore desirable that, if we wish to use the arithmetic mean to summarize data, we should also use some other method of describing the amount of dispersion or diversity of the data around the mean".⁽⁷⁰⁾ Two methods of measuring dispersion are termed standard deviation and variance. The disadvantage of variance is that it is measured in terms of squares of the original unit, but this is not the case with standard deviation,^(A) as it is in the same units as the original because it is the square root of the variance. For example, let us assume that the arithmetic mean of numbers of swine in ten places in Essex, in 1086 was 348, it makes very little sense to say that the average dispersion around the mean - in other words the variance - was 104,896.0 square swine, by taking the square root, we find that the standard deviation was 323.9, or to put it another way, the dispersion around the mean was 323.9 pigs.

Table VI indicates that at Chiltern Street School, Girls department, the average dispersion around the mean for five out of the six years, was nil. At Constable Street School, Junior department, for the years 1901 and 1906 the standard deviations were respectively, 1.319 and 1.26 canings, remembering that the average number of canings, per pupil in 1901 and 1906 was 1.625 and 1.64. With such a large dispersion around the means - 1901 and 1906 - it would be inaccurate to attach any significance to the central tendency. To make this point clear, the

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(A) The calculations and formula for the standard deviation and the co-efficient of variations are given in Appendix four.

co-efficient of variation has been determined/^{it}shows dispersion in terms of a percentage - "The co-efficient of variation for any vector of numbers is simply the standard deviation of that vector expressed as a percentage of the mean of the vector".⁽⁷¹⁾ Table VII reveals that for 1901 and 1906, at Constable Street School, Junior department, the co-efficient of variation was the highest achieved - 80.9% (1901) and 76.8% (1906) - for the whole of the period at the three educational institutions.

Table VII: Co-Efficient of Variation

School	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Constable Street School, Junior Department	80.99%	53.1%	41.7%	28.4%	53.8%	76.8%
Chiltern Street School, Girls Department	0	0	0	30.4%	0	0
Clifton Street School, Infants Department	42.5%	34.4%	0	27.3%	30.7%	34.3%

Tables VI and VII reveal that the dispersion around the mean, at Constable Street School, Junior department, in 1904, was out of character with the results achieved for the other years, as was the standard deviation and co-efficient of variation at Chiltern Street School, Girls department in 1904. Both Table VI and VII indicate that dispersion around the mean was greatest at Constable Street School, Junior department, and lowest (in fact for five of the years non-existent) at Chiltern Street School, Girls department.

It becomes apparent when examining tables I, II and Appendix three, that within any of the years during the period 1901 - 1906, the actual number of canings was substantially greater at Constable Street School, Junior department, when compared with Chiltern Street School, Girls department, and Clifton Street, Infants department. The average total number of canings per year, for the stated period, was 35.17 at Constable

Street School, Junior department, 12.3 at Clifton Street School, Infants department, and only 6.17 at Chiltern Street School, Girls department.

The figures suggest that the scholars in the Girls department at Chiltern Street School, when compared with the scholars at the other two institutions, were less prone to carrying out actions that would result in their being caned. The figures lead to the conclusion that girl scholars were caned less than boy scholars, and further support for the hypothesis is generated by the fact that of the total number of canings at Constable Street School, Junior department, in the period 1901 - 1906, the girls share was only 23.22 per cent - in other words, the boys received slightly under 77 per cent of canings administered in the given period. These findings should not be taken for more than they are worth, remembering that the evidence is only drawn from three departments within separate schools. When attempting to explain the very low average total number of canings per year at Chiltern Street School, Girls department, when compared with the figures obtained for the other two institutions, several factors have to be taken into account and therefore it cannot solely be attributed to the view that girls broke school rules less than boys. It is possible the number of scholars attending the girls department at Chiltern Street School during 1901 - 1906 were significantly less than the number of scholars attending the other two institutions; therefore one would expect at Chiltern Street School, Girls department, a lower number of canings per year. It is also plausible that the head teacher of the Girls department of Chiltern Street School, was more lenient than his/her opposites at the other two institutions, when deciding if an action by a pupil warranted corporal punishment. Pleasant Vinter and Phylis Cobby were on the 22.3.1905 accused of stealing from a local shop and from the school itself. As a punishment they received a severe rebuke and a report was sent to the Board and to their parents, corporal punishment

was not administered. When a pupil at either Constable Street School, Junior department, or Clifton Street School, Infants department, was caught stealing, the scholar was caned. On the 7.9.1904 Tate and Elvin Charles each received, at Clifton Street School, Infants Department, four strokes on the hand for stealing.

CHAPTER EIGHT: NOTES

- (1) David Rubinstein, School Attendance in London 1870-1904
A Social History, p.40
- (2) *ibid.*, pp.40-41
- (3) *ibid.*, p.41
- (4) School Log, North Ferriby National School, Vol.1, p.37.
- (5) *ibid.*, p.300
- (6) *ibid.*, p.489
- (7) *ibid.*, p.489
- (8) *ibid.*, p.48
- (9) *ibid.*, p.48
- (10) *ibid.*, p.48
- (11) *ibid.*, pp.16-17.
- (12) *ibid.*, p.29
- (13) *ibid.*, p.57
- (14) *ibid.*, p.57
- (15) School Log, North Ferriby National School, Vol.1, p.68.
- (16) *ibid.*, p.11
- (17) *ibid.*, p.824
- (18) *ibid.*, pp.454-455
- (19) *ibid.*, p.477
- (20) *ibid.*, p.484
- (21) *ibid.*, p.484
- (22) *ibid.*, p.485
- (23) *ibid.*, p.485
- (24) School Log, North Ferriby National School, Vol.II, p.64
- (25) *ibid.*, p.64.
- (26) *ibid.*, p.65.
- (27) *ibid.*, Vol.1, p.305
- (28) *ibid.*, p.309

- (29) *ibid.*, p.328
- (30) *ibid.*, p.329
- (31) *ibid.*, p.330
- (32) *ibid.*, p.331
- (33) School Log, North Ferriby National School, Vol.1, p.332.
- (34) *ibid.*, p.332.
- (35) *ibid.*, p.374
- (36) *ibid.*, p.374
- (37) *ibid.*, p.401
- (38) *ibid.*, p.100
- (39) *ibid.*, Vol.II, p.129
- (40) J.A. Cordwell, History of a school: Bishop Burton Church of England School, East Riding of Yorkshire. Located at the said school.
- (41) Eric Midwinter, Nineteenth Century Education, Longman Seminar Studies in History.
- (42) Pamela Horn, Education in Rural England 1800-1914, p.57.
- (43) Society and Industry in the 19th Century a documentary approach. 4 Education by Keith Dawson and Peter Wall, pp.19-20.
- (44) Pamela Horn, *ibid.*, p.61.
- (45) School Log, North Ferriby National School, Vol.1, p.10
- (46) *ibid.*, p.10.
- (47) Printed in the inside cover of Kingston Upon Hull School Boards Punishment books.
- (48) School Log, Crowle Street Boys School, pp.7-8.
- (49) *ibid.*, pp.37-38.
- (50) *ibid.*, p.38
- (51) *ibid.*, p.125
- (52) *ibid.*, p.175
- (53) *ibid.*, p.190
- (54) *ibid.*, p.185
- (55) School Log, Blundell Street School, p.217.
- (56) *ibid.*, p.218

- (57) School Log, Crowle Street Boys School, p.196
- (58) *ibid.*, p.210
- (59) *ibid.*, p.211
- (60) *ibid.*, p.86
- (61) *ibid.*, p.86
- (62) *ibid.*, p.167
- (63) School Log, North Ferriby National School, VolII, p.409
- (64) Taken from the inside cover of Clifton punishment book.
- (65) School Log, Crowle Street Boys School, p.35
- (66) *ibid.*, p.37
- (67) Punishment book, Chiltern Street Girls Department,
- (68) *ibid.*
- (69) *ibid.*
- (70) Roderick Floud, An introduction to quantitative Methods for Historians, Methuen & Co.Ltd., p.73.
- (71) *ibid.*, p.82

CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

This study reveals, firstly that the voluntary schools under investigation often found themselves financially in a hazardous position and, secondly, that the Revised Code of 1862 had a major impact upon the curriculum provided by the schools, in that in order to maximise income they taught only grant-earning subjects (apart from religious knowledge). The study also shows Parliament's fixation with 'the religious difficulty' when debating the various elementary education bills. In the schools, however, the major problem was not the religious one, but the need to remain financially solvent and secure the regular attendance of children.

In 1832, the Boy's National School in Hessle was forced to close because of financial insolvency. Its difficulties arose because of a fall in the monetary value of the annual subscription and the unwillingness or inability of parents to pay school fees. For fourteen years - 1879 to 1893 - Kirk Ella National School was also in debt. The inability of the school managers to raise the necessary funds to extend Kirk Ella school to provide for the increasing demand for school places nearly brought about the formation of a school board. Similarly in Hessle in 1882, the National School was unable to raise sufficient funds to extend the school in order to end the deficiency that then existed in school accommodation. It seemed a school board for Hessle was inevitable. Through the herculean efforts of their respective managers, however, both schools managed to survive.

All the voluntary schools investigated in this study depended on income received as a result of the annual inspection. The curriculum had to consist, perforce, of grant-earning subjects as well as religious knowledge. Teachers were encouraged financially to prepare their scholars thoroughly for the standard examinations. In 1872, for example, the Committee of the

Hessle National school decided that the schoolmaster would no longer get a share of the school pence but instead would receive twelve and a half new pence for each scholar who passed the annual inspection. Similarly, the schoolmaster at North Ferriby National School, as part of his payment, received a share of the annual grant. It was thus in their interest to ensure the scholars did well in the standard examinations. In the 1890's the staff at Hessle National School received a monetary bonus if children achieved good results in the annual inspection. The managers of Swanland Congregational School, at a meeting held on September 19th 1883, decided to appoint W. Beynon as the new schoolmaster and his wife as sewing mistress, with a salary of £60 and "the whole of the school pence and half of the grant..." (1) The managers of Swanland School in June 1888, however, found themselves in a position where the grant earned was less than expected and school expenditure was continuing to increase. They resolved:-

"in as much as the last Government grant was below the anticipations of the committee and the increased expenditure on account of teaching staff, the committee with much regret feel compelled to acquaint Mr Beynon that they reserve the liberty on the receipt of the next Grant to with hold an amount not exceeding £10 from the annuity officially promised him". (2)

The Parliamentary debates detailed in the thesis reveal how the Conservatives did their best to protect the voluntary school system, for it enabled the Church of England to have a monopoly in the provision and control of schooling for the working classes. This monopoly was not seriously challenged until the creation of school boards. The time spent by the House debating 'the religious difficulty' when the 1870 and 1876 Elementary Education Bills were under consideration, suggests it was not sufficiently aware of the financial plight faced by voluntary schools and/or

(1) Managers Minutes Swanland Congregational School.

(2) ibid

unwilling to pass a measure giving the schools the extra financial support they needed. Another major headache facing the schools was truancy. Compulsory universal school attendance brought in by the 1880 Education Act was only partially successful in solving the problem. In the spring of 1900, it is recorded of Kirk Ella School that:-

"The Managers desire to call the attention of the parents of older scholars once more to their irregular attendance, by which not only does the school earn far less grant than it might, but also is in danger of losing its present efficiency". (3)

The managers further noted that, in some cases, parents had allowed their children "to go to work before permitted by law or ... to idle in the streets". (4) At North Ferriby National School, Swanland Congregational School and Kirk Ella National School, a significant number of children played truant in order to go to work in the fields. The School Attendance Committee usually turned a blind eye to this illegal employment. The Hull School Board seems to have been more successful in dealing with truancy, for it claimed that by the end of the Board era, average attendance of children on its books was over ninety per cent. Cluderay remarks, "before the Board handed over its schools to the Local Authority there were places in Hull public elementary schools for every child between the age of 3 and 13, and over 90% of them were occupied every day" (5) This success resulted from the Board's vigorous implementation of its bye-laws. For a minority of children, however, the bye-laws were ineffectual and such children were sent to the Board's industrial schools. The evidence available gives little indication as to how successful the industrial schools were in getting truants to attend regularly.

(3) Managers Minutes Kirk Ella National School

(4) *ibid*

(5) T. Cluderay. M.Ed Thesis, Hull University, 1968, page 243.

Appendix One.

An extract from George Fewson's
arithmetic exercise book dated 1865/66



ETHOS

Boston Spa, Wetherby
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ
www.bl.uk

Best copy available.
Variable print quality.

Addition.

<i>cats,</i>	<i>dogs,</i>	<i>rabbit,</i>
1 2 3	1 1 1 1	6 1 9 8 4
2 1 1	3 4 3 4	1 2 7 6 3
4 3 2	4 3 8 3	3 9 5 4 5
6 5 1	3 8 5 4	5 2 3 8 2
1 6 5	6 4 8 3	6 3 5 4 3
5 9 3	3 2 6 4	4 2 6 5 7
1 3 8	8 7 1 3	7 8 3 4 4
6 4 3	4 5 1 4	1 5 7 3 8
5 8 9	4 6 1 5 3	1 2 6 9 7 6

477 436 05555

11234 8253 6583

9011161111718

13147310531

646457374949

964326875475

Decorative flourish with the word 'Action' written in a stylized, cursive font, surrounded by elaborate scrollwork and flourishes.

Multiplication.

Aug	3121618,	214	
109	12560474856	1	
Multi by 8	100331798848	8	
Multi by 12	1206381086176	12	
Multi by 25	6031907930880	25	
	2412763172332		
Ans ^d	31216189634110		

$$\begin{array}{r}
 31416 \overline{) 785439800} \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} 2500 \\
 \underline{62832} \\
 157119 \\
 \underline{157080} \\
 39800 \\
 \underline{31416} \\
 8384000
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 817854 \overline{) 914163291} \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \end{array} \right\} 1117 \\
 \underline{817854} \\
 963092 \\
 \underline{817854} \\
 1452389 \\
 \underline{817854} \\
 6345351 \\
 \underline{5724978} \\
 620373
 \end{array}$$

Self Division

$$\begin{array}{r}
 11170 \quad 4167 \quad 1216 \quad 3732 \\
 \underline{33510} \\
 .81871 \\
 \underline{78190} \\
 .36814 \\
 \underline{33510} \\
 .33046 \\
 \underline{21340} \\
 \underline{10706} \text{ pens.}
 \end{array}$$

1	"	17	"	255
"	"	17	"	12
6	"	4	"	56
11	"	11	"	44
7	"	15	"	34
2	"	14	"	17

C C F

5	"	15	"	251
6	"	11	"	12
6	"	15	"	11
11	"	4	"	23
11	"	7	"	32
4	"	14	"	12

C C F

9 1/2	"	17	"	150
1		1		16
2		14		31
6 1/2		2		14
9 3/4		10		4
8		9		9
6		14		11

C C F

2	"	13	"	522
11	"	17	"	19
6	"	13	"	49
8	"	14	"	37
1	"	13	"	13
2	"	14	"	34
11	"	19	"	41

C C F

C. J. F. & Co. Auctioneers

Comp^d Multiplications

S. D. S. D.
 1. 1. 6. 71. 11. 8
 8

18. 18. 0 L 129. 10. 0

9. 14. 4 71. 11. 2.
 8 12

77. 14. 8 E 258. 14. 0

4. 17. 1 S 9. 11. 6
 4 8

33. 19. 7 76. 12. 0

W. H. H.

Mr. Geo. Tison
 of James Crow, Junr. ^{sh} July 1. 1866.

120 s of col. at 25¢	=	22 ⁰⁰ 00
edges of beans at 25¢		61 ¹⁰ 00
18 do - oats at 25¢		18 ¹⁸ 00
16½ do - bring at 25¢		28 ¹⁷ 60
17½ do - peas at 25¢		19 ⁰⁰ 60

July 3rd 1866
 W. H. H. Junr.
 J. Crow

\$ 150. 60 00

Apr 30. 11. 11 1/2 how many farthings

£ s c
 30. 11. 11 1/2
 20

6 11 shillings
 11

73 13 pence

Ans^r 293 1/4 farthings



In £100, 100 shillings, and
100 pence, how many farthings?

£ 100. 0. 0	or	960 × 100 =	96000
500 0		48 × 100 =	4800
1000 0		4 × 100 =	400
10500 4	Ans ^r		101200
20			
<hr/>			
2108 shillings			
12			
<hr/>			
15300 pence			
101200 farthings	Ans ^r		

P $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons, how many lbs.?

pounds

1120

20

2240

1120

3360 *pounds*

10

20160

3360

53760 *pounds*

Ans:

Weights & Measures.

In 2000 ounces, how many stones.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{ounces} \\
 2000 \overline{) 2000} \quad (31 - 3\frac{1}{2}) \\
 \underline{1672}
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 280 \\
 124
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \left. \begin{array}{l}
 \text{In } 31 \text{ stones} \\
 3\frac{1}{2} \text{ pounds, or} \\
 31\frac{1}{2} \text{ cwt.}
 \end{array} \right\} 16) : 56 \text{ ounces} \\
 \hline
 34\frac{1}{2}
 \end{array}$$

Juniper wooder plot was discovered
 November 5th 1605; how many
 days is it since, to November 5th
 1845.?

1845
 1605 Subtract

240 years since
 365 1/4 days in a yr.

60

1200

1440

720

17660 days or 49^{rs}

Long Measure.

In 50 miles, how many inches?

63360 inches are in 1 mile.

50

Ans 3168000 inches in 50 miles.

How many barley-corns
in 150 yards?

Ans

$$150 \times 3 \times 12 \times 3 = 16200 \text{ Ans}$$

Time:

In 43 days, 19 hrs. 47 min. 1 sec.
How many seconds?

Days	Hrs.	min.	Sec.
43	19	47	1
			24

191	
86	
<hr/>	
1051	hours,

11	
<hr/>	
63107	minutes
60	

<hr/>	
3780421	seconds Ans.

Suppose the sea allowance for the common men
 be 5 lbs. of beef, and 3 lbs. of biscuit per day, for a
 crew of 14 people, and that the price of beef be $6\frac{3}{4}$
 pence, and of the biscuit $2\frac{1}{2}$ per lb, and that a
 ship's company cost the government £37. 16. 0
 a day for beef, what does it cost per week for bread?

$$\frac{5}{1} \times \frac{27}{1} = \frac{135}{16} \text{ beef}$$

$$\frac{3}{1} \times \frac{9}{2} = \frac{27}{8} \text{ biscuits}$$

$$(1) \frac{135}{16} : 1 :: 37. 16. 0$$

$$\frac{20}{16}$$

$$756$$

$$12$$

$$\frac{9072 \times 16}{135}$$

$$135$$

$$10384 =$$

15

Proportions.

When 5 yds. cost 15^s, what
sum would buy 25 yards
at the same rate?

1 yds	:	5 yds	::	15
5	:	25	::	75
1	:	5	::	15
				75

Ans 75 Shillings

What is the interest of £252.10.6 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ Per-cent for one year.?

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Ans} \quad \begin{array}{r} \text{£} \quad \text{s} \quad \text{d} \\ 252 \cdot 10 \cdot 6 \times 9 \\ \hline 2 \times 100 \end{array} = \begin{array}{r} \text{£} \quad \text{s} \quad \text{d} \\ 2272 \cdot 14 \cdot 6 \\ \hline 200 \end{array} \\ \hline \text{£} 11 \cdot 7 \cdot 3 \frac{1}{2} \text{ Ans} \end{array}$$

What is the interest of £315.15 for 2 years at 5 Per-cent.?

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Ans} \quad \begin{array}{r} \text{£} \quad \text{s} \quad \text{d} \\ 315 \cdot 15 \cdot 0 \times 5 \times 2 \\ \hline 100 \\ 10 \end{array} = \begin{array}{r} \text{£} \quad \text{s} \quad \text{d} \\ 31 \cdot 11 \cdot 6 \text{ Ans} \\ \hline \hline \end{array} \end{array}$$



What is the interest of £340.10, at
4 p. c. for one year?

$$\frac{\begin{array}{r} \cancel{L} \ 340.10 \times 4 \\ 100 \end{array}}{100} = \underline{\underline{13.64}}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} L \ 340 \\ 68.20 \\ \hline L \ 301.80 \end{array}$$

What is the amount of £500, for 4 years, at 3 per cent.
per annum?

£	s	d	
2 $\frac{1}{2}$) 500	0	0	1 st principal.
1 $\frac{1}{2}$) 10	0	0	1 st years interest.
	5	0	
2 $\frac{1}{2}$) 515	0	0	2 nd years principal.
1 $\frac{1}{2}$) 10	6	0	2 nd years interest.
	5	3	
2 $\frac{1}{2}$) 530	9	0	3 rd years principal.
1 $\frac{1}{2}$) 10	12	0	3 rd years interest.
	5	6	
2 $\frac{1}{2}$) 546	7	0	4 th years principal.
1 $\frac{1}{2}$) 10	18	0	4 th years interest.
	5	9	
£562	15	0	Ans

Compound Interest.

What is the amount of £220.5.0, for 2 years, at 4 per cent. per annum?

(S. D.)

(25) 220 " 5 " 0 1st principal.
8 " 16 " 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ 1st years interest.

(25) 229 " 1 " 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ 2nd years principal.
9 " 3 " 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ 2nd years interest.

£ 238 " 4 " 5 Ans^r

Discount

To the allowance made to persons for paying
 money before it is due, and is as much as that
 money, if put to interest, would gain in the
 same time, and at the same rate; thus allowing
 100. to discount, 100. will discharge you, a debt
 of 105. due before to come.

What is the discount of £250 for 10
months at 5 per cent.?

mo £ s
6 5 4 5

mo
is 5 2 2 6
1 8 1

3 10 10
100 0 0

£ s d £
103 10 10 : 3 10 10 :: 250
Or as 2485 : 85 :: 250
then $250 \times 85 = 50 \times 85 = 4250$

2485 497 497 =

£ 8.11.0 1/4 (Ans)

P. S. Should a bill of 175.10.0 payable
 in 3 months, what will be the bank
~~the~~ ^{cost?} charge for cashing the same at 5 per

^{ans} 3 1/4% - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{L. S.} \\ 5.0 \end{array} \right.$ interest of 100 for 12 months

1.5 interest for 3 months
 100.0

$\frac{101.5}{1} : 1.5 :: 175.10.0$
 L. S. L. S. d

$\frac{105}{5} :: 175.10.0$

$\frac{81}{1} \quad \frac{1}{1} \quad 175.10.0$

$\frac{9}{9} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 175.10 \\ 19.10 \end{array} \right.$ 81

 L. 9. 3. 4 Ans^r

Part 2.

1
 c exchanges 30 yards of Irish linen,
 at 2. 6. a yard, for oats at 3. a bushel;
 what quantity should he receive?

$$\begin{array}{r}
 8 \overline{) 30} \\
 \underline{24} \\
 6 \\
 \underline{6} \\
 0 \\
 \hline
 \end{array}$$

£. 3. 15. 0

$$\begin{array}{r}
 20 \\
 3 \overline{) 75} \\
 \underline{60} \\
 15 \text{ Ans} \\
 \hline
 \end{array}$$

How many yards of cloth, at 12. a yard, must be given in barter for 40 yards at 7.6. a yard?

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{yd} \\
 40 \quad \text{s}^d \\
 \quad 7\frac{1}{2} = 7-6 \\
 \hline
 280 \\
 \quad 20 \\
 12 \overline{) 300} \text{ value of the cloth} \\
 \underline{\quad 25} \text{ yards}
 \end{array}$$

How much wheat, at 2.10. a quarter must be given in barter for 5 acres of land, at 50. an acre?

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{£} \\
 50 \times 5 = 250 \text{ value of the land} \\
 \text{th.} \times \frac{250}{2-10} = \frac{500}{5} = 100 \text{ quarters of wheat}
 \end{array}$$

A farmer exchanged 28 stones of wool, at 12.6. a stone, with a manufacturer for 21 yards of cloth; what was the cloth a yard?

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{£} \\
 28 \quad \text{s} \quad \text{d} \\
 \underline{12 \frac{1}{2} = 12.6} \\
 336 \\
 14 \\
 21 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3 \overline{) 350} \\ 7 \overline{) 116} \text{ . } 8 \\ \cdot 16 \text{ . } 8 \text{ Ans}^{\text{r}} \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

Gave 100 quarters of wheat for 5 acres of land, at 50 per acre, what was the wheat valued at a quarter?

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{£} \\
 50 \\
 5 \\
 100 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 10 \overline{) 250} \\ 10 \overline{) 25} \\ \text{£} \cdot 2 \cdot 10 \cdot 0 \text{ Ans}^{\text{r}} \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

Profit and Loss

Is a rule by which traders regulate their prices so as to gain or lose a certain rate per cent.

Case I. - To find the gain or loss per cent.

Rule. - As the prime cost is to the gain or loss, so is 100 to the rate per cent. Or, as prime cost: selling price :: 100: 100 + gain per cent.

Case II. - If you know gain or loss per cent. to find the selling price.

Rule. - As 100 is to the prime cost, so is 100 + gain, - loss, to the selling price.

Case III. When the selling price, and gain per cent. upon it are given, to find the gain per cent. ^{price} upon a ^{price} given, to find the gain per cent. ^{price} upon a ^{price} proposed.

Rule. - If the selling price is to 100 + gain
 gain, so is the proposed price to 100 + required gain.

If I buy for 4, and sell for 5, what shall
 I gain per cent?

$$\text{As } \frac{4}{1} : 1 :: \frac{100}{25 \text{ Ans}^{\circ}}$$

If I buy at 4.8, per lb, and sell at 5.3,
 what is my gain per cent?

$$\text{As } \frac{5.3}{8} : 1 :: \frac{100}{12 \frac{1}{2} \text{ Ans}^{\circ}}$$

If I buy at 100 for 112, at what must I sell it to gain 12½ percent?

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{Q. } 100 : 112.10 :: 100 : x \\
 \hline
 \frac{2}{200} \quad \frac{2}{225} \quad \frac{9}{200} \\
 \frac{8}{8} \quad \frac{9}{9} \quad \frac{5.3}{5.3} \text{ Ans.}
 \end{array}$$

If I buy a thing for 100, at 5 percent I gain 25 percent, what was the prime cost?

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{Q. } 125 : 100 :: x \\
 \frac{5}{5} \quad \frac{100}{100} \text{ Ans.}
 \end{array}$$

Appendix Two

An extract from Henry Fewson's English exercise
book dated 1857.

The only good manners. The

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Immoral conduct is in

Immoral conduct is in

Immoral conduct is in

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Wished man is happy.

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Never refuse witness in

Purpose useful occupations

Purpose useful occupations

Purpose useful occupations

Purpose useful, occupations

Purpose useful occupations

Purpose useful occupations

Purpose useful occupations

Purpose useful occupations

Purpose useful occupations

Purpose useful occupations

Purpose useful, occupations

Purpose useful occupations

Commemoration comm

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only good manners. Use. Immoral conduct is wrong.

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only good manners. Use. Immoral conduct is wrong.

only good manners. Use. Immoral conduct is wrong.

Henry Lawson

W W W W W

W W W W W

W W W W W

W W W W W

W W W W W

W W W W W

4 Lessons, 1858

As tumble may prevent a fall.

As tumble may prevent a fall.

As tumble may prevent a fall.

As tumble may prevent a fall.

As tumble may prevent a fall.

As tumble may prevent a fall.

June 19th 1857

Humility is better than

Humility is better than

Humility is better than

Humility is better than

Humility is better than

Humility is better than

Humility is better than

Humility is better than

Humility is better than

Humility is better than

Humility is better than

Understanding

Understanding

Understanding

Understanding

Understanding

Understanding

Understanding

Understanding

Understanding

Understanding

Understanding

Understanding

Appendix Three

Extract from the Punishment Book, of
Constable street School Junior department
1901 - 1906

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Offence</u>	<u>Punishment</u>
16.1.1901	Whiting Albert	7	Trawling and	4 strokes on hand
"	Greenwood Ernest	6	Late coming	2
29.1.1901	Thaine Gladys	7	Persistent late coming	1
30.1.1901	Norris Ethel	8	Late coming + disobedience	2
28.1.1901	Whiting Albert	7	Trawling	3
4.2.1901	McMunn Thomas	7	Disobedience	2
22.2.1901	Norris Ethel	8	Teasing + back-disobedience	2
25.2.1901	Thaine Gladys	7	Disobedience	2
"	Hobinly Rose	7	"	2
"	Foster Ethel	7	"	2
1.3.1901	Joy James	8	Teasing + dog	3
7.3.1901	Singard George	7	Trawling	3
"	Whiting Albert	8	"	3
8.3.1901	Burns Sidney	7	destroying + book	3
16.4.1901	Whiting Albert	7	Trawling	3
19.4.1901	Dix Tom	6	Throwing broken glass	3
"	Rosall John	6	" "	3
30.4.1901	Dickinson Henry	6	Matches	4
"	Rosall John	6	Untruthfulness	2
26.5.1901	Norris Ethel	8	Destroying test cards	4
"	Whiting Albert	7	Trawling	4
13.6.1901	Kelsey Alfred	8	Disobedience	3
19.6.1901	Tebbs Arthur	7	Trawling	3
21.6.1901	Norris Ethel	8	Disobedience	2
2.7.1901	Hill James	7	Using bad language repeatedly	4
20.8.1901	Whiting Albert	7	Trawling + untruthfulness	3
"	Wright John	8	Dirty Habits	4

Date	Name	Age	Offense	Punishment
6.9.1901	Whiting Albert	7	Disobedience + impudence	Whipping with cane.
12	Norris Walter	8	Tearing a book	3 strokes on hand
17	Harrison William	7	Stealing	4
18	Sticks Arthur	8	Truancy	4
" "	Smyth George	8	" "	4
4.16.1901	Dix Tom	7	Taking girls pinfones	4
17.10.1901	Foulds Joseph	8	Using bad language	2
28.10.1901	Mellor Herbert	8	Cheating	4
5.11.1901	Borling Henry	8	Persistent mischief	4
13.11.1901	Coater Ernest	8	Throwing paper boat	5
16.12.1901	Branton Joseph	6	Stealing	83
8.12.1901	Foulds Joseph	8	Matches	
5.2.1902	Cousins Samuel	7	Disobedience	2 strokes with cane
" "	Wells George	7	Bad language	2
4.2.1902	Cousins Samuel	7	Destructiveness	3
" "	Morline Emma	7	Disobedience	1
11.3.1902	Holmes Maggie	6	Persistent	1
" "	Golligan Lauren	8		Late coming
" "	Cheetham Foster	7	Disobedience	5
15.3.1902	Brackenbury Parker	8	Persistent talking	2
17.3.1902	Norris Walter	8	Taking Girls Toys	2
17.4.1902	Barnes Sidney	9	Disobedience	3
5.5.1902	Carmichael George	10	Persistent talking	2
6.5.1902	Norris Walter	8	Matches	3
" "	Cousins Samuel	9	Running out of school	3
14.5.1902	Davis Sidney	7	Talking	1
21.5.1902	Hill John	7	Dishonesty	2
22.5.1902	Foulds Joseph	8	Lying	3
" "	Mowforth Hayden	7	"	3
16.6.1902	Mellor Sam	8	Truancy	4
19.6.1902	Cousins Samuel	7	Sparking girls' Exam work.	3

Date	Name	Age	offence	Punishment
				4 strokes with cane
7.7.1902	Foster Harry	7	Dishonesty	2
9.7.1902	Shirley Edith	7	Dirty habits	2
" "	Hann Elsie	7	" "	2
" "	Kelvington Dorothy	7	" "	2
" "	Mowford Hilda	8	Disobedience	2
19.9.1902	Hill John	8	"	2
" "	Levingham Albert	2	"	2
29.9.1902	St. Wale Elmer	9	Copying	2
" "	Schuman Elsie	8	" "	2
7.11.1902	Holmes Maggie	8	Persistent late coming	2 strokes on hand
26.11.1902	Leidl George	8	Copying	2 stroke with cane
4.12.1902	Thompson Harry	7	Bad language	
				2 strokes with cane
22.1.1903	Robinson George	7	Disobedience	1
5.2.1903	Culam Caroline	7	Persistent talking	1
19.2.1903	Wilton Florence	7	Taking work	1
6.3.1903	Lee Leonard	7	Disobedience	1
19.5.1903	Morlane Emily	9	Persistent late coming	1
21.5.1903	Hart	7	" "	1
26.6.1903	Harrison James	7	Destroying pens	1
29.6.1903	Edwards James	9	Disobedience	1
" "	Rowson Herbert	7	Persistent lateness	1
" "	Harrison Ernest	7	" " "	1
" "	Harrison James	7	" " "	2
6.7.1903	Sutherland Caroline	7	Destroying book	2
" "	Ellyard Elsie	7	" "	2
17.8.1903	Garnett Eric	7	Striking matches	
" "	Beech Percy	8	" "	
31.8.1903	Morlane Emily	9	Late coming	
5.9.1903	Stubbs Edith	8	Carelessness	
29.9.1903	C'pang Percy	9	Disobedience	
" "	Allerstone Lilla	8	" "	
26.11.1903	Thompson Harry	8	Destroying book	
" "	Mortimer Emily	10	Late coming	

Date	Name	Age	offence	Punishment
26-11				
10.12.1903	Sellers Ernest	8	Disobedience	
" "	Elton Arthur	8	" "	
14.12.1903	Tindall Ernest	7	Untruthfulness.	
19.1.1904	Alexander Charles	7	Striking Matches	2 strokes with cane
21.1.1904	Buckley Robert	9	Late coming	1
" "	Sellers Ernest	8	" "	1
21.2.1904	Storks Daisy	7	Writing on the Walls	1
" "	Worley Maggie	6	" "	1
" "	Young Edith	6	" "	1
" "	Hulcroft Elsie	6	" "	1
" "	Wharum Elsie	7	" "	1
" "	Green Ada	7	" "	1
" "	Jackson Dorcas	7	" "	1
" "	Brook Mabel	7	" "	1
7.3.1904	Ashby Walter	8	Disobedience	1
" "	Watkins Fred	8	" "	1
30.3.1904	Cheatham Fred	8	Truancy	3
" "	Cook David	7	" "	3
13.4.1904	Thompson Harry	8	Laziness	
9.5.1904	Thorp Don	8	Copy ing	
12.5.1904	Harrison James	8	Dirty Habits	Whipping with cane
" "	Barton Frank	8	" "	3 strokes with cane
" "	Edward James	8	" "	2
" "	Kewstake George	8	" "	2
" "	Whitfield Wilfred	8	" "	2
" "	Cookwell Alfred	8	" "	2
" "	McDonald Harry	8	" "	2
" "	Bennett Harold	8	" "	2
" "	Raywell Joseph	7	" "	2
20.6.1904	Mortimer Emily	9	Late coming	1
23.6.1904	Alexander Charles		Dirty Habits	2

Date	Name	Age	offence	Punishment
23.6.1904	Bocklesky ?	7	Dirty Habits	2
" "	Fozzard Leonard	7	" "	2
" "	Newton Arthur	7	" "	2
19.9.1904	Taylor George	—	Hunting younger boys	2
" "	Morrison Stanley	—	" "	2
13.10.1904	Robinson George	8	Using bad language	4
8.11.1904	Wells George	8	Disobedience	2
" "	McDonald Harry	8	" "	2
" "	Raywell Joseph	7	" "	2
" "	Hall Sidney	8	Dirty Habits	2
7.12.1904	Thornton Harry	7	Laziness	1
19.12.1904	Newton Arthur	8	Dirty Habits	1
13.1.1905	Wells George	9	Disobedience	2
30.1.1905	Newton Arthur	9	Dirty Habits	2
20.2.1905	Precious Harry	8	Disturbance	1
" "	Cook David	8	" "	1
27.2.1905	Bowes Sarah	8	Laziness	1
6.3.1905	Lee William	7	Dirty work	1
14.3.1905	Hoyce John	8	Dirty Habits	2
" "	Cook Albert	7	" " "	2
10.4.1905	Alexander Charles	8	Disobedience	2
12.4.1905	Roberts Horace	8	Late coming	1
19.4.1905	Hull Sidney	8	Laziness	2
5.5.1905	Raywell Fred	8	Clunking	whipping
7.5.1905	Lee John	8	Bad Language	2
17.5.1905	Precious Harry	8	" " "	2
23.5.1905	Cook James	8	Carelessness	1
21.8.1905	Alexander Charles	8	Disobedience	2
28.8.1905	Wells George	10	Misbehaviour	2
1.9.1905	Precious Harry	8	Disobedience Late coming	2 1
" "	Dryedan John	8	Late coming	2

Date	Name	Age	offence	Punishment
5-				
5.9.1905	Thompson James	8	Late-coming	2
11.9.1905	Kamsay Harold	8	Causing disturbance	2
18.9.1905	Cook James	8	Bad work	1
27.9.1905	Lee William	7	Late coming	2
3.10.1905	Betty George	7	Disturbance	2
7.10.1905	Adams Charles	7	Dirty Habits	2
14.11.1905	Alexander Charles	8	Disobedience	2
" "	Hall Sidney	8	" "	2
" "	Bellamy Edgar	8	" "	2
24.11.1905	Precious Harry	8	Persistent lateness	2
" "	Thompson James	8	" "	2
5.12.1905	Warrington Albert	8	Striking matches	2
8.12.1905	Wells George	10	Inattention	2
11.12.1905	Adams Charles	7	Dirty Habits	2
20.1.1906	Enevoldson John	8	Disobedience	2 st notes with care
" "	Thompson James	8	Persistent lateness	2
7.2.1906	Bryan Charles	7	Untidiness	2
14.2.1906	Kell Anne	8	Laziness	2
" "	Martin Alice	8	Inattention	2
6.3.1906	Lee William	8	Destroying a book	2
14.3.1906	Wright Samuel	9	Disobedience	2
15.3.1906	Windsor Arthur	8	Carelessness	2
"	Britton William	8	" "	2
"	Enevoldson John	8	Carelessness + Idleness	3
"	Ware Sylvia	10	Laziness	1
"	Doase Gertrude	10	Inattention	2
6.4.1906	Thompson James	8	Laziness	3
" "	Lee William	8	Dirty Habits	2
" "	Bryan Charles	7	" "	2
" "	Bellamy Edgar	9	Inattention	2
25.4.1906	Bellamy Edgar	9	Inattention	2
25.4.1906	Kellington Florence	8	Inattention	2

Date	Name	Age	Offence	Punishment
8.5.1906	Dickinson Doris	8	Careless Work	1 stroke with cane
" "	Sutherland William	8		1
" "	Lawson Rebecca	8		2
" "	Ernestson John	8		1
" "	Shore John	8		2
11.5.1906	Bellamy Edgar	9	Copying	1
" "	Hall Sidney	8		2
" "	Elliot Elijah	10		2
13.6.1906	Thompson James	8	Persistent lateness	2
27.6.1906	Cutley Wilfred	8	Laziness	1
" "	Ernestson John	8	" "	2
6.7.1906	Batty George	8	Dirty work + Laziness	2
21.8.1906	Harris Herbert	7	Late - coming	1
" "	Thompson James	8	" "	2
" "	Lee William	8	" "	2
24.8.1906	Vine Caroline	4	Laziness	1
7.9.1906	Bryan Charles	7	Dirty habits	2
20.9.1906	Ernestson John	8	Disobedience	2
25.9.1906	Wells George	11	Disturbing Class	I
4.10.1906	Hall Sidney	8	Inattention	2
25.10.1906	Bellamy Edgar	8	Inattention - repeated	2
" "	Sutherland William	9	Disobedience	2
29.10.1906	Batty George	8	Careless untidy work	2
30.10.1906	Wright Samuel	9	Copying	2
6.11.1906	Barnes Elsie	8	Dirty work	1
9.11.1906	Thompson James	8	Playing around making themselves late	1
" "	Thompson Frank	7		1
4.12.1906	Ernestson John	8	stealing + not telling the truth	2+1
" "	Elijah Elliot	11		2+1
" "	Montgomery Edward	8		1
" "	Levitt Walter	8	Causing a disturbance	1
14.12.1906	Wright Samuel	7		2

Appendix Four

Formula and calculations of
 (a) Standard deviation
 (b) Coefficient of variation

(a) Formula for standard deviation: -

$$s(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum fx^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum fx}{n} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

(b) Formula for coefficient of variation

$$V(x) = \frac{s(x)}{\bar{X}} \times 100$$

$$\bar{X} = \text{mean}$$

I Condalbee Street School, Junior department.

Classes	Frequency	fx	fx^2
1	16	16	16
2	6	12	24
3	1	3	3
4	1	4	16
5	1	5	5
6	1	6	6
7	1	7	49
Total	24	39	105

1901, continued

$$\bar{X} = \frac{f_x}{f} = \frac{39}{24} = 1.625$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum f x^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum f x}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{105}{24} - \left(\frac{39}{24} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

$$= \sqrt{4.375 - (1.625)^2} = \sqrt{1.74} = 1.3190$$

Coefficient of Variation

$$\frac{S(x)}{\bar{X}} = \frac{1.3190}{1.625} = \frac{1.32}{1.63} = 0.8098$$

or 80.9%

(b) 1902

Cannings	frequency	f_x	f_x^2
X	f		
1	19	19	19
2	4	8	16
3			
4	1	4	16
	<u>24</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>51</u>

$$\bar{X} = \frac{f_x}{f} = \frac{31}{24} = 1.29$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum f x^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum f x}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{51}{24} - \left(\frac{31}{24} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

1902 continued

$$S(x) = \sqrt{2.13 - (1.29)^2} = \sqrt{0.47} = 0.685$$

Coefficient of Variation

$$\frac{S(x)}{\bar{X}} = \frac{0.685}{1.29} = 0.531 \text{ or } 53.1\%$$

Q1903

cars	frequency	Fx	Fx^2
X	F		
1	18	18	18
2	1	2	4
3	1	3	9
	$\frac{1}{20}$	$\frac{3}{23}$	$\frac{9}{31}$

$$\bar{X} = \frac{F_x}{F} = \frac{23}{20} = 1.15$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum Fx^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum Fx}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{31}{20} - \left(\frac{23}{20} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{1.55 - (1.15)^2} = \sqrt{0.23} = 0.48$$

Coefficient of Variation

$$\frac{S(x)}{\bar{X}} = \frac{0.48}{1.15} = 0.417 \text{ or } 41.7\%$$

(d) 1904

Caring	frequency	f_x	f_x^2
X	f		
1	32	32	32
2	4	8	16
	<u>36</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>48</u>

$$\bar{X} = \frac{f_x}{f} = \frac{40}{36} = 1.11$$

$$s(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum f_x^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum f_x}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{48}{36} - \left(\frac{40}{36} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

$$s(x) = \sqrt{1.33 - (1.11)^2} = \sqrt{0.1} = 0.316$$

$$\text{Coefficient of Variation} = \frac{s(x)}{\bar{X}} = \frac{0.316}{1.11} = 0.284 \text{ or } 28.4\%$$

(E) 1905

Caring	frequency	f_x	f_x^2
X	f		
1	12	12	12
2	5	10	20
3	2	6	18
4	1	4	16
	<u>20</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>66</u>

$$\bar{X} = \frac{f_x}{f} = \frac{32}{20} = 1.6$$

1905 continued

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum fx^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum fx}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{66}{20} - \left(\frac{32}{20} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{3.3 - (1.6)^2} = \sqrt{0.74} = 0.86.$$

Coefficient of Variation $\frac{S(x)}{\bar{X}} = 0.537 = 53.7\%$.

(v) 1906

Caring	frequency	f_x	f_x^2
X	f		
1	20	20	20
2	3	6	12
3	3	9	27
4	—	—	—
5	1	5	25
6	1	6	36
	<u>28</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>120</u>

$$\bar{X} = \frac{f_x}{f} = \frac{46}{28} = 1.64$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum f_x^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum f_x}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{120}{28} - \left(\frac{46}{28} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\frac{116}{28} - (1.64)^2} = \sqrt{1.6} = 1.26$$

Coefficient of Variation $\frac{S(x)}{\bar{X}} = 0.768 \text{ or } 76.8\%$.

(2) Chultern Street School. Girls department.

(a) 1901

Caring	frequency	fx	fx^2
X	f		
1	6	6	6

$$\bar{X} = \frac{fx}{f} = \frac{6}{6} = 1 \quad \therefore S(x) = 0, \quad V(x) = 0.$$

(b) 1902

Caring	frequency	fx	fx^2
X	f		
1	5	5	5

$$\bar{X} = \frac{fx}{f} = \frac{5}{5} = 1 \quad \therefore S(x) = 0, \quad V(x) = 0$$

(c) 1903

Caring	frequency	fx	fx^2
X	f		
1	11	11	11

$$\bar{X} = \frac{fx}{f} = \frac{11}{11} = 1 \quad \therefore S(x) = 0, \quad V(x) = 0$$

(d) 1904

Caring	frequency	fx	fx^2
X	f		
1	6	6	6
2	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{4}{10}$

$$\bar{X} = \frac{fx}{f} = \frac{8}{7} = 1.14$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum fx^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum fx}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{10}{7} - \left(\frac{8}{7} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

1904 continued

$$S(x) = \sqrt{1.43 - (1.14)^2} = \sqrt{0.12} = 0.346$$

$$\text{Coefficient of Variation} = \frac{S(x)}{\bar{x}} = \frac{0.346}{1.14} = 0.3035 \text{ or } 30.4\%$$

(E) 1905

Caring	frequency	f_x	f_x^2
X	f		
1	4	4	4

$$\bar{X} = \frac{f_x}{f} = \frac{4}{4} = 1 \rightarrow \therefore S(x) = 0, V(x) = 0$$

(F) 1906

Caring	frequency	f_x	f_x^2
X	f		
1	3	3	3

$$\bar{X} = \frac{f_x}{f} = \frac{3}{3} = 1 \rightarrow \therefore S(x) = 0, V(x) = 0$$

(3) Clifton Street School Infants department.

(9) 1901

Caring	frequency	f_x	f_x^2
X	f		
1	17	17	17
2	2	4	8
3	1	3	9
	20	24	34

$$\bar{X} = \frac{f_x}{f} = \frac{24}{20} = 1.2$$

1901 continued

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum fx^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum fx}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{34}{20} - \left(\frac{24}{20} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{1.7 - (1.2)^2} = \sqrt{0.26} = 0.509 = 0.51$$

Coefficient of Variation $\frac{S(x)}{\bar{X}} = \frac{0.51}{1.2} = 0.425$ or 42.5%.

b) 1902

Cannings	frequency	fx	fx^2
X	f		
1	7	7	7
2	2	4	8
	9	11	15

$$\bar{X} = \frac{fx}{f} = \frac{11}{9} = 1.22$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum fx^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum fx}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{15}{9} - \left(\frac{11}{9} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{1.67 - (1.22)^2} = \sqrt{0.18} = 0.424$$

Coefficient of Variation $\frac{S(x)}{\bar{X}} = \frac{0.42}{1.22} = 0.344$ or 34.4%

10) 1903

Cannings	frequency	fx	fx^2
X	f		
1	12	12	12

$$\bar{X} = \frac{fx}{f} = \frac{12}{12} = 1 \rightarrow \therefore S(x) = 0, V(x) = 0.$$

11) 1904

Cannings	frequency	fx	fx^2	$\bar{X} = \frac{fx}{f} = \frac{23}{21} = 1.095$
1	19	19	19	
2	2	4	8	
	$\frac{21}{21}$	$\frac{23}{23}$	$\frac{27}{27}$	

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum fx^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum fx}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{27}{21} - \left(\frac{23}{21} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{1.29 - (1.095)^2} = \sqrt{0.09} = 0.3$$

Coefficient of Variation $\frac{S(x)}{\bar{X}} = \frac{0.3}{1.095} = 0.273$ or 27.3%

12) 1905

Cannings	frequency	fx	fx^2
X	f		
1	5	5	5
2	1	2	4
	$\frac{6}{6}$	$\frac{7}{7}$	$\frac{9}{9}$

$$\bar{X} = \frac{fx}{f} = \frac{7}{6} = 1.17 = 1.17$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum fx^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum fx}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{9}{6} - \left(\frac{7}{6} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{1.5 - (1.17)^2} = \sqrt{0.13} = 0.360.$$

1905, Coefficient of Variation $\frac{S(x)}{\bar{x}} = \frac{0.36}{1.17} = 0.3076$
 or 30.76%

or

(P) 1906

Cannings	frequency	$f x$	$f x^2$
X	f		
1	9	9	9
2	4	8	16
	$\frac{13}{13}$	$\frac{17}{17}$	$\frac{25}{25}$

$$\bar{X} = \frac{fx}{f} = \frac{17}{13} = 1.31$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{\sum f x^2}{n} - \left(\frac{\sum f x}{n} \right)^2 \right\}} = \sqrt{\left\{ \frac{25}{13} - \left(\frac{17}{13} \right)^2 \right\}}$$

$$S(x) = \sqrt{1.92 - (1.31)^2} = \sqrt{0.2} = 0.447 = 0.45$$

Coefficient of Variation $\frac{S(x)}{\bar{x}} = \frac{0.45}{1.31} = 0.343$ or 34.3%

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Section One: Primary Sources Used.

- Sub-section (A) Located at the Beverley Public Records Office
- Sub-section (B) Located at the Hull Public Records Office
- Sub-section (C) Located at the Hull Magistrates Court
- Sub-section (D) Various
- Sub-section (E) Punishment Books of the Hull School Board

Section Two: Books

- Sub-section (A) Books: Primary sources
- Sub-section (B) Books: Secondary sources

Section Three: Articles and Theses

For Parliamentary Papers, Bills, Acts and Commissions see Chapter Notes.

Section One

Primary Sources: School Logs = (S); Managers Minutes = (M);
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(A) Located at the Beverley Public Records Office

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2 Volumes.

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Contact the Headmaster of Long Riston School.

Crowle Street Boys School Log. Education Offices, Prospect Centre, Hull.
Blundell Street School Log. In the Author's possession.

(E) Punishment Books of the Hull School Board

Chiltern Street School Girls Department.
Clifton Street School Infants Department.
Constable Street School Junior Department.

Located at the Education Offices, Prospect Centre, Hull. It is possible that they have by now been moved to the Public Records Office in Hull.

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