

AN INVESTIGATION OF PRECEDENTS FOR THE
RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SCHOOLS INQUIRY COMMISSION
1864 - 1867.

With an Analysis of Reasons for the Failure of
the Endowed Schools Act, 1869.

This Thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
of the
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BY

DAVID IAN ALLSOBROOK

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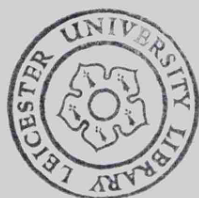
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STATEMENT

Except where appropriate acknowledgement has been made,
this thesis is entirely the result of the author's
investigations.

Signature of Candidate :

D J Allsobrook

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- I. A Summary of the Recommendations of the Schools Inquiry Commission.
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Chapter One.

Introduction.

...You are not likely to take a farm in hand, but will probably continue to let the whole as your great-grandfather, grandfather, and father did before you... Then there are the various local functions which a country gentleman may perform. He may be a Poor Law Guardian and attend their meetings once a week; a magistrate with meetings at Petty Sessions once a month, and at Quarter Sessions four times a year; a manager of Lunatic Asylums and similar institutions; a trustee of public endowments... I have long thought that there is no more noble or useful life than one spent in honest and zealous devotion to these things. The men who will do it are very rare, for to do it well requires a great deal of attention to minute details, and much patience, good sense, tact and temper besides, while the work brings in no money, and no reputation beyond the society affected by it. But such men are the very cement of society...and they find their reward in seeing things go right instead of wrong, in their own self-respect, and in the respect of those about them.

Letter of Arthur Hobhouse to a nephew, c.1874. Quoted in
L.T.Hobhouse and J.L.Hammond, Lord Hobhouse, A Memoir,
London, 1905, 2.

The Report of the Taunton or Schools Inquiry Commission has provided generous morsels of information for English social and educational historians. But it has never been studied in a detailed way, and has always seemed to hold a subordinate position in the triad of educational reports published in the 1860s. In a sense its conclusions have been seen to fit too comfortably into the broad assumptions made about the social structure of the mid-Victorian period; and its very massiveness may have discouraged detailed analysis.

This thesis sets out to re-examine some of the judgements which have been made upon the Taunton Commission : in particular, that of W.L.Burn, who has called it "a remarkably radical-collectivist document" and concluded that "what they proposed... was infinitely more radical than anything that has come to pass...since their report was published."¹ It will not be denied that the Report was a radical document when it was issued; but it will be argued that its 'radicalism' was itself rooted firmly in long-standing traditions : a traditional critique of equitable jurisdiction; a practical tradition of attempts to reform charitable endowments in Ireland, as well as in England and Wales; an ideological tradition of 'middle-class education' which began with Thomas Arnold, and was related to a wider pattern of political reform and to specific anxieties about the role of the lower middle class; and in a pattern of

1. W.L.Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, London, 1968 edn., 200-201.

rural, county-based initiative and practice which drew the members of the Commission closer to the rural county than to the municipality when they came to select witnesses, examine their own presuppositions, and point conclusions. The corollary to this 'rural' model for antecedents to the Taunton Commission is that urban initiatives in middle-class education tended to be isolated, heterogeneous and riven by religious controversy before 1864.

Finally, given that the Taunton Commission by no means invented its 'radical' proposals, and that most of these proposals were embodied in the 1869 Endowed Schools Act, an attempt will be made to describe the nature of the opposition which apparently brought down the executive Endowed Schools Commission between 1869 and 1874. That period has been seen as one of the first great periods of urban middle-class radicalism; yet it will be shown that, ironically, urban radical opposition had little to do with the fall of a Commission which made its chief enemies among Metropolitan conservatives : in a number of crucial cases the towns can be seen as asserting their conservative individualism against the collectivism recommended by the aristocratic leaders of 'collectivist' county societies.

From its inception the Taunton Commission was preoccupied with middle-class education. The terms of reference of the Commission were a sufficient indication of the social limits set upon its inquiries.

to inquire into the education given in schools not comprised within the scope of Your Majesty's Letters Patent bearing date respectively the 30th day of June 1858 and the 18th day of July 1861, and also to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the

improvement of such education, having especial regard to all endowments applicable or which rightly can be made applicable thereto...¹

After 1864 national newspapers unambiguously referred to the "Middle-class Schools Commission", or even to the "Middle-class Commission".² This 'open secret' of the Commissioners' concentration upon the educational wants of the middle classes presupposed that they had their own model definition of that section of society. They were aware of certain anomalies in their own terms of reference. For instance, in the Introduction to the Report they said,

...the education of what is sometimes called the lower section of the middle class is at present often conducted in the National and British schools, and therefore was in some degree comprised within one of Your Majesty's former Commissions. But, as a whole, it appeared to us to be clearly within our province and to deserve great attention.³

At the beginning of their Report, however, the Commissioners found it necessary to elaborate their three-tier model of the middle class in order to make clear their typology of schools. They took as their fundamental propositions, firstly, that educational needs can best be analysed in relation to the wishes of the parents; and secondly, that the wishes of the parents could be most clearly defined by the length of time they kept their children at school.

The Commissioners presented the needs of middle-class parents in tripartite form, and it is their model of the class structure which will form the basis of discussion which follows

1. Quoted at, S.I.C., I, 1.

2. e.g., Times, leader, 18 November 1864.

3. S.I.C., I, 2-3.

here.¹ If the tripartite assumption of the Commissioners was incorrect, then that was never argued at the time; and as a rough working model of Victorian society, it has never been abandoned.

The S.I.C. described the needs of the parents in terms of three Grades. The First Grade of education was required by "men with considerable incomes independent of their own exertions, professional men and men in business" who appeared to have "no wish to displace the classics from their present position in the forefront of English education."² The Second Grade parent was described even more vaguely: he was often from among "the larger shopkeepers, rising men of business, and the larger tenant farmers."³ In association with the needs of this class it had been said by assistant-commissioner Fearon that among them he had found "a great desire for less instruction in classics and more thorough teaching in modern subjects."⁴

The Third Grade which, as will be apparent later, was really the central problem confronting the Commissioners, was hardly more precisely defined as "the smaller tenant farmers, the small tradesmen, the superior artisans." It was true, they said, "that the number concerned is larger than that of any except the lowest", and "that the wealth and prosperity of the country depend to so great a degree on the industry, and that industry on the intelligence, of those

1. Thus, the grosser sociological models of Victorian society have here been ignored : e.g., R.S.Neale, 'Class and Class-consciousness in early nineteenth-century England : Three Classes or Five ?', in Victorian Studies, XII, No.1, September 1968, 5-32; as has been J.H.Vincent's more historically pleasing analysis in The Formation of the British Liberal Party, 1857-1868, London, 1972 edn., 24 ff.

2. S.I.C., I, 16.

3. *ibid.*, 20.

4. *ibid.*, 20-21.

who are left thus uneducated."¹ Of all the groups within this Third Grade of parents special and significant attention was given in the Introduction to the needs of "the smaller tenant farmers" who, it was feared, did not aim very high and, "if it were not for fear of being outdone by the class below them, would probably not care much for any education at all."² This preoccupation with the tenant farmers as a group points up the bearing which experience of educational needs within their own rural communities had upon the leading members of the Commission who were themselves the natural leaders of county society.

The Commissioners were also favoured, by Dr. Farr of the Registrar-General's office, with a paper on the number of pupils coming within the scope of the inquiry.³ He defined the lower limit of the limit of the middle class by two methods : firstly by measuring the proportion of the population living in houses of assessed value of £20 and upwards, thus providing 3,172,064 as the number of the upper and middle classes in 1864-65; secondly by deducing a figure from the number of marriages by licence, as distinct from marriages by banns, which were a feature of lower-class life, thus producing a middle- and upper-class population of 3,060,680. Farr said, "It is difficult to draw the line between what are called the working classes and the middle classes, requiring such an education as the Commissioners are inquiring into; but here we have broad lines drawn by the people themselves, and

1. S.I.C., I, 20.

2. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

3. S.I.C., I, Appendix II, 6-10.

recognised for practical purposes by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. From one class he collects the house tax, and he does not venture to go lower." He further recommended the Commission "to employ some one to go over the occupation return of the census, to get thence the number of the professional, mercantile, industrial and agricultural classes who are likely to require the contemplated education for their children." The Commission, so far as is known, never did this; or if they did attempt it, they would have encountered difficulties even greater than those suffered by Dudley Baxter who was defeated by a similar task in compiling his 'National Income : the United Kingdom' in 1868. However, one of the Commissioners, T.D.Acland, in Exeter, and an assistant commissioner, D.C.Richmond, in the Eastern Counties, did make very limited local investigations along the lines suggested by Farr.¹ (Richmond, in fact, held the additional office of Registrar to the Commission.) And Fitch, in his report on the West Riding, and T.H.Green, on Birmingham, made rough estimates of middle-class population in their areas. The final conclusions deduced by the Commissioners from these coarse estimates were that, in order to bring education within the reach of parents, there should be ultimately school provision in the towns for not less than 16 boys per thousand of the population; that in every town large enough to maintain a day school, there should be immediate provision for ten boys per thousand of the population, with a power of extension; and that of the whole of the presumed demand, one half at least should be assigned to the requirements of the Third Grade scholars. No

1. S.I.C., I, Appendix II, 10-15, 15-27.

attempt was made to arrive at a statistically accurate estimate of the proportions of places needed by each of the three Grades.

By 1832 the term 'middle class' had come of age. In two essays published in the 1950s¹ Asa Briggs has outlined the early history of 'middle class', and he has suggested that the invention of the term was the result of conscious pride in their economic achievements on the part of the manufacturing interests in the 1780s and 1790s. But he went on to point out that there were factors which produced a feeling of middle-class identity, other than their own sense of achievement. The problem of the education of this new order was explained in Volume I of the Westminster Review in 1824:

Of the political and moral importance of this class there can be but one opinion. It is the strength of the community. It contains, beyond all comparison, the greatest proportion of the intelligence, industry, and wealth of the state. In it are the heads that invent, and the hands that execute; the enterprise that projects, and the capital by which these projects are carried into operation. The merchant, the manufacturer, the mechanist, the chemist, the artist, those who discover new arts, ...the men in fact who think for the rest of the world, are the men of this class...The proper education of this portion of the people is therefore of the greatest possible importance to the well-being of the state.²

The repeal of the religious tests in 1828 freed a large proportion of this broad class from irritating social and political restraints, and the passing of the 1832 Reform Act completed the formal process of liberation. It is interesting to consider the terms in which the politicians of the old

1. Asa Briggs, (i) 'Middle-class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846', Past and Present, April 1956;
- (ii) 'Language of Class', in Asa Briggs and John Saville (eds.), Essays in Labour History, London, 1960.
2. Westminster Review, I, No.1, 68-69.

order viewed and rationalised these changes. Bulwer-Lytton, speaking of the 1832 Act in the Commons thirty years later, said that it had enfranchised "the middle ranks of society which cannot be called a class, because it comprises all classes, from the educated gentleman to the skilled artisan, and which does represent a high average of the common sense of the common interest." Macaulay declared that the principle of the Bill was "to admit the middle class to a large and direct share in the representation, without any shock to the institutions of our country."¹ The Reform Bill certainly seemed to be a capitulation, but its passage was not a headlong flight into the abyss of democracy; rather was it among the first of those moments when the aristocratic political leadership of the country gave ground while maintaining its firm control over the constitutional machinery.

For in one sense the accession of the middle classes to a share in political power in 1832 was a victory over the masses, achieved by the aristocracy through its new alliance with the commercial middle classes. The real motive for aristocratic good will in the early 1830s was disclosed in the Scottish Memorandum on Reform delivered to Russell in November 1830 :

But any plan must be objectionable which, by keeping the franchise very high and exclusive, fails to give satisfaction to the middle and respectable ranks of society, and drives them to a union founded on dissatisfaction, with the lower orders. It is of the utmost importance to associate the middle with the higher orders of society in the love and support of the institutions and government of the country.²

1. Quoted in O.F. Christie, *The Transition from Aristocracy, 1832-1867*, London, 1927, 67.

2. Quoted in Norman Gash, *The Age of Peel : a study in the techniques of parliamentary representation*, London, 1953, 15.

These reasons for attaching the middle classes to the constitution after 1830 were soundly based upon information transmitted from the provinces and particularly from the new industrial centres of the Midlands and the North of England. At this stage in their development, however, towns and cities possessed their own idiosyncracies of social structure; and Birmingham, it may be supposed, was the example from which the ruling class derived most of its anxieties. Thomas Attwood, addressing a meeting of the Birmingham Political Union, said,

The interests of masters and men are, in fact, one. If the masters flourish, the men are certain to flourish with them; and if the masters suffer difficulties, their difficulties must shortly affect the workmen in a three-fold degree. The masters, therefore, ought not to say to the workmen, 'Give us your wages', but take their workmen by the hand, and knock at the gates of the Government and demand the redress of their common grievances. In this way the Government is made answerable for its own acts at its own doors; and in this way only can the rights and interests of the middle and lower classes be supported.¹

Fear of this kind of sentiment permeated the political climate of the period between the first two Reform Acts. Those who watched the ebb and flow of revolution and reaction in contemporary Europe conceived of gradual constitutional and educational change in England as a guarantee of the enduring stability of English society and institutions. As a consequence of Grey's capitulation in 1832 a repetition of an alliance between the middle and lower classes during the period of Chartist activity was largely forestalled. The aristocracy retained its political control under the constitution despite the attachment of middle-class numbers; the

1. Quoted in Asa Briggs, 'Thomas Attwood and the Economic Background to the Birmingham Political Union', Cambridge Historical Journal, IX, no.2, 1948.

supremacy of the upper orders in politics continued until the economic crises and redistributions of representation in the 1880s began to erode the security of the landed interest.

Aristocratic control was guaranteed by the combination of a series of discreet withdrawals from direct confrontation with middle-class interests — the first of which, in 1832, has already been noted — with a stream of gratuitous flattery of the middle classes, and their 'power' by leading statesmen and politicians, backed by the maintenance of a free-market economy which allowed business to flourish almost unchecked by the state.

Bernard Cracroft wrote in 1866, of the aristocracy,

...So vast is their traditional power, so deep and ancient are its roots, so multiplied and ramified everywhere are its tendrils and creepers, that the danger is never lest they should have too little but always lest they should have too much power, and so, even involuntarily, choke down the possibilities of life from below...The Parliamentary frame is kneaded together almost out of one class; it has the strength of a giant and the compactness of a dwarf.¹

The most famous of the aristocracy's withdrawals permitted the repeal of the Corn Laws. One historian has written recently, "the repeal of the Corn Laws is now more generally regarded not as a victory of the 'Middle classes', whoever they were, but as a skilful and successful holding operation by the governing class, the landowners."² And there can be little doubt but that repeal neutralised one of the chief weapons of radical agitation — the 'bread tax' — and thus delayed for two

1. B.Cracroft, 'The Analysis of the House of Commons', in *Essays on Reform*, London, 1867, 155 ff.

2. G.Kitson Clark, 'The Electorate and the Repeal of the Corn Laws', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 1951.

decades the execution of other pieces of the radical programme, to which the landed interest was generally antipathetic. Cobden reluctantly admitted in 1857, "During my experience the higher classes never stood so high in relative social and political rank, as compared with the other classes, as at present."¹

The corollary of the aristocrats' policy of discreet withdrawal was their tendency to flatter the middle classes. And in eulogies of the middle-class ethic of self-help and individual effort politicians were careful to make their terms of reference suitably vague. Palmerston was the past-master at what Cobden called pouring contempt on the middle classes in this way. Lord Derby, one of Palmerston's serious challengers in this respect, said, in a speech at the Liverpool Collegiate Institution, which received the accolade of a six-column summary in the Times.

Suppose there were excluded, as higher classes, all those who, because of inherited fortune have had a liberal education, and are independent of the necessity of applying to any provision (of education); suppose, on the other hand, we exclude as belonging to the lowest class of all those whose daily subsistence is dependent upon their daily manual labour — I ask you to look what a vast amount, what an immense social range...are left between these two extremes, all of which gradations and ranks constitute that which we mean by the middle classes of society of this country. It would be very easy to say, of this or that person, 'he belongs to the higher classes, this one to the lower class', but for one whose position you could distinctly, accurately define, there are hundreds of whom it would be impossible to say, and with regard to whom two people would not agree, whether they belonged to the higher, or the higher-middle, to the lower-middle, or to the lower classes. Such is the happy fusion by which one rank and one gradation melt into and is absorbed by another, forming the harmonious chain by which the whole of society is bound together in this happy country. (Loud Cheers.)²

1. Quoted by N. McCord in R. Robson (ed.), *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain*, London, 1962, 113.

2. Times, 12 October 1863.

In this windy definition he took care to associate the artisan and the clerk with two other marginally more successful sons of the middle class — W.E.Gladstone and Sir Robert Peel.

Strategy and flattery did not smother criticism of aristocratic government. Momentarily, in 1855, largely because of what was seen as mismanagement of the Crimean campaigns by aristocratic politicians and military leaders, criticism of upper-class domination became strident, and then, just as quickly, died down. This short-lived movement expressed itself through the Administrative Reform Association,¹ which was supported chiefly by the wealthy commercial and professional classes. This radical Association disappeared almost as soon as the furore created by the War began to diminish. But while it failed to sustain itself as a political pressure-group there remained an undertow of dissatisfaction with the conduct of affairs which was to find another voice, albeit a distorted one, in the programme of the 1868 Liberal Administration. And radical feeling did infuse the deliberations of other organisations which discussed problems of social reform in the 1850s and 1860s — notably the British Association and the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. However, it is significant that W.E.Forster had sufficient political foresight in 1855 to decide reluctantly against forming a branch of the Administrative Reform Association in Bradford.

1. See, (i) R.A.Lewis, 'Edwin Chadwick and the Administrative Reform Movement, 1854-56', University of Birmingham Historical Journal, II, 1949-50, 178-200; (ii) Olive Anderson, A Liberal State at War, Lond 1947, 114 ff; (iii) below, ch.VI.

The lower middle class was the chief preoccupation of the Schools Inquiry Commission. One motive for anxiety about the education of this section of the community in the 1860s lay in the probability, quite distinct after 1855, that there would soon be a further extension of the franchise which would attach the class of smaller tradesmen and artisans to the constitution. It was about this group that Canon Edward Girdlestone spoke to the 1857 London Conference on Education.¹ He said that after twenty-five years' experience in a Lancashire industrial parish, he could divide the labouring classes into two categories : those who did not send their children to school, or kept them there for only a short time; and those who sent their children to elementary school for as long as they could afford.

Not in all cases, but upon the long run, and to a considerable extent, the labourers whose houses are well built and roomy...did send their children to school in greater numbers, more regularly, and for a longer time, than those whose homes were hovels, incapable of comfort, and in some cases more fit for the residence of brutes than of men...They thought more about the future advantages of their children, less about their own immediate profit.²

(Archdeacon Sandford, an H.M.I., spoke in similar terms about the artisan class in Staffordshire in the early 1860s.³) But Girdlestone broadened the picture to include a further, more important proposition. He was aware that "the franchise is a prize worth fighting for"; and his conclusion was that educational attainment should be made a qualification for being granted the vote .

1. A.Hill (ed.), *Essays on Educational Subjects*, London, 1857, 140.

2. *ibid.*, 116.

3. See below, ch.VI,

Girdlestone's concern for lower middle-class housing was later developed by Thomas Hare, the Charity Commission Inspector, now chiefly remembered for his advocacy of proportional representation. Hare read a paper to the Jurisprudence Department of the Social Science Association in 1863 in which he proposed the reform of property law to enable the better-paid labourers to purchase their own homes.¹ And in a letter to the Times he suggested that the state should intervene to facilitate the development of housing associations for the lower middle classes in London, to supplement existing charitable arrangements.

So far an attempt has been made to depict the character of the changing middle class as it may have appeared to the men who mattered in England in the first six decades of the nineteenth century, and in particular how it appeared to the Taunton Commissioners. But there was a further group in society, coming from a greater variety of social levels, which to some extent stood apart from the three categories of upper, middle and lower classes, whose members possessed the common characteristic of being men of ideas who often occupied professional positions. They were apparently disinterested and pronounced judgement as to what seemed best for the future conduct of public affairs, or even for the arrangement of social classes. The careers of some of these men — like Brougham, Nassau Senior and Edwin Chadwick — spanned at least the period from the first Reform Act until the 1860s. But in the years immediately before 1864 the figure most characteristic of this group

1. Thomas Hare, 'Draft of a Bill to facilitate the Acquirement of House Property by the Working Classes in Large Towns', Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Edinburgh, 1863, London, 1863, 266.

was Matthew Arnold who, from the aloofness of his position as an apparently objective observer, could inveigh against the failings of the three main social classes. Arnold addressed his remarks to the 'middle classes', as well as to contemporary politicians, in the pages of periodicals. For, as another member of this group, J.S.Mill, wrote in 1840, concerning the new pretensions of the middle class,

...ten times more money is made by supplying the wants, even the superfluous wants, of the middle, nay of the lower classes, than those of the higher. It is the middle class that now rewards even literature and art; the books by which most money is made are the cheap books....¹

Newspapers and periodicals were not the only forum for the dissemination of ideas : the Societies of the 1820s and 1830s, the Conferences and Associations of the 1850s and 1860s, provided further outlets through which the professional men, or men of ideas, could reach a wide public among the middle classes. In addition, by a process which S.E.Finer has called 'suscitation',² they reached and influenced even aristocratic and gentry politicians.

The crystalising effect of the transmission of ideas relating to middle-class education in the mid-1850s is a subject which will be developed later.³ Here it is necessary to consider the remarks of one who not only inspired the educational work of his most famous son, but fathered and drew together the movement of ideas which found its most substantial exposition in the Report of the Taunton Commission. Thomas Arnold's

1. J.S.Mill, 'Review of "Democracy in America" (de Tocqueville)', Edinburgh Review, October 1840, 41.

2. S.E.Finer, 'The Transmission of Benthamite Ideas', in G.Sutherland (ed.), Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth-Century Government, London, 1972, 13.

3. See below, ch.VI.

anxieties about the social and political condition of England in the 1830s were expressed intermittently in his letters and sermons. But after the failure of his own journal, the English Register, in July 1831, he published a series of letters in the radical Sheffield Courant which were devoted to the subject of improving the condition of the lower classes. The same newspaper, in April 1832, printed a letter of his on the subject of 'The Education of the Middle Classes'.

He began by saying, "We are all aware of the growing power of the middling classes of society, and we know that the Reform Bill will at once increase this power, and consolidate it."¹ He then identified two 'parties' in the country : the one wishing that the mass of the people should be shut out from political power, maintaining that the people will never be fit to exercise it; the other triumphing in the prospect of increased power for the masses. "I am earnestly desirous that the people should grow jointly in power and true knowledge; but at the same time I should regard their power as the worst of acts, if true knowledge were not to accompany it." He continued,

It seems, then, that the education of the middling classes at this time, is a question of the greatest national importance. I wish exceedingly to draw public attention to it; and at the same time, if I may be allowed to do so, to impress most strongly on those engaged in conducting it, the difficulty of their task, as well as its vast importance....²

In this, and in a further letter on the same subject published in May, Arnold outlined a set of proposals which became the blue-print for the continuing debate about middle-

1. Thomas Arnold, *Miscellaneous Works*, Collected and Published, London, 1845, 226.

2. *ibid.*, 227.

class education until 1867. His statement of ideals was quoted repeatedly, his ideas borrowed, trimmed and modified, by men of a variety of political and religious complexions. It is one of the main contentions of this study that he was the chief fountainhead of the notions which comprised the leading points of discussion on middle-class schooling. In this respect a very important factor in the assessment of him as a powerful and deeply influential educational and social thinker has been overlooked by his biographers. His ideas on this subject therefore deserve a detailed description.

He pointed out a dilemma which was to become more marked as English education developed in the second quarter of the century. The schools for the richer classes were conducted generally by the clergy; the parish clergy superintended parochial schools for the lower classes. "But between these two extremes there is a great multitude of what are called English or commercial schools at which a large proportion of the sons of farmers and tradesmen receive their education."¹ He included in this category, rather indiscriminately, the endowed schools; but even so he was thus anticipating the similarly broad scope of the Taunton inquiry. In the next year, 1833, he might have added the more telling social distinction which resulted from the Government grant to the Voluntary Societies. The creation of the Committee of Council in 1839 and the subsequent growth of an educational bureaucracy controlling much of the education of the poor, highlighted still more dramatically the plight of the middle classes. Nevertheless, as early as 1832 Arnold had begun

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

a train of complaint about the 'injustice' of subsidising popular education while neglecting middle-class schooling.

His next concern also foreshadowed the problem which the Taunton Commissioners thirty years later invited their first witnesses to help them solve¹: the registration and certification of schoolmasters for middle-class schools. "There is now no restriction", said Arnold, "upon the exercise of the business of a schoolmaster and no inquiry made as to his qualifications." The practice of issuing the Bishop's licence had fallen into disuse; "and as the government for the last century has thought it right to leave the moral and religious interests of the people pretty nearly to themselves, an impracticable restriction was suffered to become obsolete, but nothing was done to substitute in its place one that should be at once practical and beneficial."² A clergyman at the head of a middle-class school guaranteed in himself the moral fitness of the education provided there. But in so many schools there was no such guarantee.³ It was unfortunate also that the masters of most commercial schools lacked not only high moral character but intellectual fitness. This aspect of Arnold's thinking anticipated the experiments of the 1850s in the form of the Local examinations of Oxford and Cambridge Universities and the certificates of the College of Preceptors.

"It has long been the reproach of our law, that it has no

1. See below, ch.X.

2. Arnold, op. cit., 228.

3. But the S.I.C. was to find remarkable exceptions to Arnold's 'guarantee'; e.g., Kettering Grammar School, q.v., S.I.C., XII, 349

efficient secondary punishments : it is no less true that we have no regular system of secondary education." The classical schools had the Universities above them to provide standards of attainment. "But anything like local universities, — any so much as local distinction or advancement in life held out to encourage exertion at a commercial school, it is as yet vain to look for."¹ The concept of the local or county college, as part of a federal university, was to be taken up later, again in the 1850s, by Earl Fortescue and his colleague, an old Rugbeian of Arnold's time, the Revd. J.L.Brereton, in Devonshire.²

Arnold also pointed to the weakness inherent in the dependence of the private schoolmaster upon the whims of middle-class clients : "if he offends them he is ruined." This dependence was the reason given for the failure of a number of proprietary schools in the 1820s and 1830s.³ Arnold's patronising attitude to the demands of middle-class parents was reflected later in a similarly paternalistic frame of mind adopted by the Schools Inquiry Commission. While accepting that ultimately decisions had to rest with the parents, the S.I.C. said that, "In fact, many parents need education themselves in order to appreciate education for their children, and their present opinion cannot be considered final or supreme."⁴

Arnold concluded his first letter by suggesting that the

1. Arnold, op. cit., 229.

2. For Fortescue's proposals, see below, chapters II and III.

3. See below, ch.VIII.

4. S.I.C., I, 15.

dubious status of schoolmasters would be improved, not only by developing their personal qualities, but by raising their position in society.

For this the interference of the government seems to me indispensable, in order to create a national and systematic course of proceeding, instead of the mere feeble efforts of individuals; to provide for the middling classes something analogous to the advantages offered to the richer classes by our great public schools and Universities.¹

In this Arnold was departing from the pattern suggested by his Utilitarian contemporaries; while it is inconceivable that he would have had any truck with the subsequently fashionable 'supply and demand' principle of Robert Lowe, which was treated so roughly by Matthew Arnold in 'A French Eton.'² Thomas Arnold in 1832 was anticipating the more drastic action by the State which the S.I.C. was to unreservedly propose over thirty years later.

In his second Letter he set out to examine critically the curriculum common to most commercial schools. In the first place, because of the educational inadequacy of many pupils' homes, he said, some of them had to be taught to read when they first entered the commercial school.³ In most schools the rudiments of arithmetic, history and geography were taught; there was some physical science; "and with a view to his particular business in life, he learns land surveying, if he is to be brought up in agricultural pursuits; or book-keeping, if he is intended for trade." Religious education varied considerably in extent and quality. Classical studies were

1. Arnold, op. cit., 230.

2. See below, ch. VI.

3. Arnold, op. cit., 231.

largely ignored, though sometimes the boys were required to analyse grammatically any sentence in an English book, and to give the derivation of the several words in it, "just as boys at classical schools are called upon to do it in Greek and Latin." But despite the antipathy which Arnold is commonly said to have felt towards science at Rugby, he could say, quite favourably, "doubtless there may be many commercial schools, especially in the manufacturing districts, where the course of study far surpasses what is here given, and where the instruction on scientific subjects, in chemistry, and in mechanics, is carried to a high degree of proficiency."¹

Incidentally he was revealing in his own approach to middle-class schooling a feature which was to characterise what might be called the mainstream of thinking about the subject in the period up to the Taunton inquiry : industrial England, save for the descriptions he may have read in periodicals and newspapers and the glimpses he may have caught of its fringes on the way to Fox How, was terra incognita to Arnold. His images of education were related to the county, to a rural community and its needs. His experience in this respect was shared generally by the men who read what he had written, and who were themselves to carry the debate to its first conclusion in 1867.

It will be suggested later² that the models for reform produced by the S.I.C. were rooted in the countryside, rather than in the urban industrial centres where the numerical bulk of the 'Middle classes' flourished and earned their livings.

Arnold's criticisms of the commercial school curriculum did not so much deal with the subjects taught as with the

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. See below, Ch.II.

unsuccessful way in which boys were prepared in those schools for the business of life. Or rather, he said that every man had two businesses : the one his own calling, his career or professions; the other his general calling, the calling of a citizen and a man. "The education which fits him for the first of these two businesses is called professional; that which fits him for the second, is called liberal."¹ Commercial schools prepared boys for the first, but not for the second. Nevertheless, and unfortunately, everyone was willing to put forward an opinion on the business of being a citizen : "false notions are entertained and acted upon; prejudices and passions multiply; abuses are manifold; difficulty and distress at last press upon the whole community..." He attributed this ignorance of the business of the citizen to the tendency, "at least in agricultural districts", to take the boy from school at fourteen. By that time he would have learnt something which might prove useful in his professional business; but "the interests of his great business as a man are sacrificed to the interests of his particular business as a farmer or tradesman." Yet such a man, lacking in political knowledge, was usually keen to grasp political power. Newspapers, common as they were, could not supply the deficiency : "instruction must be regular and systematic...real knowledge...must be worked for, — and studied for, — and thought for, — and more than all it must be prayed for." He did not suggest, as might have been expected, a dose of classical studies for all pupils; but he did conclude by suggesting that a pupil's school life should extend beyond

1. Arnold, op. cit., 232.

the age of fourteen. If this aim were found to be impracticable "my expectations of good from any political changes are faint indeed."¹

It is significant that the next Letter in the Sheffield series was entitled 'Reform and its Future Consequences'. Arnold was perhaps more honest than some of his political successors in the middle-class debate : he said, "I have much to lose by revolution: I have nothing to dread from reform."² He showed a willingness to relate his anxieties about the condition of society to his own condition, and this characteristic was shared by few of the protagonists of educational reform in the next generation. Yet his espousal of the cause of reform, as an antidote to the possibility of revolution, was a principle of action taken up by the men of the 1850s and 1860s. It lay squarely at the centre of the deliberations of the Administrative Reform Association, the British Association and the Social Science Association; and it formed the framework for the gradual amelioration of social and industrial conditions by legislative and voluntary effort for the next fifty years. Arnold qualified his fear of revolution by admitting that it was rooted, not in pure love of property, but in his affection for "the habits and feelings and society of English gentlemen."³ He wished to take the moderate, gentlemanly path between the ideas of the "Conservatives" and the "Jacobins", "those equal enemies of good, whose alternating crimes and follies have, between them, been the curse of mankind from the very

1. *ibid.*, 235.

2. *ibid.*, 235-236.

3. *ibid.*, 236.

beginning of its history."¹ He looked, therefore, to a moderate government, in sympathy with the wishes of the people; a government which would turn its back upon the narrow principles of Toryism, while "manfully and honestly" eschewing the excesses of a minority of "Revolutionists". He was sufficiently 'utilitarian' to suggest reform of "whatever is bad in every existing institution."²

However, he wished to put down the party of the Godless men who were trying to turn Dissenters into revolutionaries, by inflaming their hatred of Church rates, of the tithe, and of Tory bishops. Property, too, was exposed to attack by those who wished to make a more equal division of it. "When a man has property of his own, although it may be very small in comparison with his neighbour's, he prefers holding what he has got on the old tenure to the risk of gaining somewhat more by breaking society to pieces."³ Once again the imagery was consciously agricultural. He thought that if religion and property were jointly exposed to danger, England's most cherished institutions — her monarchy and aristocracy — must be equally imperilled. Now was the time, therefore, for a liberal government to come forward, "to state broadly and clearly the line between reform and revolution, — to rally all the honesty and spirit of the nation in support of the first, and to denounce in no hesitating language the promoters of the second, as the worst enemies of their country."⁴

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. *ibid.*, 237.

3. *ibid.*, 238.

4. *ibid.*, 239.

Arnold perceived very clearly the main lines along which the discussion of middle-class education was to run. He isolated the schooling of the middle classes from the public schools above, and from the voluntary schools below; he challenged the values of the commercial and private schools, and lumped in with them most of the endowed schools; he posed the question of how to set a standard for these schools, which ultimately and logically produced an answer according to his proposal in the form of the 'Locals' in the 1850s; he preached the making of a teaching profession; he determined the path along which Broad Churchmen were to march towards a generous compromise with the demands of Dissent, in the interest of social and political harmony; he suggested, albeit obliquely, that classical subjects need not be the core of 'secondary' education for all pupils; and he warned against a school system which had at its heart a moral vacuum, the political consequence of which would be oblivion. At the same time he anticipated and codified the rural, not to say 'Georgic', metaphors and models which were to form the frame in which the Taunton Commissioners built up their picture of a system of middle-class education.

There is little need to draw a line of succession between the principles thus expounded by a Broad Churchman in the early 1830s, and the policies discussed by the Taunton Commission in the 1860s. And it would be unrealistic to make faint criticism of Arnold for his failure to prophecy the subtle changes of social emphasis which were to develop in the intervening period. He anticipated government intervention, without considering the uproar it might cause later; and, by implication,

he foresaw that change, when it was attempted, would be engineered mainly within the framework of aristocratic and county politics. In Thomas Arnold, the radical reformer and the guardian of aristocratic, gentlemanly tradition lived side by side. And in a modified form — a desire to see the State "organise" its secondary education, and in a wry affection for the 'Barbarians' of the aristocracy — these elements were kept alive by his son, Matthew, by Frederick Temple, and by numerous faithful pupils and disciples.

On the mere evidence of this description of Arnold's ideas it is clear that discussion of the development of national education in the nineteenth century, and consideration of religious controversy, are inseparable. Denominational groups had begun to establish schools for their own children before the repeal of the Test Acts, and they continued to do so throughout the whole of the period covered by this study. But dissenting protest was mingled with other radical and anti-establishment voices : as Professor Chadwick has said, in the early Victorian period "the claims of dissenters were spun into webs of acrimony, fabricated not only from the ills of dissenters, but from the farmers' vexation against the tithe, or radical abuse of aristocratic corruption...the war of conservative and radical became identified with a war of Churchman versus dissenter."¹

It is difficult to generalise about Dissent in relation to educational issues. Even over a central problem like Disestablishment, dissenters never really presented a united front

1. Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, I, London, 1966, 61.

to Anglicanism ; in the 1830s Wesleyans and Congregationalists were against it. But a number of factors contributed to an increasing unanimity of approach : the formation of the Free Church of Scotland in 1843; the dispute over the education clauses in Graham's Bill, which for a time seemed as though it might weld Dissent into a major political force; the rise of Tractarianism in the Church of England; and the Maynooth Grant — all these events encouraged a common suspicion of the motives and policies of the leaders of the Established Church and lay Anglicans in government.

But Dissent never developed as a coherent political force in the nation as a whole. And perhaps the most interesting phase in the history of the dissenting party coincided with the period of the Newcastle and Taunton Commissions, on which official bodies Dissent was represented by Miall and Baines respectively. There can be little doubt that, as Matthew Arnold suggested, the more primitively militant attitudes and prejudices of the older generation of Dissenters were softening by the 1860s; he expected that, in the field of middle-class education, Dissent and Anglicanism were about to resolve their old differences.

In the 1840s, for men like Edward Baines, Russell had seemed a possible political helpmeet, if not a champion. But Russell had disappointed in office after 1846. Palmerston's Broad Church attitudes smacked more of complacency than of tolerance. And the Liberation Society had failed in its aim of providing a steady flow of M.P.s sympathetic to the cause of Dissent. So in the early 1860s there grew up an astonishing alliance between the High Church Gladstone, M.P. for Oxford University, and the dissenting interest in the Commons.

The years 1860 to 1864 saw a decline in the voting power of Dissenters in the Commons. A revival of nonconformist political morale was essential. Miall, the only Dissenter with a broadly based national reputation, was out of Parliament between 1857 and 1869. Bright had become unpopular because of his repeated refusals to lead the Liberation Society after 1854.

Gladstone's motives were clear : on his route to the leadership of the Liberal party he had to conciliate the great mass of Dissenting supporters. In accepting, after 1860, nonconformist political aims for which he had previously expressed revulsion, he believed that some concessions would not destroy the Church, but would rather strengthen it by removing some of the bases of hostility between Dissenters and Anglicans. He thought that the process of conciliation should be gradual. His new attitude, particularly after his support for Peto's Burial Bill in 1862, provoked comment from Pusey : "What the Dissenters really want, as you know, is not that they should be buried in churchyards, but that everything which the Church has should be divided with them."¹ Gladstone suggested to Samuel Wilberforce in 1862 that the time had come for the adoption of a more liberal tone by the Bishops;² and in this he was anticipating his appointment of Temple to Exeter in 1869.

For the moment the only apparent connection between Gladstone's new position and the problem of middle-class education lay in his supporting the last of Lewis Dillwyn's Bills to allow Dissenters to become trustees of Anglican schools. The Bill

1. G. I. T. Machin, 'Gladstone and Nonconformity in the 1860s : the Formation of an Alliance', The Historical Journal, XVII, No. 2, (1974), 350-351.

2. *ibid.*, 352.

failed in 1863, but Gladstone's attitude provoked from the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University a tart note in which he informed the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the University petition against the Bill had been sent for presentation to the other Oxford M.P., Heathcote : "You will at once understand why I have forwarded it to him instead of to you."¹ Gladstone's subsequent defeat at Oxford, and his transfer to the South Lancashire constituency temporarily helped to link him more closely with the social and religious groups to whom he looked for support in the Liberal party. And he did not hold aloof from Dissent : he began to mix socially, though in private, with prominent Congregational leaders, like Hall and Allon.²

The significance of these developments, for the purpose of this study, lies chiefly in the fact that the Government which set out, as part of its announced programme, to act upon the recommendations of the S.I.C., was founded partly upon the alliance of its leader and the main body of Dissent. More than any previous administration the Liberals of 1868 seemed well placed to deal with middle-class education, against the background of religious controversy which was sure to be provoked by reforming legislation. In this respect the central issues were the need to promote conscience clauses; to make governing bodies more representative of local religious interests; and the possibility of throwing open headships to laymen.

The removal of Anglican features which so irritated Dissenters is connected with another issue which was at the core of the work of the S.I.C. This was the continuing process of attempting to reform the management of endowed charities in

1. *ibid.*, 351-352.

2. *ibid.*, 354-355.

the first seven decades of the century. The resistance of the City of London Corporation to the work of the Endowed Schools Commission after 1869 marked an important stage in an intensifying campaign of criticism which had its origin in the reports of the Brougham Commissioners from 1818 to 1837, the establishment of the permanent Charity Commission, and the efforts to neutralise the power and patronage of the City Corporation and the great City Companies.¹

A further feature of the period under consideration has been touched upon at various points already. This is the separation of two clearly defined interests in society : Land, on one side; Commerce and Industry, on the other. The Industrial Revolution had sharpened the differences between these two interests, and the 1832 Reform Act had attached, not only a new class, but a new species of property, to the constitution. The next century was to see the struggle, first for parity, then for final superiority, between these two interests; though it must be admitted that at certain points the two sides seemed to coincide. The banker — like Samuel Loyd Jones — and the industrialist — like the Guests of Merthyr Tydfil — often became men of landed property when they reached the peaks of their prosperity.² Landed aristocrats, like Earl Granville in Staffordshire, became involved in the industrial activity of their localities.³ The chief concern here will be with the landed interest, since it will be argued that from this 'declining' sector came the most far-reaching attempts to create on a

1. See below, chapters V and XII.

2. F.M.L.Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1971 edn., 34-36.

3. *ibid.*, 174.

national scale an education system for the middle classes such as Thomas Arnold had suggested; and that the county possessed, and tried to use, a hierarchical structure which enabled its leading members to propose reforms which were more sweeping than any of the piecemeal plans which were propounded and practised in the larger towns and cities.

The 1851 Census marks a turning-point in the history of English society : the beginning of a preponderance, in terms of numbers, of the industrial, urban interest. But in 1851, though there had been a rapid increase in the size of London, most towns were still small by modern standards : only 11 towns had populations over 100,000; only 5 of these were over 200,000 ; and only 20 towns had populations of more than 50,000. And it is worth considering here that the S.I.C. reckoned that only towns with populations over 100,000 should possess their own local education 'authority'.¹ G.D.H.Cole said that only in 1851 was "the great age of one-class urban and suburban areas beginning, with important effects on social relations and the development of local government."² Until well into the 1860s, then, the landed interest, in terms of control of established institutions, could be sure that its imprint remained deeply engraved on most of the country, outside the growing conurbations of the North and the Midlands, though even in those territories great magnates like Lord Derby, Earl Fitzwilliam in South Yorkshire, the Duke of Northumberland, and the Calthorpes in Birmingham, could still wield great influence.³

1. S.I.C., I, 643-644.

2. G.D.H.Cole, *Studies in Class Structure*, London, 1955, 49-51.

3. See below, ch.VIII, for landed proprietors and their continuing influence upon the development of urban areas.

The landed interest not only controlled the established institutions of central and local government; it also had great and historic cohesiveness,¹ and this was to be an important factor in relation to solving the problems of educational provision. Disraeli, speaking at Shrewsbury in May 1843, described the landed interest in almost romantic terms :

When I talk of the landed interest, do not for a moment suppose that I merely mean the preponderance of 'Squires of high degree' ...I do not undervalue the mere superiority of the landed classes; on the contrary I think it is a most necessary element of political power and national civilisation; but I am looking to the population of our innumerable villages, to the crowds in our rural towns : aye, and I mean something more than that by the landed interest — I mean the estate of the poor, the great estate of the Church ...I mean also...that great judicial fabric, that great building up of our laws and manners which is, in fact, the ancient polity of our realm.²

This kind of summary statement shares, in its apparent simplicity, the flavour of Lord Derby's address to the middle classes of Liverpool in 1863.³ It must be admitted that landed proprietors like Derby may have wished to project on to the confusion of urban industrial society the simple harmony of the rural, county community. But Disraeli was, by contrast with Derby, expressing an essential truth about the nature of rural society : it was cohesive and relatively harmonious, and its cohesiveness enabled it to survive 'Captain Swing' and the mid-century crisis which followed Repeal, and to maintain its influence upon the work of the Legislature.

1. See above, this chapter, 11.

2. Quoted in R.J.White, *The Conservative Tradition*, London, 1964, 110.

3. See above, this chapter, 10.

Lewis Namier denied the validity of the view that the English have little respect for mental achievement; and his interest in the eighteenth-century constitution led him to dispute also, by implication, Cobden's poor view of the English aristocracy. Namier contrasted English experience with that of the Continent : in Germany, he said, scholarships were traditionally seen as a form of poor relief; in England the scholar held a privileged position. He went on,

English civilisation is essentially the work of the leisured class...More intellectual work is done by aristocrats in England than anywhere else, and, in turn, scientists, doctors, historians and poets have been made peers — to say nothing of the discipline most closely connected with the State, the law, where peerages have for centuries been the regular and almost unavoidable prizes for the leaders of the profession.¹

This combination between the aristocracy and the law has an interesting bearing upon the progress of reform in English middle-class education : it is possible to see the concerted attempts to bring about change in the 1850s and 1860s as the joint efforts of a 'country party', based in rural society, and a significant group among the practitioners and officials of the equity courts.² The aristocratic element, as it was represented on the Taunton Commission, fitted nicely Namier's depiction of the aristocracy as a dynamic group in English intellectual life : Lyttelton, Stanley, and to some extent the newly ennobled Baron Taunton exemplified the interest and expertise in public affairs of the élite of county society. Howard Staunton, England's greatest chess player (an interest he shared

1. Lewis Namier, *England on the Eve of the American Revolution*, London, 1930, 16-17.

2. See below, ch.V, for the evidence of equity lawyers and officials to the S.I.C.

with Lord Lyttelton who was a President of the British Chess Association) and the illegitimate son of a peer, pointed in 1869 to the immense influence of the aristocracy in English education. But he said that the aristocracy "does not exist for its own sake; does not exist merely to monopolise certain privileges : it exists that it may crown the social hierarchy, which should symbolise the hierarchy of nature."¹ He went on,

...the English aristocracy is the only aristocracy in Europe which is still powerful, and even the progress of democracy adds seemingly to its strength. The aspiration of the English aristocracy is to be, not the best educated, but for practical purposes the most cultivated.

One must consider the continuing control and influence of the aristocracy, in alliance with the intellectual-professional element in the community, exercised through the annual meetings of the Social Science Association from 1857 onwards.² Here the traditional leaders of society lectured to and attempted to educate, or in Staunton's sense 'cultivate', audiences of middle-class men. There was also, running parallel to the coalition of Liberalism and Dissent, the feature of the development of an equally remarkable alliance between aristocratic Liberals and Radicals of various kinds. This alliance was capped by Gladstone's first administration, which was an uneven blend of upper-class Whigs and Liberals, Radical Dissenters and former Peelites.³ It was this unnatural coalition which piloted the 1869 Endowed Schools Bill through Parliament. At this time Gladstone by no means abandoned the principles which caused him to write thus to Russell on the subject of Civil

1. H. Staunton, *The Great Schools of England*, London, 1869, xvi.

2. See below, ch. VI.

3. S. Maccoby, *English Radicalism*, London, 1938, 163.

Service examinations in 1854 :

...the great recommendation of this change in my eyes would be its tendency to strengthen and multiply the ties between the higher classes and the possession of administrative power... I have a strong impression that the aristocracy of this country are even superior in natural gifts, on the average, to the mass : but it is plain that with their acquired advantages, their insensible education, irrespective of book-learning, they have an immense superiority.¹

In this statement he seems to be bridging the gulf between the apparently antipathetic concepts of continued leadership by a traditional aristocracy, and of rational reform of the public service with the abolition of patronage which that implied.

In fact, the policies of the Liberal Government of 1868 may be seen as representing an attempt by aristocratic leadership to harmonise the needs and demands of many elements in society; and it will be shown that the Endowed Schools Act foundered in the wide gulf which stretched between the comprehensive, aristocratic schemes of a Liberal Government, and the conservative defensiveness of privileged urban groups. It will be demonstrated that the counties, in a number of cases, showed that under aristocratic and gentry leadership they had the will and the organisation appropriate to assisting the central government in its attempt to implement a large plan for secondary education.

This county organisation rested firmly on principles of aristocratic government. Lord Willoughby de Broke, writing of his mid-Victorian youth in Warwickshire, constructed a table representing the social hierarchy of the landed interest within

1. John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, I, London, 1905. The exchange with Russell is discussed on page 511, and quoted as an Appendix to Volume II, 807-808.

county society :

The Lord Lieutenant;
 the Master of the Fox-hounds;
 the Agricultural landlords;
 the Bishop;
 the Chairman of Quarter Sessions;
 the Colonel of the Yeomanry;
 the Members of Parliament;
 the Dean and Archdeacons;
 the Justices of the Peace;
 the lesser Clergy;
 the larger Farmers.¹

The power of the landed interest in county local government in this period is central to the discussion of the attempts by the Taunton Commission to make local arrangements for the reform of educational endowments. And these attempts must be seen against the background of the sequence of nine Bills, introduced between 1836 and 1868, each of which had the object of substituting an elected or partly elected County Board to take over the powers of Quarter Sessions. J.S.Mill described Quarter Sessions in 1861 as the most aristocratic institution in principle still remaining in England : "far more so than the House of Lords, for it grants public money and disposes of important public interests, not in conjunction with a popular assembly, but alone."²

The aristocrats in the counties were generally willing to assist in the local execution of the 1869 Act, by breathing new life into the old institutions and relationships of county

1.H.J.Hanham, Elections and Party Management : politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone, London, 1959, 35.

2. J.S.Mill, Representative Government, Everyman Edition, London, 1910, 349.

society. But the fears of middle-class trustees — the leaders of small urban communities in many cases — were aroused and united around the standard of resistance to State interference and the organisational expertise of the City of London Corporation.

The failure to implement fully the terms of the Endowed Schools Act, and the decision of the Liberal Government to omit some important proposals of the S.I.C. from the 1869 Bill constitute together one of the great paradoxes of mid-Victorian politics. The Bill was a measure promoted by an alliance of aristocratic, Liberal, Radical and Dissenting interests; it has been called an attempt to freeze social mobility in a society where most citizens were conscious of its hierarchical pattern; it tried to enact a whole series of reforms — relating to obsolete or inefficient charities, mismanagement, patronage, the government and curricula of schools, the implementation of conscience clauses, and the geographical redistribution of secondary schools — all of which seemed to have been agreed upon as necessary in principle by intelligent men of all parties in the late 1860s. But in these attempts it touched upon many nerves which lay just beneath the skin thinly covering the excited body politic in the period immediately after the 1867 Reform Act. The Endowed Schools Act was embedded, almost ignored, among a series of seemingly more important measures which initially drew the fire of opposition to Gladstone's Government : the 1870 Education Act, Disestablishment in Ireland with the accompanying anxieties about the future of the Church in England; the Irish Land Act, which seemed to foreshadow

a similarly radical reform of property arrangements in other parts of Britain; and the Universities Tests Act. But unlike those measures, with each of which it shared at least one feature in common, the Endowed Schools Act was painfully slow in operation and therefore subject to mounting opposition. It is argued in this study that the Endowed Schools Act eventually suffered the full concentration of the opposition to the other main pieces of legislation passed by Gladstone's Government.

The answer to the twin riddles of the Taunton Commission and the 1869 Act — the failure to implement all the main recommendations of the one, and the terms of the other — must be related to the fundamental incongruity of the task laid before the Commission in 1864 : a group of interested men, only one of whom could be certainly called 'middle-class', set about determining the educational needs of that class, without detailed reference to their demands; and they produced a massive series of proposals which, while meeting the requirements of a widely-held desire for particular reforms, seem collectively to have been calculated to arouse profound hostility based upon historic prejudices. The Commission stands at the heart of the most significant period of social and political transition in the Victorian period.

Chapter II

The Georgic Model of Middle-class Education

"...To education in its widest sense we look as the most powerful aid in the further progress of British agriculture. Knowledge, - of his business, and true interest to the landlord and the tenant, - and of the best mode of promoting his own welfare to the labourer, - is the first requisite to obtain an improvement of their condition. A wise pursuit of individual interest will...be most conducive to their own and the general welfare. It is by individual energy that this is to be developed...All the evidence we have collected tends to show, that in the districts where the increase of manufacturing and commercial enterprise and wealth has been greatest, there the rent of the landlord, the profits of the tenant and the wages of the labourer have most increased."

James Caird, English Agriculture in 1850-51,
London, 1852, 526.

It has been customary to associate the increasing demand for both the reform and organisation of middle-class education in the first half of the nineteenth century with the rapid growth of industrial towns, and the consequent rise to political consciousness of a new urban middle class. There were direct links between these two phenomena. But too little has been said hitherto about the development of clearly defined models aimed at the promotion of the middle-class education which had originated in the gradualist, even conservative, tradition of the rural, agrarian counties. In spite of the revolution which occurred in the countryside in the eighteenth century, rural England has nevertheless been characterised as representing political and economic decadence; while the laissez-faire energy of manufacturing and commercial England is seen as having supplied the dynamic element in interpretations of nineteenth-century social, political and economic change.¹ These interpretative pictures are unsubtle : the slow-witted peasant is contrasted with the politically mercurial industrial worker; the class antagonisms of the great urban centres with the general harmony of the landed interest in the countryside; the isolation of the individual tenant-farmer with the shared vigour of the manufacturing classes, and the self-help opportunities for ambitious elements in the industrial areas with the unchanging

1. See E.J. Hobsbawn, *Industry and Empire*, London, 1969, 97-99; Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement*, London, 1960, 42-43; A. Cheeseborough, 'A Short History of Agricultural Education up to 1939', in The Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education, No.41, Autumn 1966, Vol.XVIII, 182-183. Briggs, loc.cit., says, "The slow movement of new ideas, the lack of basic techniques and the often unsatisfactory systems of leases and tenures held back 'revolutionary advances'...The new 'improved agriculture' stopped short in most places at the point where mechanisation began, and it continued to demand large numbers of agricultural workers. There were still powerful barriers to long-distance movement."

dominion of the seasons in the countryside.

This kind of comparison was drawn by Baldwin Francis Duppa in 1839:

In the business of the farmer, the degrees of being wrong are infinite; ...In manufactures the relative advantages of different processes are soon known from the circumstances of the manufacturers living in large towns...Farmers have none of these advantages; in the first place, they cannot so associate together as to know the results of all the successful experiments which concern them: and in the second, as not only the soil and other physical characteristics of large tracts of our country differ from each other, but that of every farm also, the practice of each individual farmer must consequently be a modification of the general practice to suit his own local circumstances. The results, moreover, of any new experiment on agriculture are more widely worked out...Can anything be done to better his position, and what... ?¹

Duppa's essay was founded upon the thesis that the general transmission of new ideas and techniques in agriculture presupposed the creation of novel institutions of education in the countryside. But this notion was by no means original or new in 1839. Not only was Duppa armed with a wide range of foreign and British models and experiments; he stood squarely in a broad tradition of agrarian writing and practice which had roots probing beyond the farming revolution of the eighteenth century. His ideas rested on a concept of agricultural education which took its tone from classical agrarian writers, through the sixteenth-century doggerel pamphleteers, to John Milton; they followed in a century-old tradition of enlightened aristocratic and gentry patronage of agricultural experiments; in central and local interest in agricultural innovation in Britain - notably the Board of Agriculture, the work of Arthur Young and his

1. Central Society of Education, 3rd Publication, London, 1839, reprinted 1968, B.F. Duppa, 'County Colleges of Agriculture', 49-50.

contemporaries, and the energetic activities of numerous agricultural societies throughout the whole of Great Britain. Also, in his role as de Fellenberg's English amanuensis, he drew upon foreign sources for his ideas;¹ and here again he trod in the steps of Young. Duppa could move in the universal sphere of European agriculture, using its common currency, in a way which suggests a possible modification of his point about the isolation and uniqueness of the farmer; and his work, and the work of his predecessors and successors, derived much of its nourishment from the true 'Augustan honeycombs of Science'² - in particular the writings and experiments of agricultural chemists - which flourished across northern Europe. In a very real sense, it can be argued, the world of the agriculturist in the early nineteenth century was wider and more coherent than the insular competitiveness of the manufacturer : it transcended national frontiers in its search for aphorisms, encapsulating new ideas and techniques.

The problem confronting Duppa's agricultural contemporaries was not that of a shortage of ideas, but rather how the wealth of existing ideas might be transmitted. His solution lay in ensuring the progress of rural education. While the pattern of agricultural revolution in the eighteenth century had been characterised largely by innovation on the part of enlightened proprietors, the problem of the transmission of these ideas - back to the ruck of tenant-farmers in the middle ground of rural society - became an important

1. See H. Pollard, *Pioneers of Popular Education in England*, London, 1956, 42-49, also the article by de Fellenberg in the *Central Society of Education*, 2nd Publication, 1838, 273; and Duppa's evidence to the Select Committee on Irish Education, 1838. (See below, Chapter IV)
2. W.H.G. Armytage, 'Augustan Academic Honeycombs', in *The Changing Curriculum*, London, 1971, 37-50.

issue in the early nineteenth century. An international, aristocratic envelope of ideas existed : yet the rural middle class had still to be converted to the new agrarian ideology.

G.E. Mingay, writing in 1963, pointed to a select group of great land-owners who were agricultural improvers on a considerable scale during the eighteenth century. From Lord Ernle he took the well known figures of Townshend and Coke, with others less familiar, like Earl Ducie in Gloucestershire, Lord Halifax, the Dukes of Bedford, Lord Somerville, the Earls of Egremont, Sir John Sinclair and the Duke of Portland. In the 1720s, the Duke of Somerset had been one of those who took a keen interest in their tenants' farming. The 3rd Earl of Egremont converted 800 acres of Petworth Park into a model farm between 1770 and 1780. There were other exemplary estate owners, like the Dukes of Norfolk and Grafton, Lord Milton in Dorset, Lord Clarendon at Watford with his "progressive farm", Lord Howe in the West Riding, and Lord Cawdor in Pembrokeshire.¹ The squirearchy also were active, particularly in the underdeveloped areas. On the other hand, the apparent significance of these names should be set alongside the remarks of agricultural writers, from Harte, Kent and Marshall in the eighteenth century, down to Caird in the mid-nineteenth century, who constantly complained of landlords' indifference to the fundamental needs of agriculture. Arthur Young did record the achievements of aristocrats on their estates; but most of his compliments were bestowed upon the farming country gentry, the larger owner-occupiers, and occasionally, the larger tenant farmers. Adam Smith, with perhaps the kind of bias one might expect, and without producing supporting evidence, thought that great proprietors were

1. G.E. Mingay, *Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1963, 164-165.

"seldom great improvers", saying that the most notable investors in improvements were newly-rich merchants who had purchased estates. William Marshall believed that, in the eighteenth century, the larger owner-occupiers and larger tenants were the real improvers.¹ Commentators were generally agreed that the small tenant-farmer took little part in promoting improvements, thinking only of paying the rent and subsisting from day to day. Mingay quoted Harte, in his *Essays on Husbandry*, 1764, as saying that the tenant-farmer, "poor and uninstructed", plodded on heavily and slowly in the beaten track of his ancestors and neighbours, "like a beast of burden, overladen and disconsolate."²

The clearest general picture would seem to represent the larger owners as improving the administration of their estates, while doing little in the way of encouraging new discoveries themselves. The main concerns of proprietors were with rents and estate administration : enclosure, building, the consolidation of holdings, and drainage at all levels, the institution of technical improvements always having as its underlying aim the raising of annual rents. Mingay attributed the landlords' willingness to invest capital to their anxiety about losing tenants and finding themselves with empty farms on their hands. Even the smaller owners, who farmed on their own account, disliked having more land than they could conveniently manage.³ The main function of landlords seems to have been to establish the conditions in which improved farming could develop.

1. *ibid.*, 166.

2. *ibid.*, 167.

3. *ibid.*, 168-169.

According to Mingay, when eighteenth-century landlords spoke of 'improvement', "it was usually an 'improved rental' that they had in mind."¹

More positively influential than the great landlords were the shows and agricultural societies which began to flourish in the eighteenth century. Kenneth Hudson has recently drawn attention to the strange neglect, by agricultural historians, of Britain's agricultural societies, pointing out that, by 1800, most counties had some kind of organisation for agricultural improvement.² The first to be set up was the Dublin, later the Royal Dublin, Society, in 1731. Twenty years later, the Society established an exhibition centre for showing machinery and implements; and in 1764 appointed an 'Experimenter in Agriculture' who was expected to publish annual reports. In 1801, the Society had set up a Veterinary School in Dublin.³ This served as a model for the Bath and West of England Society, which was formed in 1777, and which imitated on a large scale the publishing and disseminating aims of its precursor. The early membership of the Society seems to have comprised, like others of its kind, a blend of professional men, gentlemen farmers and, notably, parochial clergy, capped by a respectable confectionery of President and Vice-presidents from the county aristocracy.⁴ Increasingly, the communication of new techniques and ideas was seen as the main role of the new county societies in England. They were taken for granted as necessities in the search for improvement. Thomas

1. *ibid.*, 170.

2. K. Hudson, *Patriotism with Profit : British Agricultural Societies in the 18th and 19th centuries*, London, 1972, ix.

3. *ibid.*, 3-7.

4. *ibid.*, 11.

Stone, writing of Bedfordshire in 1794, said that there was no agricultural society in the county, and that, therefore, "the tenantry, who, for the most part, are occupiers from year to year, have no incitement to exertions of skill".¹

In 1780, the Bath and West Society published in its Letters and Papers on Agriculture an article by the Rev. William Lamport entitled, 'Proposal for the Further Improvement of Agriculture'.² Lamport expressed his anxiety about the progress of agriculture in England, but set his remarks in the long context of the development of English agricultural theory and practice during the previous three centuries. He began by saying that a country was 'cultivated' only in proportion to the advance of its inhabitants in civilisation : nations would not begin to civilise themselves until they ceased migrating : a man would not attempt to cultivate a spot until he could say, 'This is mine'. Property, therefore, had to be gained, defined and secured. In England, he said, even after the Reformation, the discovery of the New World had deflected the attentions of energetic men away from agriculture at home into the channels of trade and commerce. Consequently, it seemed, little attention had been paid to Fitzherbert and other agriculturist-authors. So, as agriculture progressed, weeds - inadequate skills - grew up. Milton had made an attempt to check this wild growth; and he had recommended the establishment of a school, in which rural

1. Thomas Stone, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Bedford, London, 1794, 47.
2. Letters and Papers on Agriculture, selected from the Correspondence of the Bath and West of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, Vol.I, fourth edition, Bath, 1802, (first printed 1785), 11-19.

economics should play a principal part. His pupils were to read the works of Cato, Varro, and Columella.¹ Milton had said, "if the language is difficult, so much the better...here will be an occasion of inciting and enabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad soil, and to remedy the waste that is made of the good; for this was one of Hercules' praises."² Evelyn carried Milton's ideas forward in the Preface to his *Sylva*.³

Under the Commonwealth, said Lamport, Mr. Cowley had recommended the establishment of a College at each University, and the appointment of Professors for instructing young men in the principles and practice of agriculture. But his plans were ignored and farming languished during the reign of Charles II.⁴ In the midst of general indifference, Evelyn published his *Terra: or a Philosophical Discourse on Earth*, in 1675. In the early eighteenth century, Lord Molesworth sought to revive general interest with his *Considerations for Promoting of Agriculture, and Employing the Poor*,⁵ in which he wrote:

As to agriculture, I would humbly propose that a school for husbandry be established in every county, wherein a master well skilled in agriculture should teach at a fixed yearly salary : and that Tusser's old book of husbandry be taught the boys to read, to copy, and to get by heart, for which purpose it might be reprinted.⁶

After this, said Lamport, several gentlemen, led by Jethro Tull,

1. *ibid.*, 14.
2. K.M. Burton, (ed.), *Milton's Prose Writings*, London, 1958, 324.
3. *Letters and Papers...Vol.I*, 17. John Evelyn's *Sylva*, or a discourse of forest-trees and the propagation of timber..., was published in London, 1664.
4. The only traceable seventeenth-century edition of Abraham Cowley's works was published in 1689, and reprinted in his collected *Prose Works* in 1887.
5. *Letters and Papers...*, 20-21. There is no reference to Molesworth's work in the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*. Molesworth died in 1728.
6. Thomas Tusser's *A Hundred Points of Good Husbandrie* was first published in London, 1557.

took their estates under their own control, and cultivated them with "spirit , taste, and sense"; but, unfortunately, their endeavours were limited to a small circle of farmers in the counties where the initial examples had been set. Soon, however, a Society was established in London for the encouragement of agriculture, bestowing large premiums for the greatest crops in given quantities of ground.¹ This experiment, according to Lamport's description of events, led to the formation of similar institutions in counties remote from London. He quoted Arthur Young, who said that "experience is an admirable foundation for any kind of structure; but in agriculture she must be the structure itself, not the foundation". Once again, as with Duppa later, the problem was how to secure universal transmission of experience and new knowledge, without the anxiety attendant upon unilateral experiment.

Lamport went on to suggest that the difficulty of establishing Schools for Husbandry was now trifling, since many agricultural societies had been formed,² and were so generously supported. In addition, the Society of Arts was annually offering large sums for the encouragement of experiments. "Were schools established in different parts of the kingdom for the education of farmers' sons who might be but in low circumstances, gentlemen would never want sensible and rational improvers of their estates, who would likewise be the most proper persons to instruct parish apprentices and inferior servants."³ In support of this he quoted "old-experienced

1. Letters and Papers..., 23. Presumably Lamport was referring to the Society of Arts.

2. *ibid.*, 32.

3. *ibid.*, 33-34.

Varro", who had written, "the bailiffs should be men of some erudition and some degree of refinement". But a bailiff, thought Lamport, ought to be skilled especially in rural economics; he should not only give orders, but also work himself, so that the labourers might imitate him, and respect him for his excellence in practical as well as scientific things. In the same way, the sons of farmers would be listened to more favourably by inferior servants than would persons of higher rank. "In short, they would effect what even the superior knowledge of noblemen and gentlemen would not perform, who have more important objects in view than to cultivate the neglected understanding of every rustic labourer they may have occasion to employ." But gentlemen's sons might also profit from such an Academy, if it were properly organised.¹

Furthermore, Lamport would have instituted the kind of 'literary workhouses' recommended by Sir William Petty in 1648, "where children may be taught as well to do something towards their living as to read and write...that all children, above seven years old, may be presented to this kind of education : none being excluded by reason of poverty and inability of their parents; for hereby it hath come to pass that many are now holding the plough, who might be made fit to steer the state." And Petty was further quoted as suggesting that all children, "though of the highest rank", should be taught "some genteel manufacture, in their minority, or turning of curious figures, etc., limning and painting on glass or in oil colours, botanies and gardening, chemistry, etc.; they will certainly bring to pass most excellent works, being, as gentlemen, ambitious to

1. *ibid.*, 35.

excel ordinary workmen."¹

Lamport's article is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it presumably enjoyed a wide circulation among the members of the Bath and West Society, and may be considered one of the main sources for later propositions relating to the foundation of institutions devoted to agricultural education in the West Country. In addition, his plan encompassed almost all the elements which later came together to provide the model for schools for the rural middle classes in the mid-nineteenth century : the traditional classical element in the curriculum, with "old-experienced Varro" and Milton as justifications; the clear stratification of pupils by social class, leading to a concentration upon the needs of the tenant-farmer class particularly, and the complementary but distinct institution of the elementary industrial school - Petty's 'literary workhouses'; the need to train for exemplary moral excellence, as well as technical superiority, in the bailiff class - the need to educate the tenant-farmer above the level of the peasantry; the implied necessity for boarding education; the emphasis upon the economic profit to be gained by the landowning class from their promotion of the education of tenant farmers' sons; and, finally, a recommendation that the Anglican clergy should take an interest in the business of farming. In fact, Lamport's essay forms a matrix for the three-class model of schooling which was to become one of the conventions of nineteenth-century thinking about education in

1. *ibid.*, 49. Sir William Petty's pamphlet, published in 1647, was entitled, 'The Advice of W.P. to Mr. Samuel Hartlib for the advancement of some particular parts of learning'. Milton's essay was also directed at Hartlib.

England; and, as will be made clear later, the pattern here put forward was taken up by the Bath and West Society, and by other exponents.

But Lamport, even as early as 1785, was not alone in making such proposals. In the same year, in *Annals of Agriculture*, Arthur Young dignified with an appreciative preface an anonymous article which proposed a similar scheme, with cajoling foreign comparisons.¹ The author praised the Society of Arts, and the provincial societies, for their patriotic efforts; but said that even Russia exceeded England in the interest shown by the government in its support of agriculture, "that most beneficial of all sciences". Government stimulus would provide one means of doubling the present agricultural yield, thus enabling the landed interest to reduce their enormous weight of taxation by increasing their income. But even the best cultivated counties would benefit if county farms were set up on a large scale, each county supporting its own establishment. A professor of agriculture should be appointed in each county : he could explain the theory in lectures, and direct the practice of the county farm. As at the French Veterinarian School, lectures on the disorders of animals should be delivered, which would prevent the losses sustained because of the ignorance of blacksmiths, farmers, and "cow-doctors". Under this scheme, each county would therefore require one or more farm and school institutions, and the expenses could be defrayed by a levy on the rates. £1,000 or £2,000 might easily be raised in this way. Every parish should have the right of sending to the county school two or three students,

1. *Annals of Agriculture and other Useful Arts...*, Vol.IV, London 1785, 109.

each paying his own expenses. Also, there might be in London a corresponding society for the dissemination and discussion of new ideas.

Between 1787 and 1789, a series of articles on the education system of Basle, by Monsieur Lazowski, again emphasised how unfavourably English institutions compared with those of other European states.¹ The author drew special attention to the close connection between the training in the schools and the pupils' later employments.

A correspondent, writing to the Commercial and Agricultural Magazine in 1801, complained of the Government's continuing neglect of agriculture, and especially of the failure to form "One particular system of Education for those who are intended to follow it as a science, or as a means of livelihood."² Agricultural societies would labour in vain, thought the author of the letter, 'X.D.', until they found the means of making farmers less than total strangers to the principles and language of mineralogy, botany, zoology, natural history, "and even Chymistry". The education of youths intending to become farmers should be based upon the study of those sciences, so that they might be freed from the "prejudices and ignorance of custom".

In consequence of this, I would have proposed, through the medium of your Magazine, a very large premium for the best plan of education for those who are intended for farmers. The sum to be raised, and other particulars, I shall not now trespass on your time to detail, but if this hint is favourably received you shall hear again from 'X.D.'

1. Annals of Agriculture..., Vol.VIII, London, 1787, M. Lazowski, 'A Town in Switzerland', 385-386; also, *ibid.*, Vol.IX, 76-77; *ibid.*, Vol.X, 1789, 373-375.
2. Commercial and Agricultural Magazine, Vol.V. June-December, 1801, letter entitled 'On Agricultural Education', signed, 'X.D.'

Unfortunately, no more was heard from 'X.D.', certainly not in the pages of that Magazine. But at a meeting of the Board of Agriculture, in April 1806, Sir John Sinclair, speaking from the chair, made some remarks on the subject of "Agricultural Education and Experimental Farming".¹ He suggested the establishment of one or more experimental farms, "instituting at each a sort of Academy or College, where youth might be instructed in the theory, as well as trained in the practice, of Agriculture". He merely touched upon the subject, he said, at a time when the circumstances of war precluded the immediate prosecution of the project. The Editor of the Agricultural Magazine commented, in a footnote to Sinclair's remarks, that this suggestion recalled an institution of that nature "which we and some of the contemporary journalists announced in the year 1801". This was an agricultural college established by the Duke of Bedford at Woburn.²

The most interesting proposal of this kind in the early nineteenth century was again associated with the Bath and West Society. In 1808, the Committee discussed, in favourable terms, the proposition of Captain Williamson (who had travelled widely in Europe in pursuit of agricultural ideas) that a farm and school should be established near Bath.³ Williamson, rather typically, was here taking up an idea originally proposed by the late Secretary, Mr. William Matthews. The "College" was to consist of three classes : one for gentlemen's sons or relations, who should board with the

1. The Agricultural Magazine, Vol.XIV, from January to July, 1806, 332.
2. The author has been unable to trace an original source for the information about Woburn.
3. Bath and West of England Society, Prospectus of an agricultural college and experimental farm, 1811. Manuscript copy in Bath City Library, listed under Bath and West materials as B.630.

Professor on liberal terms, "each to have a separate chamber, furnished according to the regulations prevailing at Oxford". The Second Class was to be received at a lower rate, and to board under the control of an assistant. As the first class would be considered rather as "supervisors", the 'middle' class would be expected to labour on the farm; it would, however, be a fixed principle that all should acquire practical experience in husbandry. The Third Class would consist of youths taken, perhaps, from charitable institutions, or from parishes, to serve for a certain number of years. These would commence as drivers, and would gradually perform the more laborious duties, as their strength might permit. This was not the first time that the Society had discussed such a proposal : Matthews' scheme had been proposed in 1805. Little is known of Captain Williamson, though the eclectic nature of his writings on agriculture was submitted to some rather ironic comment in an agricultural journal in 1810.¹ Apart from Matthews' unrecorded plan, the model for Williamson's proposal may well have been the school system of de Fellenberg at Hofwyl, about which two articles

1. See, The Agricultural Magazine, Vol.VII, July to December 1810, 396-404, a review of 'Agricultural Mechanisation' by Capt. Williamson : "We leave it to our readers to determine by the present performance, and indeed by the tenor of Capt. Williamson's other publications, as to the justness of his pretensions in future to such a high tone of originality." There are also references to the particular publications of Williamson in Volume III of the Minute Books of the Bath and West Society, 9 September 1806; 2 December 1806; and 27 January 1807. The Minute Books are in the keeping of the Society at Shepton Mallet.

by Charles Pictet and others were published in England in 1808.¹

The idea of a "public" or "county" farm was not new. Indeed, in 1797 a document had been published, which was entitled, "Plan of an Agricultural Society and Experimental Farm in Northumberland". The pamphlet provided "Hints for the Consideration of the Committee appointed to prepare and digest" the plan. In 1793, J. Bailey and G. Adley, published General View of the Agriculture of the County of Northumberland with observations on the means of its improvement. Among the chief means of improvement suggested was the notion of "Public Farms", which, if conducted by proper persons in every county, would "tend more towards the perfection of Agriculture in all its branches than any other measure that has been suggested."² Such a farm was proposed for Northumberland, financed on the joint-stock principle. The Duke of Northumberland was associated with the project. The promoters of the scheme outlined the specific benefits to be obtained, mentioning particularly the effects of the "scarcity" which the rural community had lately experienced, and from which it had hardly yet recovered. If another crisis were to occur "it is impossible to answer for the consequences."

1. See, Edinburgh Review, Vol.XXI, 1819, 150, review article on publications relating to de Fellenberg. These are listed as (i) 'The Establishments of M.Emanuel de Fellenberg at Hofwyl ...by Count Louis de Ville Vielle', London, 1820; (ii) Translation of Reports by M.le Comte de Capo d'Istria and M. Reugger, upon the principles and progress of the Establishment of M.de Fellenberg at Hofwyl, London, 1820; (iii) M. Gautheron on de Fellenberg, 'Tirée de la Bibliothèque Britannique, No.292, de la Partie Agriculture, 1895, Mêmes Libraires'; (iv) de Fellenberg - 'Vues relatives à l'Agriculture de la Suisse, et aux Moyens de perfectionner... Traduit de l'Allemand par Charles Pictet, 1808, Mêmes Libraires'.
2. The Agricultural History Review, Vol.VIII, 1960, H. Cecil Pawson, 'Plan of an Agricultural Society and Farm in Northumberland,' 36-37.

The role which an element of training or education might have been expected to play in the Northumberland scheme is difficult to determine. The extent of the role would surely vary from time to time, depending on the particular local conditions, upon economic pressures, and the personal inclinations of the improvers. One recent commentator on improvements in the early nineteenth century has suggested that introducing the gamut of agricultural reform - enclosures, drainage, rebuilding of farms, new methods - "involved the entire framework of the rural economy."¹ Rents, particularly in the immediate post-war period, after 1815, were the fulcrum of the agricultural economy and "determined the relationship between the three elements of rural society - the landlord, tenants and labourers". And just as education - of the farmer class - had seemed to some to be the most dynamic policy before 1815, thereafter, effective rental policy was seen by landlords as a necessary means of holding together the tottering fabric of landed society. One of the Leveson-Gower agents implied the farmer's need for education in 1819, when he reported that the farmer was never satisfied with existing prices, "and holds on and on against all reason and probability of success and always loses in the end. Any man who did not sell (at earlier, higher prices) deserves to lose and I can in no way pity him."²

The uncertainties of the rural economy were reviewed by two Parliamentary Select Committees in 1821 and 1833. The later

1. The Agricultural History Review, Vol.XXII, 1974, Eric Richards, 'The Leviathan of Wealth : West Midland Agriculture, 1800-1850', 97.
2. *ibid.*, 112.

Committee, comprising Althorp, Peel, Russell, and Graham among others, reinforced many of the conclusions of the earlier one. As might have been expected, the tone of their recommendations was cautious. They agreed with Burke, "that it is a perilous thing to try Experiments on the Farmer" since the farmer's capital was more limited than was generally supposed; and "although it is in the power of the Legislature to do much evil, yet it can do little positive good by frequent interference with the Agricultural Industry."¹ In relation to the homogeneous range of rural society, they repeated the opinion of the 1821 Committee, that "pressure upon the farmer (had) materially affected the retail business of shopkeepers in country towns connected with the Agricultural districts."² They went on to report that, in the counties of England, where yeomen had once abounded, "a great change of Property" had recently occurred : speculation, in the form of improvements, had taken place after the last War; but prices had fallen, and debts had most perniciously affected yeomen and tenants. Landlords had met the crises, in many districts, by reducing rents.³ Artificial fluctuations had rendered precarious the income of the landlord, made the fixed rent of the farmer "a hazardous speculation", and the wage of the labourer "an uncertain remuneration." The debate on the state of agriculture, therefore, was conducted according to the basic principle that shocks which affected farming were felt throughout all the levels of the landed

1. Report from the Select Committee on Agriculture, with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, and an Appendix and Index, London, 1833, iii.
2. *ibid.*, 3, quoted from the Report from the Select Committee, to whom the Several Petitions complaining of the Depressed State of the Agriculture of the United Kingdom were referred, 1831.
3. *ibid.*, ix-x.

interest, and that, consequently, remedies, such as they were, should be conceived in relation to the whole of landed society, rather than isolated sectors of it.

Though the debate was couched in these traditional terms, the realities behind the expressions of anxiety were rather different. The most significant change in rural society between 1750 and 1850 was the increasing 'proletarianisation' and pauperisation of the peasantry. The peasant was weakened first by loss of land, and then by his lack of collective self-defence which his counterpart in the town was developing during the same period.¹ There had been disturbances among the peasantry in the mid-1790s; in the eastern counties in 1816 and 1822; all over southern England in 1830; and later they were more scattered in 1834-5 and 1843-4, mainly in the eastern counties again.² The 'farmer' witnesses to the 1833 Select Committee argued that their own dilemma was based upon the fact of having to pay artificially high wages and employ an excessive number of labourers so that they might avoid being afflicted with outbreaks of rick-burning.³ Rudé and Hobsbawm conclude, however, that the solidarity of rural society was an illusion. The rioters may have had the sympathy of "the bulk of the counties' rulers"; but the central government, "full of ideology and the fear of revolution", took rather a different view.⁴

The evolving triple division of landed society in the early nineteenth century had an important bearing upon the demand, from above, for the provision of kinds of education appropriate to the

1. See, E.J. Hobsbawm and George Rudé, *Captain Swing*, London, 1969, 16.

2. *ibid.*, loc.cit.

3. Select Committee, 1833, Evidence

4. Hobsbawm and Rudé, *op.cit.*, 17.

two lower divisions of society. For the landlord, economic common sense dictated that he should attempt to get the maximum rent from the most businesslike farmers, by organising tenancies so as to encourage the most profitable production.¹ For the largest estate-owners such considerations may not have mattered; but for the ruck of gentry who controlled county society there was the need to produce greater efficiency among their farmers. And it was this need which accounted for the continuing desire to provide a species of middle-class education appropriate for improving the quality of the farmer-class. This problem was intensified by the pauperisation of the peasant, and his transformation into a hired labourer : potentially successful future tenant-farmers were not easy to find among a depressed peasantry. "Landlords who would not have hesitated to turn their bankrupt or expired small-holders off the land neck and crop (as they habitually did in Ireland or the Scottish Highlands), might find it to their advantage to give the efficient big English tenant long credit, to cut or excuse his rent temporarily, since the alternative was to have the land uncultivated and degenerating."² Education was seen, by a number of those who mattered, as a means of stabilising and reinforcing the fabric of rural society during a difficult period. A writer in the Westminster Review said in 1833, "In the catalogue of mischiefs which beset the condition of the landed interest...their system of education is not the least prominent."³

The failings of rural society, reinforced by the impact of de

1. *ibid.*, 31.

2. *ibid.*, 32.

3. Westminster Review, Vol.XVIII, No.XXXV, January, 1833, 'Causes of the Distress of the Landed Interest', 126.

Fellenberg and the narrow strand of traditional interest in a native ideology of agricultural education, was the chief motivation for further interest in providing some form of preparation for life and work in the middle stratum of the landed interest. The Schools of de Fellenberg were certainly the chief inspiration behind the plans for County Colleges of Agriculture as outlined by B.F. Duppa in 1839, since Duppa, a barrister, and magistrate for the county of Kent (which had been singed by Captain Swing), was de Fellenberg's main English publicist.¹ He proposed a series of county colleges, founded on the joint-stock principle, with moderate fees, to provide a measure of practical farming education. Smaller counties might join together their resources for this purpose, and the schools would be boarding schools. A peasant school might be attached to each institution. The effect of such a scheme among farmers would be to develop the perception of the idea that, for a man to be a good workman, he must be an intelligent and skilful one : "their own superior acquirements would remove all idea that it is possible for the labourers to be, in point of knowledge, their masters."² Duppa expressed his debt to de Fellenberg, but did not indulge in an excess of optimism about his own proposals:

...de Fellenberg is a man of an age; we must not wait until his like arises in this country. He has shown us what to do; and if we would do it, and do it upon such a scale, and so generally throughout the country, as to be of material service, we must do it by such means as will not call for more than moderate sacrifices from any person...and even those who are called upon to make a small immediate sacrifice should have a prospect of such eventual advantages, either in the education of their children or in the improvement of their estates, as would operate forcibly upon the minds of all intelligent and reflecting persons.³

1. See above, 40.

2. Central Society, 1839, Duppa, op.cit., 73.

3. ibid., 62.

His essay ended, significantly, with a long quotation from the report of the Irish Board of Education, for 1838, on the agricultural school at Templemoyle.¹ Two years before, Duppa had submitted lengthy evidence to Thomas Wyse's Select Committee on Irish endowed schools, and again, in that place, he emphasised the importance of de Fellenberg's example.² In his evidence to the Wyse Committee, which reported in 1838, Duppa drew attention to a school in Southam, Warwickshire, which was run according to de Fellenberg's principles. This was Mr. Smith's Allotments for Scholars, the aim of which was, like de Fellenberg's lowest school, to keep boys off the streets. The education provided there was minimal, consisting of a library and little else. "Smith's aim was to humanise the children by providing them with moderately skilled and interesting horticultural employment."³ In an earlier essay Duppa had referred to the example set by Lord Chichester with the peasant schools on his estates near Brighton.⁴

It is clear from this essay, and from all his writings on education, that Duppa was profoundly influenced by and obsessed with the ideas and schools of de Fellenberg. Like Robert Owen, he

1. *ibid.*, 76-82; also the Appendix to the Report, '82-86.
2. Report of the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, 1838, 34-36. (See Irish Chapter, below, note
3. See W.A.C. Stewart and W.P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators, 1750-1880*, London, 1967, 211. Their footnotes referring to the Smith School are (i) Labourer's Friend Magazine, No.XXX, Vol. 5 (Nov. 1837, 164-5; and (ii) Duppa, *First Publication* (Central Society), 193-5.
4. B.F. Duppa, *The Education of the Peasantry in England: what it is, and what it ought to be. With a somewhat detailed account of the Establishment of M. de Fellenberg at Hofwyl, in Switzerland*, London, 1834, 7-8.

sent his son to Hofwyl. He was even concerned to publicise the work of de Fellenberg's European imitators. In the First Publication of the Central Society, for 1837, he published, in French and in full, a letter from the Prince de Chimay to Louis Phillipe which gave a description of the Prince's establishment at Menars, near Blois. He said in the letter, "I saw society divided into large classes by circumstances, by ambition, and by material considerations. It seemed to me that these classes could be reduced to four; and I wanted each of these to receive an education appropriate to its character and legitimate ambitions."¹ Consequently, he had set up what he called the School of Pioneers (for the lower orders); the School of Arts and Trades; the School of Commerce; and the Institute of Literary Studies.

Hofwyl, however, was the original model for all that Duppa proposed. De Fellenberg's three-tier institution consisted of an international school for one hundred upper-class boys; the "school of the middling classes" (Duppa's phrase); and the two schools for the sons and daughters of poor parents. He said that de Fellenberg's object, "in thus bringing together the youth of every class in society, not indeed, under one roof, but in one little colony, is twofold - 1st, to give the wealthier such a knowledge and interest in the poorer classes, that they may early learn that not only the welfare, but the very existence of the state, depends upon this necessarily largest part of the community. That this is the base of the social fabric, and it if be not solid, the superstructure,

1. Central Society of Education, First Publication, 1837, 381. (Translation, from the French of the article, by D.I.A.). For an earlier reference to Menars, see, Quarterly Journal of Education, Vol.Vii, Jan-April, 1834, No. XII. 'Schools at Menars', 1-11.

however splendid, must soon be precipitated into ruins..." The second purpose was to provide for the poorer element daily contact with scientific research and investigation, that they might look up to the richer with respect and affection, rather than distrust and jealousy, "while they feel a moral attitude of being able, by the means of well-directed labour, themselves of obtaining a higher sphere in society."¹ However, at Hofwyl, "in the Institute, study is the labour, and bodily occupation the recreation; but in the poor school, bodily occupation is the labour, study the recreation." Religion was of particular importance in the Duppa-de Fellenberg model of rural education; but Duppa anticipated the later latitudinarianism of Brereton, Fortescue and Acland, by adopting for his own scheme the same kind of broad religious toleration as was practised at Hofwyl.² Duppa concluded, "Let me therefore interest all those who inhabit the halls of their ancestors throughout this beautiful country, to reflect upon what I have said, and act - follow the example of the illustrious de Fellenberg - and hand down their possessions to posterity, with a title doubly secure."³

The pamphlet of 1834 and the essay on County Colleges of 1839, together constitute a comprehensive scheme of rural, county-based education, in which Duppa's ideas of the relations between various social strata, in terms of schooling and appropriate training, were clearly fixed. Since his scheme owed so much to de Fellenberg, the failure of recent historians to accord either of them a place in the story of the development of middle-class education in nineteenth-

1. B.F. Duppa, *The Education of the Peasantry*,...1834, 15-17.

2. *ibid.*, 22-23.

3. *ibid.*, 102.

century England needs some explanation. H.M. Pollard has said that de Fellenberg's "rigid social distinctions" limited the appeal of his work for future generations.¹ But one might have thought that it was precisely this rigidity which might have earned him an established place among the ideologues of middle-class education in England. His work has not the universal psychological appeal of Froebel or Pestalozzi, and his sociological ideas are now comparatively unfashionable. Yet his notions of social stratification were precisely what recommended his philosophy as a whole to an influential part of the education lobby in the mid-nineteenth century. His ideas had a quality of freshness; but they were not dangerously Utopian; they had their roots in the existing order of society, and in that part of society which most men still understood - the rural, agricultural community, with its overtones of a natural order of men and things. Both de Fellenberg and Duppa (along with Thomas Arnold and the protagonists of the public boarding school ideal) were in the mainstream of a tradition of rural education for all - that is, even for those who had been born in industrial cities - which may now seem archaic and misdirected, but which continued to exercise its influence well into the present century.² Certainly in de Fellenberg's work there is a clear anticipation of the kind of social engineering, rooted in the county community, which achieved its classic fulfilment in the recommendations of the Taunton

1. H. Pollard, *op. cit.*, 52.

2. See, e.g., Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. 8, 1902, James Mortimer, (Headmaster of the Grammar School and County School of Agriculture, Ashburton, Devon), 'A Plan for a Great Agricultural School', 637-644. It is only fair to say that Mortimer's model was derived from Goethe, not de Fellenberg.

Commission. And Duppa could at least point to an area of the United Kingdom where the kind of experiments he was suggesting were already working successfully : this was in Ireland, where a number of agricultural schools were making progress. The Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1842 contained an article suggesting that the experiments in agricultural education of the Dublin Royal Agricultural Improvement Society might be transplanted to England.¹ The author of this 1842 article noted that some "patriotic individuals", notably Earl Ducie in Gloucestershire, "have founded what are called model-farms, with the view of pointing out to the neighbouring agriculturists the most approved methods of culture at present recognised."²

The 1842 article came in the midst of the evangelising work of the Anti-Corn Law League; and sympathy for the social and economic plight of the tenant-farmer in the years immediately before Repeal was reflected in the Rev. John Allen's general report to the Committee of Council in 1842. The chief part of Allen's inspection had been undertaken in rural counties. He wrote:

...but there are other inhabitants of our agricultural districts who are often worse taught than the labourer's child, I mean the children of our farmers; and unless they are properly educated very little is done. The character of the farm servant depends in a great degree upon that of his master; and if a lasting and salutary effect is to be produced upon the lower classes of society, attention must be paid to the establishment and superintendence of good middle schools.³

1. Transactions of the Royal Agricultural Society, Vol. 3, Parts II-III, 1842, Article XXVII, 'On the public Institutions for the Advancement of Agricultural Science which exist in other countries...' by Charles Daubeney, M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Rural Economy in the University of Oxford, 364-386.
2. ibid., 376.
3. Minutes of the Committee of Council for Education, 1841-1842, Rev. John Allen's Report on certain schools in Kent, Sussex, Berkshire, and Surrey, and other counties, 191.

It seems likely that, in this instance, Allen was partaking of the kind of anxiety about the rural economy and country society which was common to many of his colleagues in the parochial clergy, who were among the most enthusiastic supporters of local agricultural societies and farmers' clubs.

The experiments in Ireland, and the pressures upon the farming community associated with Repeal agitation, were factors which had some bearing upon the only major experiment in agricultural education undertaken in England in the 1840s. This was the founding, under Royal Charter, of the Agricultural College at Cirencester. The Gardener's Chronicle noted, in February 1846, that, of late, local farmers' clubs had been in the forefront of those proposing to diffuse an interest in the cause of agricultural improvement.¹ "We have lately asked, WHERE ARE THE SCHOOLS FOR FARMERS' SONS ? " The question had, apparently, remained unanswered, except for the evidence of the Professorship of Agriculture at Edinburgh and "the many agricultural schools in Ireland", until it was taken up by the Fairford and Cirencester Farmers' Club, or rather, by Mr. Brown, a leading member of that Society, and a local businessman, not a farmer.

In November, 1842, Brown had read a paper to the Club on the advantages of a specific education for agricultural pursuits in which he hoped that, soon, every district of England would have its own special agricultural college. These colleges would serve, not the "finical gentleman, afraid of soiling his hands", but "intelligent, active, hardy young men who will maintain the substantial honest

1. The Gardener's Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette for 1846, London, Leader (untitled) Saturday, February 21, 1846, 121.

character of the English yeoman", combined with learning based upon the latest scientific advances, careful training in "moral and religious culture", so that they might be elevated to "the station in the country that they ought to fill."

It was hardly appropriate that someone of Brown's modest social standing should be expected to sustain the initiative he had taken. The local Club enthusiastically endorsed his idea; but the direction of subsequent events passed into the hands of Earl Ducie, Lord Bathurst, and others of the county élite, who were more experienced in the manipulation of affairs on a grand scale. "A committee of gentlemen", therefore, was constituted to carry the plan into effect. It was at this stage, too, in the following year, that it was decided to put the plan forward as a unilateral scheme, for the Cotswold area alone, and to obtain a royal charter.¹ Earl Ducie acted as chief publicist for the venture, and a long list of subscribers from all over England was made in 1845. Ducie's motion, at the great meeting of April 1844, was:

That it is expedient to provide an Institution in which the rising generation of farmers may receive instruction, at a moderate expense, in those sciences, a knowledge of which is essential to successful cultivation; and that a Farm form part of such Institution.

On the list of subscribers were names, some of which had links with Mingay's list of eighteenth-century improvers: Ducie himself, the Dukes of Bedford and Grafton, Prince Albert, the Marquis of Lansdowne (currently Lord President of the Council), the Radical Earl of Radnor, Earl Fortescue, Granville, Harrowby, Lord John Russell, Lord Ebrington,

1. For details of the scheme, and of the acquisition of the Royal Charter, see, Anon., History of the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester, with a description..., Cirencester, no date, (But from evidence discovered by the Royal College Librarian, Mr. Hetherington, it was printed c.1860).

Lord Lyttelton, Lord Redesdale, Hicks Beach, T.D. Acland, Henry Labouchere, M.P., (later to become Baron Taunton, the chairman of the Schools Inquiry Commission), and Philip Pusey, friend of Acland and the editor of the Royal Agricultural Society's Journal.¹

The Royal Charter was granted in March, 1845, but it did not guarantee an untroubled sequence of development and expansion for the College during the next three decades. The Royal College was inevitably one of the first institutions to engage the attention of the Schools Inquiry Commission early in 1865. The Commissioners then interviewed Augustus Voelcker, Professor of Chemistry at the College. Answering Lord Taunton, he stated that "all who devote themselves in any way to agriculture, as a class, are deficient in their education; no matter whether they are tenant-farmers' sons or the grade above." He said that he preferred a system of county schools and public schools, as a means of educating tenant-farmers' sons, to "miserable" private schools. But he believed that Cirencester had proved that boys were not ready for a special technical preparation for farming before the age of seventeen : before that age boys should receive a general liberal education.² In any case Cirencester had failed to attract boys from the tenant-farmer class. Voelcker concluded, "What I should like to see is a good plain English education, given in county schools, with a higher department on the plan of Cirencester."³

The Repeal crisis of the eighteen-forties threw into bolder relief the economic uncertainties of the tenant-farmer's existence. Peel's expressed concern for the educational needs of the middle class has

1. *ibid.*, 14.

2. Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol.IV., Minutes of Evidence Part I, 29 March 1865, 226, Q.2199; 228, Q.2222,2225.

3. *ibid.*, 231, Q.2259.

been noted already : he wished to shore up their social position in relation to the lower orders.¹ As a land-owner himself on a considerable scale in Staffordshire, he showed a similar concern - for his own tenants - in a more material way. James Caird, his bailiff, writing in his *English Agriculture* in 1851, showed how Peel, two years before, faced the results of his own policy by offering his tenants an investment, equal to one fifth of the current rent, in such immediate improvements on each farm as might reduce costs or increase output, together with further investment in drainage, on agreed terms.² Of Devonshire - the county of Acland, Fortescue, and Stafford Northcote - Caird said, "We found among farmers a unanimous expression of opinion that prices must rise or rents be reduced."³ Lord Lyttelton, in 1851, wrote to the tenants on his estates, which were mainly in Worcestershire, guaranteeing a stop in rents for the current year.⁴ And in 1850, on the advice of his friend Philip Pusey, Thomas Dyke Acland, currently out of Parliament, after supporting Repeal, submitted an article to the *Royal Agricultural Society Journal*, on farming in Somerset. In this he stressed "the need for fuller security for the farmer: ...Let it only be remembered that no man can farm well unless he can look with confidence beyond Michaelmas."⁵ The year before, 1849, Acland had written to his wife that he was alarmed by the price of American corn : "I begin to think that a serious fall of rents is inevitable, in which case we must come down considerably, and I hope it may lead to fresh arrangements in which my farming knowledge may be of service, and help

1. See *Times*, 27 January, 1849.

2. James Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51*, London, 1852.

3. *ibid.*, 56.

4. Lord Lyttelton, *Ephemera*, London, 1865, 94-99.

5. A.H.D. Acland, *Memoirs and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Dyke Acland*, privately printed, London, 1902, 142.

us all to live."¹ These circumstances might be seen as part of the anxiety-laden background to the apparent euphoria which accompanied the founding of Cirencester in 1846.

The economic challenge of the post-Repeal era in agriculture led directly to a revival of the publishing activities of the Bath and West Society. A new Journal was founded in 1853, under the editorship of T.D. Acland; and alongside learned articles on agricultural science and practice by his friend Philip Pusey, by H.S. Thompson, and by Professor Voelcker,² there were considerable contributions on the farm labourer, but more particularly of farmers' sons, by Acland himself, Brereton,³ Dean Dawes (on the cider-truck system in Herefordshire)⁴ Rev. H.J. Barton of the Northants Education Society,⁵ and by Lord Ebrington, later Earl Fortescue.⁶

In the pages of the new Bath and West Journal were recorded the origins of the prize scheme which developed into the Oxford and Cambridge 'locals';⁷ more especially there were extracts from the Minute of the Council of the Society pledging support for Ebrington's proposals in October 1855.⁸ Lord Ebrington's Memorandum on middle-class education, which he submitted to the Society in 1856, contained several points which were significant indicators of future developments. For instance, he said that his object in offering the prize was "not merely to give young farmers an incentive to exertion, but also to endeavour to ascertain (with a view to amendment, if necessary) the

1. *ibid.*, letter dated 4 December 1849, 160.

2. Journal of the Bath and West of England Society...Vol.IV, 1856, 176 ff, 287 ff.

3. *ibid.*, Vol.VII, 1859, 261 ff., Vol.X, 1857, 237 ff.

4. *ibid.*, Vol.V, 1857, 340 ff.

5. *ibid.*, Vol.V, 308 ff.

6. *ibid.*, Vol.IV, 343 ff.

7. See below, Chapter VII.

8. Journal of the Bath and West of England Society, Vol.IV, London, 1856, 342.

means of education at present practically available for that class in Devonshire. I mean of general education, as distinguished from business training."¹ He went on to say, repeating a theme which had been developed from Arnold's initial analysis,² that more accurate knowledge was essential for the middle class, because, he believed, "not only that more has latterly been done for improving the education of the classes both above and below the farmers than for them."³ And it is interesting to speculate on the influence upon Ebrington of Arnold's pupil and disciple, J.L. Brereton, when Ebrington says, "I would put it to all able and earnest masters of middle-class schools whether they have not experienced the want of some impartial and recognised standard in their too often unequal competition with unscrupulous pretenders to the honourable office and title of preceptors, I would ask them to consider whether the institution of some public test of their pupils' proficiency would not, at the same time, supply to their establishments an evidence of due qualification or a certificate of excellence such as the examinations for University degrees and honours have long furnished to the schools of the higher classes."⁴

Ebrington's preference at this stage was for the Society of Arts as the examining body for middle-class schools. He recognised the suggestion that the Universities might strengthen their hold upon the country and render great public service by undertaking this task : "but they are at present, and must continue for some time, too much engaged in the work of internal reform to admit of our reasonably expecting this of them."⁵ This rationalising hardly conceals his bias against

1. *ibid.*, 344. See also another version of the same article in the Farmers' Magazine, Vol.VIII, Third Series, July-December 1855, 525-527.

2. See above, Ch. I.

3. Bath and West Journal, IV, 1856, 344.

4. *ibid.*, 345.

5. Bath and West Journal, IV, 1856, 346.

the great Universities : it was Thomas Acland, with his Double First at Christ Church and with a Regius Professor brother at Oxford, who eventually took the middle-class examination idea to the Universities.¹ Lord Ebrington, on the other hand, was always protesting rather too much at his father's decision to take him from Trinity, Cambridge (where he was a fellow-student with Lyttelton), after only one year, so that he might serve as his private secretary in Ireland. After he had succeeded to his father's title Ebrington wrote, in 1864, "I soon began to regret...my father's having removed me suddenly from Trinity, where I was reading, though rather slackly, for honours, to accompany him as one of his private secretaries to Dublin Castle."²

In two other ways, Ebrington's ideas had something in common with Thomas Arnold's. He thought that the £50 franchise would best indicate the minimum qualification for candidates for the Devon prizes, "since it is with their educational qualifications for their position as Englishmen of the middle class, and for their duties as citizens of a free country, that we are here concerned, rather than with their technical or professional knowledge as persons engaged in the business of farming."³ Though he did say, earlier in the 1856 articles, that he regretted that, "for want of some additional education, so many good farmers and sensible men should, to so great an extent, be restrained from advancing agriculture by the freer communication of their knowledge to others."⁴ Nevertheless, his aim seems to have been to transmit a liberal education, in Arnold's sense, rather than a technical proficiency in farming. Also, he took up directly another point raised

1. See below, Ch. VII.

2. Earl Fortescue, *Public Schools for the Middle Classes*, London, 1864, 18, footnote.

3. Bath and West Journal, 1856, 346.

4. *ibid.*, 344.

first by Arnold : in order to deal with the fast-growing problem of Dissent, he suggested re-founding the order of Deacons, in a subordinate position to the formally ordained clergy of the Church of England. An efficient system of middle-class education would provide a source of recruitment for such offices:

I believe, with the wise and good Dr. Arnold, that the want of such a body, whether under the name of deacons or sub-deacons (as he suggested, in order to obviate opposition), is one of the greatest causes of Dissent in the middle and lower classes...God forbid that in the hierarchy of the Church alone, of all our institutions in England, an impassable line should be drawn between the higher, middle and lower ranks.

Thus far, two distinct yet interrelated currents have been distinguished in the mainstream of writing upon the subject of rural middle-class education : they are, the need to promote greater technical expertise among the tenant-farmers, with an obvious profitable benefit for the landowning class; and the necessity of using a distinctive kind of schooling to reinforce and enhance the social position of the middle class in relation to those below them. In the writings of Duppa these two themes were equally balanced - as they might have been in the Bath and West farm and school, and as they were in the 'higher' institution at Cirencester. In Ebrington's writings, the social theme takes precedence over the technical : social engineering, it seems, was of paramount importance in the 1850s, to be reinforced only incidentally by more detailed practical training. This new emphasis was developed by Ebrington's ally, Brereton, in two papers he published in the Royal Agricultural Society's Journal in 1863 and 1864.² But the balance was never completely upset, since Ebrington confined his notion of examinations to the farming class, saying that he set his

1. Fortescue, op.cit., 36.

2. Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, Vol.XXV., 1864, J.L. Brereton, 'On Education as connected with Agriculture', 59 ff.

age-limit for the candidates relatively high "simply to ensure their having all fairly committed themselves to the pursuit of agriculture." And in 1864, almost at the very moment when the members of the S.I.C. were gazetted, Ebrington (now Fortescue) remarked, at the Devon County School prize-day, upon "the necessity of farmers' sons being so trained as to avoid the two extremes - sticking too fast to what is old, and rushing too quickly to what is new." Earlier in his speech he had reflected upon Arnold's remarks of thirty years before about middle-class education, and on this occasion in 1864 Fortescue certainly grasped Arnold's unique blending of conservatism and radicalism.¹

In the Bath and West Journal for 1857, Acland's editorial was partly devoted to a discourse on J.L. Brereton's further development of Ebrington's proposals in the same issue. Brereton suggested that in the county of Devon about 20 farm-schools and a farm college should be established, with payment for tuition, and labour for maintenance. The basic principles were, "A system of self-supporting public education, starting with parish schools and ending in a county degree"; and "a classification of ages, the limits of each class being the time at which education of a large class of society would naturally cease." The efficiency of each subordinate school would be secured by the immediate demand created by a superior school or examination on the same system. To his summary of Brereton's proposals, Acland appended two-and-a-half pages of quotation from Arnold's 1832 letters, which, he said, "cannot be too often quoted."² He also printed in full letters from the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, in which they promised their serious consideration of Acland's proposal to link middle-class

1. Bath and West Journal, 1857, Introduction, ix-xi. Also, Times, 18 December, 1864.

2. *ibid.*, xi-xiii.

examinations with the Universities.¹

In the same issue of the Journal, Acland published a very succinct article on the art of teaching which was signed, "E.T., Uppingham", and which, by this clue, as well as its general tone and content, could only be by Edward Thring. The author wrote,

Let no man think, because a quick boy acquires knowledge under him, that he is a teacher. Teaching is a great science. To teach the slow and ignorant with success is the only test of proficiency and intellectual power.

But to do this supposes first the strong conviction in the teacher's mind that, if his pupils do not learn, it is his fault. Moreover, there must be knowledge of individual character, much observation, and an electric communion between his and their minds, combined with a power of varying questions, illustrations and points of view, ad infinitum. Instead of this, a young man is thrown into our crowded classrooms a perfect whirlpool; full of enthusiasm and energy, it may be - for let us suppose the best, if not the most frequent, case - without one single necessary qualification for the task, excepting the ability to judge² the work when done. But his business is to teach how to do it.

It appears also from his article that Thring, like Acland, was a strong believer in the efficiency of many of the National Schools and their teachers, as well as a critic of much of the work being done by the existing middle-class schools. Thring was later to develop his theory of training for middle-class schoolmasters in the 1870s, through the Headmasters' Conference, in conjunction with Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth.³

Acland's own pamphlet, 'The Education of the Farmer', was printed as part of the 1857 Bath and West Journal.⁴ The Arnoldian influences are again very apparent, extending to another appendix of quotations from the Sheffield Courant letters. Acland developed the opinions of

1. *ibid.*, xiii.

2. *ibid.*, 'The Sheep's Leap', signed 'E.T., Uppingham', 345-347.

3. See Kay-Shuttleworth Papers, John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, Minute Book covering meetings on the training of middle-class schoolmasters, January to June, 1875. In May 1875, a joint meeting was held between this committee and the HMC. Lyttelton usually took the chair at the meetings.

4. Bath and West Journal, 1857, 'The Education of the Farmer', by T.D. Acland, junior, 252-302; also published separately under the same title, London, 1857.

Arnold in a way which was very similar to Ebrington's, and provided the basis for a prescription of liberal education for the middle classes which dominated educational practice until well into the twentieth century. He wrote:

Although addressing farmers, I have treated middle-class education in general. I have endeavoured to describe a really useful 'Middle-class Education', and yet I doubt not it will appear to some that I have passed too lightly over commercial and technical requirements, and have understated the value of particular sciences; but my object has been not so much to lay down a system for a particular class, as to awaken attention to the spirit and aim of all education that can fairly claim to be called 'practical'. Feeling as I do great respect for the manly virtues and practical habits of Englishmen in the middle ranks, I believe that they are not far wrong in preferring their own common sense as a guide in business to what they call theory. But it may be confidently asserted that their habits and business need not suffer, and that new sources of enjoyment and usefulness will be a warm interest in the mental cultivation which is going on in other classes of society...success in the efforts made for national education by religious bodies and by the State will to a great extent depend on the interest which the middle classes may be induced to take in it, and that it imports much to the welfare of the nation that the practical activity called forth in agriculture, manufactures, and the arts, should be guided not only by sound teaching of science, but by moral and humanising influences.

He claimed to have established two main points : first, that a special agricultural education was unnecessary, especially for young boys; and secondly, that the middle class education of farmers' sons should be complete in itself, "and not a truncated portion of a loftier edifice - not the first stage of a journey broken off in the middle."¹ His concern was chiefly for the education of the sons of the "small farmer", the man with about £100 a year profit who was "in reality little above ...the superior town mechanic or small tradesman."

In connection with that particular group, he confessed that he could not understand the antipathy of the rural middle classes towards the country schools. He quoted at length from Richard Dawes's

1. T.D. Acland, *The Education of the Farmer*, London, 1857, 8.

'Suggestive Hints on Secular Instruction'; and he insisted that the mingling of the children of the middling and poorer classes in village and town schools would be qualified by a process of economic selection: "the advantage of both parties would be very great, and by proper management, no confusion of ranks need ensue; the labourer's child, alas! is sure to be driven out to work at an early age, and the boys in the first class will generally be drawn from a higher grade in society owing to their staying longer at school." The poor need not suffer since "this is the old-fashioned English arrangement under which many a great man has risen from the Village School through the University to high places in Church and State. The country schools in England will never be what they might be till the middle classes take more interest in them."¹ Like Thring, he appreciated the thoroughness of training at normal schools : "If every farmer's little boy had a chance of being placed for a while under such teachers as are sent out annually from Whitelands, Salisbury, and other female training schools, how happy would it be for them."²

Acland put his trust in a liberal system of education conducted in existing schools, including National Schools, the high quality of whose teaching would be stimulated and maintained by 'local' examinations in association with Oxford and Cambridge. He acknowledged, but otherwise ignored, the detailed proposals of Brereton and Fortescue for establishing a system of county schools and colleges. Brereton's detailed scheme, which he published in 1858, owed its inspiration, if not its details, to Thomas Arnold who was the first Englishman to utter the concept of a 'county university'; though, as is shown in the 'Irish' chapter of

1. *ibid.*, 44.

2. *ibid.*, 14.

this thesis, the idea of a 'county College' was suggested for Ireland some time before Arnold took it up, and the idea of a monotechnic college for each county, in relation to agriculture, had a much longer ancestry in England.¹ In 'Principles and Plan of a Farm and County School', Brereton said that his main proposition was that of "public schools for the middle classes"; with the important qualification that "the old organisation of our Counties" would afford the best basis for organising such schools.² A system of interrelated public schools would serve to overcome the indifference of parents; and for no class was such a stimulus more requisite than for farmers and their sons "who necessarily live in detached houses and pass a more isolated life than other people, and who are not influenced by general public opinion, unless it reaches them through an organisation with which they are specially connected." Such schools, since the pupils would intend to enter business early, should have some specific practical character to distinguish them from other public schools which, aiming "at a higher and more universal education", prepared their pupils for the Universities. "It would indeed be desirable that every free Englishman should enjoy a liberal education; but while there is so much practical and material work to be done, it is simply impossible to devote the necessary time and expense for such a result."

In preparing to establish farm schools, Brereton was assuming that the practice of agriculture in England had become sufficiently established to form a distinctive branch of education, in combination with other necessary studies. On this point of interpretation he was

1. For Arnold's remarks in 1832, see Ch. I above. For Bishop Doyle's plan for Ireland, and the antecedents of his ideas for that country, see Chapter IV, below, 214-215.
2. J.L. Brereton, Principles and Plan of a Farm and County School, Exeter and London, 1858, 3.

strangely at odds with Acland who, from his own experience, and by his own enterprise, had come to know more about agricultural chemistry than Brereton, and yet seems to have been more sceptical about its usefulness in the early training of farmers' sons. In his Memoir of his father, A.H.D. Acland recorded that, as soon as T.D. Acland entered the political wilderness after his support for Peel, in 1847, "he was hard at work learning Chemistry in the Laboratory of King's College (London)...He felt himself to be particularly bound, after his vote for the abolition of the Corn Laws, to do what he could to show the farmers a better method of improving their position than was to be found in any reliance upon Protection."¹ Brereton could only refer to what he knew at second hand of foreign systems of agricultural scientific education, particularly in France, which seemed to reinforce his opinions about English needs. His insistence upon a curriculum of studies which would necessarily be narrow, as he saw it, nevertheless had a rather conservative character which seems to be related more closely to the social philosophy he was expressing than any profound notions about the technical needs of the farming population : he appreciated, for instance, the need for out-door pursuits for the boys, but "it would not be consistent with the views of the middle class that so much time should be spent in mere amusement, and, that the risk should be run, of boys leaving school with greater proficiency in cricket than in learning."²

Brereton's general plan, which was summarised also by Acland in the Bath and West Journal, comprised the establishment in each hundred, or in each registration division of the county, of a Public School with

1. A.H.D. Acland, op.cit. 140.
2. J.L. Brereton, op.cit., 2.

a farm attached; and in each county, a County College with a larger farm and complete equipment for more advanced studies. There would also be an annual examination leading to a degree and honours. The initial step would be the creation of a single middle-class school. For this experiment "I have the offer from Earl Fortescue and Lord Ebrington of premises and land, rent free, and I am prepared for the appointment of both master and bailiff." But he needed assistance in the form of contributions from his neighbours before he could actually commence the school, and he appealed for this support. He solicited the attention "not only of farmers, but of the Landlords and Clergy, to the expediency of establishing some independent public system of education, which shall affect, in a measure, all classes, but dealing principally and directly with the great middle class, shall, by elevating them, lift with them those who are and must be dependent upon them." Despite his insistence upon an element of practical and scientific training, he could not ultimately disguise the fundamental social purpose of the experiment.

The school at West Buckland, originally called the Devon County School, began inauspiciously in a farmhouse. The first three pupils - farmers' sons - came from nearby villages. The headmaster was engaged on the recommendation of Canon H.G. Robinson, then Principal of York Training College, and later to become an Endowed Schools Commissioner.¹ A small farm of twenty acres was taken, and within a year the school had proved itself to be a going concern. A meeting was therefore held at Castle Hill, the Devonshire home of the Fortescues, "at which a certain number of gentlemen of the neighbourhood connected with the

1. Schools Inquiry Commission Report, Volume IV, Minutes of Evidence, 606.

county" were present, and they decided to form the Devon County School Association. On the suggestion of the Duke of Bedford, who was present, the limited liability principle was adopted, and shares were issued at £25 each. After eighteen months, special school buildings were provided, and the school population rose to eighty-two. Earl Fortescue and the Duke of Bedford presented their shareholdings to the school so that the Association held in trust £1,000 of the £5,825 capital. The shareholders in 1865 included thirteen landlords, eleven farmers, eight clergy, and twenty-one others. Brereton was quite hopeful, when he gave evidence to the Schools Inquiry Commission, that more and wider support would be forthcoming for this and similar schools; though the tuition and boarding fees were then so low that the prospect of a substantial dividend seemed remote. He told the Commissioners that, in 1865, about half the pupils were farmers' sons, one fourth the sons of professional men, and the rest the sons of tradesmen.¹

The farm project was soon abandoned, and in spite of the stress which Brereton had laid on the practical side of the education, in 1858, there is little doubt that his opinions underwent a change over the next five or six years. In April 1863, a paper by Brereton was taken as the ground for discussion of middle-class education by the Weekly Council of the Royal Agricultural Society.² Among those present, some of whom contributed to the discussion, were members of the Education Committee of the Society, like Sir E.C. Kerrison, one of the leading promoters of the Suffolk County School known as Prince Albert College; T.D. Acland; H.S. Thompson, a promoter of agricultural progress and

1. *ibid.*, 605.

2. Royal Agricultural Society Journal, Vol. 25, London, 1864, Abstract Report of Meeting of the Weekly Council, 23 April 1863, 539-549.

railways in Yorkshire who took a prominent part in the Social Science Association's discussions on middle-class education in 1864, and who gave important evidence to the S.I.C.; the Earl of Powis who was to head a Commission to examine Irish intermediate education in 1870, and Professor Voelcker. In his paper, Brereton, like Duppa before him, had emphasised the educational isolation of the farmer, by comparison with the landlord and the labourer, whose children were educated at the expense of various kinds of public funds, either in the endowed Public schools or in the public elementary schools. The new element which Brereton introduced was that the social and civilising part of the middle-class education was more important than the acquisition of special knowledge:

Public proprietary schools, distributed through the various counties of England, and associated as much as possible with all the honourable and influential names and personages of these counties, are, I have long ventured to think, the first requisite towards improved agricultural education. Such schools will supply, not only to the future farmer, but to all the farmers' sons, that general groundwork of education which should precede and be the foundation of all sound knowledge and special practice.

And he supported this more general notion of rural middle-class education by pointing out that "not all farmers are farmers' sons, nor all farmers' sons destined to be farmers." He also alluded to "the ancient organisation of the English counties", which sufficiently connected with all the best associations in Church and State, while being characterised by freedom and religious toleration, "to offer a common name and many local centres round which the public education of the middle classes may be safely and honourably grouped." He thought that an exclusively Church character associated with such schools would shut out from their advantages a very large number of the middle

classes. On this latter point he was taking minor issue with his patron, Fortescue, who, in the same year was preparing his views on an 'Arnoldian' diaconate as a buttress against middle-class nonconformity.¹

At this R.A.S. meeting, support for Brereton's opinions was provided by quotation from the report of Rev. Bellairs, H.M.I., to the Committee of Council on schools in the West Midlands : Bellairs had said of the farmers that there was no other class of society "as imperfectly educated, or whose opinions are so crudely formed."² Henry Holland, M.P., suggested that the Society, as members of the agricultural interest, should do something towards the provision of a system of public schools throughout the country. He shared Brereton's view that such schools should provide a general education which might form the basis for later training in appropriate technical accomplishments. Kerrison, from Suffolk, paid tribute to Brereton : their conversation had led him to the belief that efforts for the improvement of middle-class education should not be made "in so general a way as to provide not merely an education for a particular section of that class, such as the agricultural, but for the whole middle class of the country."³ He mentioned, too, that the successful experiment at West Buckland had been promisingly imitated in his own county. "With the feeling that appeared to animate gentlemen in so many counties where they were about to commence the formation of schools of this sort, the Council of the Royal Agricultural Society would be very wrong if they did not lend a helping hand to those who so proposed to make personal sacrifices for the sake of the farmers of this country."⁴ Professor Voelcker, of

1. *ibid.*, 62.

2. *ibid.*, 539.

3. *ibid.*, 543.

4. *ibid.*, 544.

Cirencester, thought that the practical part of farming education was best achieved at home; the 'farm' was an expense which fell very heavily upon agricultural schools.¹

In the following year the Royal Agricultural Society offered a prize of fifty sovereigns for an essay on middle-class education; and it instituted a prize-scheme for middle-class schools in association with the 'locals'.² The author of one of the prize essays raised a pertinent point about middle-class education, saying that although there was a gradually increasing sense among the middle classes that something better should be provided for their children, "is it not a fact that the feeling of this deficiency has come upon them from without (author's italics), rather than arisen spontaneously from their own body?" He was aware that his remark applied especially to the rural middle classes,³ but he was surely correct in assuming that the 'middle-class debate' in the countryside was being conducted almost exclusively by the traditional leaders of county society, rather than by the tenant-farmers or tradesmen themselves.

Addressing his students in February 1865 the Principal of Cirencester Agricultural College, the Revd. John Constable noted the recent efforts of the Royal Agricultural Society to produce schemes for the improvement of middle-class education.⁴ He evidently shared Temple's and Thomas Arnold's views on the composition of a middle-class curriculum, for he said that while Latin and Greek educated "our

1. *ibid.*, 546.

2. *ibid.*, Appendix, lxxiv; 549.

3. Royal Agricultural Society Journal, Series II, Vol.II, 1866, Article 2, 19.

4. An Address to the Students of the Royal Agricultural College Cirencester, by the Revd. John Constable, M.A., Principal, February, 1865, 4. (Copy in the D.E.S. Library).

statesmen, warriors, and divines, as nothing else could educate them", many a man could be "useful in his generation, and successful in his calling, without the eloquence and polish of a scholar." The requirements of the middle classes could be met by studies other than those of the dead languages : "indeed, it may be questioned", he said, "whether scholarship and polish are not to a certain extent alien from all money-making occupations."¹ The middle classes needed the rudiments of a good English education, their powers of reasoning developed, and "their minds well stored with that special training which their employments and the excessive competitions of trade necessitate." All this could be achieved without the classical element.² But he agreed, he said, with Dr. Arnold, that German, French and science would only become an accredited part of the curriculum when their teachers became efficient.³

The proprietary school part of Brereton's plan found immediate and widespread acceptance. As is demonstrated in another Chapter of this thesis, the idea of a county 'school' or 'academy' was not new : such institutions had been part of the common currency of official and unofficial debate about rural middle-class education in England, and more particularly Ireland, for almost a century before the founding of West Buckland.⁴ But the idea of County Universities and County degrees, which Brereton borrowed from Ebrington, and which shared an Irish lineage also,⁵ in the Queen's Colleges created by Peel's last

1. *ibid.*, 5-6.

2. *ibid.*, 7.

3. *ibid.*, 13.

4. See below, Chapter IV.

5. See Chapter IV below, 232, *ff.*

administration under the aegis of Thomas Wyse, never received practical acknowledgement in England. Ebrington propounded his idea fully in 'Public Schools for the Middle Classes'. Without directly referring to the Queen's Colleges, or even mentioning Arnold's proposition, he said that he had for some time considered whether there might not be created an institution "analogous to the London University", without superseding the old Universities.¹ This might supply a real want of the middle classes "by furnishing for the first time an authoritative standard" of what middle-class education ought to be. "And I would again ask whether a 'County University', especially if honoured by Her Majesty's gracious favour with the prefix 'Royal', would not be a name at once distinctive enough and sufficiently expressive of the objects contemplated." Such a University would possess a charter and have power to grant degrees. It need not at the outset have any geographical centre, since its examinations might be conducted at various centres, with its professors and teachers distributed among different affiliated colleges and schools in the several county towns. "In short, instead of its vitality being centred in one heart as at Oxford or Cambridge, it might be dispersed among a certain number of ganglia; giving it rather a 'name' than a 'local habitation'." In these colleges, he thought, along with the young schoolmaster, the future village doctor, engineer, farmer, tradesmen, veterinary surgeon and clerk would be trained and educated. He thought, in fact, that the diocesan training colleges might initially form economical nuclei for such broad institutions.

1. Fortescue, op.cit., 11-12.

In one of his letters of advice to Granville, while the Taunton Inquiry was being put under way in 1864, Temple admitted that his list of possible members of the Commission had a West Country bias,¹ excusing this characteristic by saying that West Countrymen had been more active than others in the prosecution of ideas and schemes in the field of middle-class education. Letter VII in Caird's *English Agriculture* provides some clues about the actual economic background to these theoretical and practical schemes hatched in the West Country. Caird described Devonshire farming as having been a byword, among East Anglian farmers, for unsuitable and unskilful practices. But he acknowledged that there had been some progress on a few estates in the late 1840s. Yet this improvement was not ascribed by tenants to encouragement from their landlords. "Till within the last two years (i.e. till c.1848) they with few exceptions are said to have done almost nothing towards the permanent improvement of their estates, though they have not been slow to avail themselves of every increase which the tenant's capital and skill as well as the general progress of the country, have added to the value of their farms."² Rents on the better farms had increased by a third in the previous twenty years, as a result of excessive competition encouraged by the system of letting farms by private tender.

There were, according to Caird, two classes of tenant-farmer in Devon: men with small holdings, "little elevated above the condition of the labourer"; and "educated agriculturists", holding large farms into which they had introduced improved methods of husbandry. The latter group had been responsible for the main improvements in drainage,

1. PRO, Granville Papers, Letter of Temple to Granville, 15 August, 1864.
2. Edward Caird, *op.cit.*, 48-49.

irrigation and enclosure, and in stock-breeding. In general, however, tenant farms were of moderate, even small, size - 50 to 200 acres - though there were a few farms of 600 to 700 acres. The arable land, "where the tenants have sufficient capital", was managed with sagacity and skill, the small farmers profiting by the example which their richer and more intelligent neighbours set before them.¹ He said, "We found among the farmers an unanimous expression of opinion that prices must rise or rents be reduced...A general reduction in rents is the great object which they are all driving now to accomplish." Produce rents were widely recommended.²

It is not difficult to relate this evidence of economic pressure upon tenants to the desire among enlightened West Country landlords for a measure of distinctively middle-class education as a means of developing greater flexibility of agricultural practice - and, thereby, increased profits and rents - among the tenant-farmer class. Caird pointed to the example of Gloucestershire where the experimental farms at Whitfield-in-the-Wolds and Cirencester had provided a strong stimulus for local tenants : "by degrees many hints will be taken by the surrounding farmers, whose prejudices will yield to the satisfactory evidence of success."³ Moving further afield, he made a judgement which local leaders of opinion may have been anxious to apply to the West Country : he said of the tenant-farmers of Surrey that, in intelligence and education, "they are extremely deficient; ...the efforts of their landlords, some of whom are anxious to promote drainage and other fundamental improvements, are greatly frustrated by such a class of tenantry."⁴

1. *ibid.*, 50-51.

2. *loc.cit.*

3. *ibid.*, 46.

4. *ibid.*, 122.

Not a few of them were in arrears of rent. In Kerrison's own county of Suffolk the farmers complained that, "until within the last two or three years", their landlords were little concerned about the welfare of their tenants, or the management of their estates. There had been no "leading man" in the county for a long time : "the repeal of the Corn Laws and the fall in prices have at least compelled attention to a business which has been far too long neglected."¹

There is evidence to suggest a variety of reasons for concern about tenant farmers in the period from c.1785 on to the 1850s. Even before the great enclosure movements of the eighteenth century, the number of small farmers had declined in some counties : in 24 parishes of Oxfordshire, in 1600, there were 482 farmers with holdings of less than 100 acres each; in 1785, there were only 212. J.H. Clapham showed that during the slump which began in 1817, other signs of agricultural degeneration appeared : recent enclosures of poor quality land, which had been sown with arable crops, were abandoned; and there was a return to less intensive farming methods, with more fallow. These crises affecting the landlords and tenant-farmers, produced even more disturbing effects at the base of the rural pyramid : during depressions, the farmer, because of high real wages, tended to get rid of his living-in staff, and replaced them with non-resident labourers. Complaints of labourers being turned out of the farmer's household are found in reports from all over England in the period from 1821 to 1833.²

Certainly, from the late-eighteenth century until the 1850s, the agricultural community was subjected to a series of crises and

1. *ibid.*, 145.

2. J.H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, Cambridge, 1938, 114, ff.

depressions, which partially explains the desire of some notable landlords to promote both greater social stability and a higher degree of technical expertise among their tenants. But equally, there can be little doubt that this desire was heightened by the effects of Repeal upon the county communities in the late 1840s and the 1850s. In the period 1837 to 1842 the farmers were able to profit, while the manufacturing communities suffered severe depression. But thereafter, until the 1880s,

the current flowed strongly in favour of large additions to landlords' capital with the express purpose of attracting and encouraging substantial farmers and liberal-handed farming. Particularly in bad years, but also in good times, landlords' outlays were increased, and the rewards they received were generally diminished...Behind the facade of the 'Golden Age of English Agriculture', which is said to have lasted for the twenty years after the outbreak of the Crimean War, a distinct weakening in the economic position of agricultural landowners can be detected.¹

The crisis of 1850-52 was probably the most substantial for thirty years, and although landlords' reactions to it seem to have varied considerably, abatements of rents of 10% were fairly common; and as one great landowner set the pace for such abatements, his lesser neighbours tended to follow suit, in order to avoid the charge of being unjust to their tenants. F.M.L. Thompson has written, "with the great landowners the mid-century age of improvement was a matter of pouring money into their estates for very meagre rewards, a far cry indeed from the age of enclosure."²

The main conclusion of this chapter is that important contributions were made to the mainstream of Taunton ideas by a powerful group, most of whom had their roots in the West Country, and were members of the

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth century*, London, 1963, 253.

highest tiers of the landed interest. A local group of aristocrats and gentry interacted closely, despite their differences of party colouring, in promoting schemes for middle-class education. They operated through a network of agencies, as M.P.s, as magistrates, as Lords Lieutenant. They were almost all prominent members of the Bath and West of England Society, and a number of them were founding members of the Devon County School Association. A section of the group was connected with the creation of the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations. Many of them exerted their influence through national agencies and associations : for instance, as members of the Central Society for Education, the Social Science Association and the Royal Agricultural Society.

One of the concepts which they held in common was that of the county as the main cell around and in which future developments in middle-class education should occur. Fortescue in particular promoted the county theme in a more general way than his other West Country associates, committing himself to the movement which culminated in the passing of the County Councils Act in 1888.¹ Another common feature was their liberal Anglicanism. It is interesting that Acland and Stafford Northcote were willing to lend their unqualified support to a liberal project like the Local Examinations; and that Fortescue and Brereton were anxious to show that the West Buckland School was characterised by nothing as extreme as the High Church ritualism of Woodward's foundations.

But the most important feature was their common emphasis upon the educational needs of the tenant-farmers' sons. This had two impulses.

1. For Fortescue's own account of his commitment to a scheme of county government reform, over a period of thirty years, see, Imperium in Imperio, privately printed by Fortescue, 1888, in Fortescue Papers, 1262/M/FZ 47, at the Devon County Record Office, Exeter.

Firstly, their desire to strengthen the agricultural community economically, particularly after Repeal, thereby maintaining the prosperity of landlords by steadying the level of rents. More efficient middle-class education, in this connection, can be seen as a cheap, long-term means of avoiding damagingly large increases in capital investment by the landowning class. Secondly, and running parallel to this economic consideration, was the notion of social engineering : the need to preserve the hierarchical structure of society, represented in its simplest form by the three-tier model of the landed interest in rural communities - landowners, tenants and labourers. By the 1850s these owners of land were prepared to patronise and assist the process of education on three distinct levels in society : they supported industrial schools in the countryside, which were to deal with extreme cases of deprivation among the poor;¹ they subscribed for the maintenance of voluntary schools for the lower orders;² and they were prepared to promote the educational interests of the tenant-farmers' sons, in some instances, by becoming shareholders in new middle-class proprietary schools.

It can be argued, of course, that the links between the ideas of this group of West Country landowners and the recommendations of the S.I.C. are tenuous, to say the least. Where, for instance, among those recommendations, is there any direct acknowledgement of the 'county school' idea ? And, on the other hand, the Taunton notion of temporary centralisation was anathema to most members of the group. But it would be surprising to find that each of the West Country

1. Andrew Lang, *Life, Letters and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote, 1st Earl of Iddesleigh*, London, 1899, 75.
2. R.W. Sellman, *Devonshire Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century*, **Devon**, 1967.

experiments took its place in Chapter VII of the S.I.C. Report. The influence of the West Country group was, at the time, less precise and more pervasive. It is suggested that they provided, not a complete unitary solution to the middle-class problem, but rather that they proposed a range of important presuppositions which formed the framework into which other necessary considerations might be fitted. The 'insiders' among the group - those who sat on the Taunton Commission¹ - had to receive and consider information relating to the endowed, and some other, schools, the supply and training of teachers, the legal means of reforming educational charities, and suggestions for the future pattern of middle-class education in the larger towns. The West Country group had avoided the complex legal problems associated with the reform of endowments, and had sought to devise alternative schemes, unassociated with charitable sources of income.

There was undoubtedly keen rivalry between the Acland and Fortescue factions in Devon,² particularly after Acland's assumption of the development of Fortescue's examination experiment. But, despite his having been omitted from the list of Taunton Commissioners, Fortescue was confident that the views he shared with Brereton would be heard favourably by the S.I.C. He wrote to Brereton in 1865 that he had spoken with Lord Taunton. "He told me in confidence that he thought the evidence (to the S.I.C.) ran all against Matthew Arnold and his

1. The West Country members of the Schools Inquiry Commission were: Henry Labouchere, Baron Taunton; Frederick Temple; Sir Stafford Northcote and Thomas Dyke Acland.

2. For example, see Fortescue/Brereton Correspondence, at Homerton College, Cambridge, letter from Fortescue to Brereton, February 13, 1863 :

"I had no time to tell you of my having attended a Committee of the Royal Agricultural Society, and finding that Acland, who had just left, had brought them all over to Scholarships for General Education..."

views, and that the leaning of the Commissioners appeared to be in the same direction, which is a great relief to my mind."¹ Fortescue and Brereton gave their evidence, separately, in 1865.² In March, 1868, however, Fortescue told Brereton that, although he had not yet seen Volume I of the Report, he gathered "from the summaries of it in the papers, that it is not at all in favour of our views."³ The Taunton Commissioners had made complimentary remarks about the proprietary schools of recent foundation, and in particular the new 'county Schools', mentioning West Buckland and similar schools at Sampford Peverell, Dorchester, Hereford, Wells, Saham Toney, Framlingham, and Cranleigh;⁴ and they had quoted extensively from Brereton's evidence. The Commissioners departed most conclusively from the Fortescue-Brereton proposals in their recommendations for the creation of a central authority. But, on the other hand, they were clearly of the opinion that it would be expedient to establish local provincial boards for dealing with schools in groups. In the main Report they said, "Lord Fortescue has pointed out that local opposition to many changes would probably be much diminished and perhaps disappear if a considerable district, such, for instance, as a county, were handled by itself, and the endowments were administered for the benefit of that county."⁵ They considered in fact that a local board had several advantages over a central authority : it could act from personal knowledge of the district, consulting the feelings of the people; it could inquire into important endowments on the spot, and give every person interested an opportunity of being thoroughly heard. "If in any way it represents the people, it

1. Fortescue/Brereton Correspondence, letter 22 May, 1865.

2. S.I.C., Vol.V., Minutes of Evidence Part II, Earl Fortescue, 294, December 13 1865; Rev. J.L. Brereton, 119, November 15 1865.

3. Fortescue/Brereton Correspondence, letter Fortescue to Brereton, 17 March 1868.

4. *ibid.*, 26 March, 1868.

5. S.I.C. Report, Vol.I, 637-638.

carries a force with it which is impossible to secure in any other way."¹

The Commissioners also made use of foreign experience of local boards in framing their views, particularly the eighteen academical districts of Prussia. But they finally came to the conclusion that, for the time being, it would be extremely difficult to devise a board for each county which would gain general acceptance. Their paternalistic views came through most strongly when they stated the opinion that "it may be doubted whether an intelligent interest in the subject is at present sufficiently general, to enable the people at large to take the management of schools so entirely into their own hands."²

The Taunton idea of local control was not based only upon evidence from and about Devonshire. Canon H.G. Robinson, later to become an Endowed Schools Commissioner, and whose connection with West Buckland has been mentioned already, said in his evidence that there should be an elaborate arrangement of local boards. After suggesting the amalgamation of endowments for the purpose of providing a good middle school for a neighbourhood, Robinson proposed his scheme for a county board, "chosen from the persons most competent to decide in their respective districts. I should expect that the county would get for that service the men of the highest position in the county."³ Replying to Lord Lyttelton, he said he would certainly not restrict membership to Anglicans, and would insist on conscience clauses in county schools. He wanted the country to be divided into educational districts. The

1. *ibid.*, 638.

2. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*

3. S.I.C., Vol.IV, Minutes of Evidence Part I, 31 May 1865. Robinson's opinions quoted here were part of the written evidence which he submitted as Appendix B, 'County Boards', 623.

members of the district or county boards should be partly nominated, partly elected. The nominated members would be provided by different bodies of local trustees; "and certain leading county officials might be ex officio members", for example, the Bishop and the Lord Lieutenant of the county. He admitted that the elected element would be more difficult to provide for, "because there seems to be no constituency necessarily available for electing them." However, such a constituency might be formed, he thought, in the case of county proprietary schools, from among the financial contributors; various religious denominations might elect representatives, and all subscribers to education in a district might choose members. Such a system for the management of middle-class education over a district might be extended to cover elementary education as well, "and thus a complete natural system would be developed."¹

Earlier the Rev. Charles Evans, Headmaster of King Edwards's, Birmingham, and a former colleague of Temple at Rugby, had suggested to the Commissioners the creation of a network of educational districts, each consisting of a number of counties; each district having "central schools" served by a ladder of exhibitions from the lower endowed schools. For example, he grouped together Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Northants - giving a total of forty-four endowed schools - with Rugby and Birmingham as their central schools; Dorset, Wiltshire, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall - a total of fifty-five endowed schools - with Clifton (of which, briefly, he had been the first headmaster), Marlborough and Sherborne as central schools.²

1. *ibid.*, loc.cit.; also 620.

2. *ibid.*, Evidence of Rev. Charles Evans, 30 May 1865, 563-564; also, printed Appendix to his evidence, 565-567.

It is now impossible to trace accurately the subtle adjustments of opinion made by the members of the S.I.C. between 1865 and 1867 : the minutes of the Commission no longer exist. Lord Harrowby was the last of those witnesses who were in favour of some sort of local association. Giving evidence in March 1866, he made his famous suggestion, "I should like to club the grammar schools with some relation to locality, and I should like to say, 'You shall be a lower middle-class school; you shall be a middle middle-class school; and you shall be a higher middle-class school, that which is now called a grammar school'." ¹ Questioned by Acland about local arrangements for effecting changes in the schools, he replied that it was an extremely difficult matter, "because...you are brought into contact with very tender feelings in the different localities and with a rather jealous feeling as to the interference of the State." ²

In the previous year Harrowby had presented the prizes at Campden Grammar School in Gloucestershire, a school recently revitalised by the efforts of his friend, and colleague in the National Society, Lord Redesdale. ³ Harrowby on that occasion expressed the view that grammar schools should be not merely "feeders to the Universities"; rather they should "open their doors as widely as possible, and...give a sound education to the children of the middle classes, adapted to their future pursuits." In a passage which is a striking anticipation of the Norwood definitions nearly eighty years later, he said it was a mistake to think they should make every boy a scholar : "There are different classes of

1. S.I.C. Vol.V, Minutes of Evidence Part II, Evidence of Rt. Hon. the Earl of Harrowby, K.G., 6 March, 1866, 535.
2. *ibid.*, 544,
3. For Redesdale and Harrowby in the National Society, see below, Chapter X, 512, ff.

minds - some having a natural turn to the business of active life, and for whom the abstractions of literature and philosophy had no charms". Schools like Campden, however, did give "the opportunity of rising out of the class devoted to the immediate objects of practical life, to those minds which were particularly fitted to benefit their fellow creatures by the cultivation of the intellect rather than by the practical concerns of life."¹

Despite the lack of detailed knowledge, it must be presumed that the discussion of the notion of local agencies for reform and control must have long engaged the attention of the S.I.C., for in May 1866, before they had received the evidence of their last oral witnesses, they decided to canvass the opinions of further leading figures, by means of a four-point circular, one of whose propositions was:

To improve the machinery for the management of endowments, it has been suggested that the endowed schools should be grouped together in districts, and that a local board should be formed to manage the endowments in each district, subject to a central authority in London. It is important to decide whether this is the best machinery for the purpose; and if so, how the boards should be formed, and with what powers they should be entrusted.²

Replies were requested from forty-four persons; thirty of them sent answers.³ Tantalisingly, neither Charles Vaughan nor Henry Austin Bruce replied. J.T. Coleridge, one of Acland's West Country associates and a supporter of West Buckland, wrote, "The small local boards of trustees must be put an end to, and a board for the county created, in whom should vest the powers of appointing and removing the master and the inspectors."⁴ The Headmaster of Hereford Cathedral School, replying

1. Times, 2 April, 1865.

2. S.I.C. Vol.II, Circular Letter, 28 May, 1866.

3. *ibid.*, 3 -79.

4. *ibid.*, 24.

on behalf of Dean Dawes, who was unwell, said that "a local board for the management of the examination of the schools of the district might with advantage be established." Such a system, in embryo, already operated in connection with Hereford Cathedral School and Ludlow Grammar School.¹ John Jackson, Bishop of Lincoln, the teacher of Brereton at his first school in Islington,² suggested that a county board would be most useful in connecting the work of the various grades of schools he was proposing for the middle classes. But he thought that "in a district containing few resident gentry it would be very difficult to form an efficient board", which would have to be composed . . . of a few official persons such as the Lord Lieutenant, the chairman of Quarter Sessions, and the Bishop and Archdeacons. A larger number of persons, each closely interested in his immediate neighbourhood, would be "perhaps not so well qualified to administer a whole district judiciously and harmoniously." He was inclined to think that the best plan would be "in the first instance to settle the trusts and schemes of the several schools carefully by a commission appointed under an Act of Parliament, and then to leave the working to the trustees, subject to the control of some central authority, that, for example, of the Charity Commissioners."³ (This final suggestion prefigures quite accurately the eventual policy embodied in the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 and its successors.) Despite his doubts, Jackson appended a detailed map of Lincolnshire, with his suggested grading of schools into four categories.

The opposite view among the respondents is best represented by two cases. The Rev. James Martineau, brother of Harriet, accepted the

1. *ibid.*, 25.

2. Boase, *op.cit.*, John Jackson, Headmaster of proprietary school at Islington 1833-46; became Bishop of Lincoln, 1853; Bishop of London 1869. Encouraged lay help (cf. Fortescue) in reorganisation of the London parochial system after 1871, d. 1885.

3. S.I.C. Vol.II, 35.

principle of a central authority, like the Privy Council Education Committee : but "the difficulty would be to give this central authority provincial ramifications : and I doubt the possibility of forming local boards sufficiently free from prejudice and party-habit to serve the State well in this matter."¹ Edward Miall, in a lengthy and diffuse reply, suggested that, "until public opinion on the subject (of endowments) shall become enlightened and energetic, vested interests are too many, and touch society at too many points, to admit of their being dealt with by Parliament as reason would prescribe." "Ecclesiastical exclusiveness", he thought, prevented an arrangement of local boards.²

The balance between the 'pros' and 'cons' in this survey was weighted towards those who were sceptical about the possibility of creating local boards. Yet a long recommendation concerning Provincial Boards - with a qualifying admission of the difficulty of the problem - was included in the Summary chapter of the Report.³ It was, of course, omitted from the 1869 Act, and was not even included in the draft Bill. But in 1872 the Endowed Schools Commissioners, in their Report to the Privy Council, complained particularly about the difficulty attending their work which resulted largely, they said, from the absence of local machinery.⁴ And when, in the following year, Lyttelton made a more elaborate oral complaint before the Select Committee on the 1869 Act, Forster, the Chairman, had to remind him of their discussions before the drafting of the Bill, which had caused the omission of the Provincial Board Proposal.⁵

1. *ibid.*, 52.

2. *ibid.*, 57-58.

3. S.I.C. Report, Vol. I, 637-644.

4. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the Lords of the Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council on Education, London, 1872, 37.

5. Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act, April 7, 1873.

The sensitivity, shown by the draughtsman of the 1869 Bill, to the difficulties which would attend the establishment of Provincial or county boards is remarkable in a special way. The classic attack upon the management of county government through quarter sessions had been mounted by J.S. Mill in *Representative Government*, in 1861. He wrote that the institution of quarter sessions "is the most aristocratic in principle which now remains in England", far more so than the House of Lords, since quarter sessions granted public money and disposed of a wide range of public interests without reference to a representative body.¹ (Though, in the same place, commenting upon the most recently constituted local institution, the Board of Guardians, Mill could say that the blending, in that body, of an elected element with members nominated by the J.P.s had, on the whole, a "beneficial effect", since "it secures the presence...of a more educated class" than could be chosen on other terms.) A recent commentator on English local government in the nineteenth century has said that Mill's principle, in his attack upon quarter sessions, "passed into the received wisdom" almost without being questioned.² Municipal government had been reformed in 1835, and thereafter radical politicians like Joseph Hume continued to peck at the parallel, but less susceptible, problem of county government. The failure of these attempts has been interpreted as a consequence of "the reluctance of M.P.s to sanction an assault on their own class"; the lines were marked out in the 1830s : the 'new middle class' was allowed to dominate the represented and self-governing towns, while "the traditional landed class continued pre-eminent in both

1. J.S. Mill, 'Representative Government', in *Utilitarianism: Liberty; Representative Government*, Everyman edition, with an Introduction by A.D. Lindsay, London, 1910, 349.
2. J.P. Dunbabin, 'British Local Government Reform : the nineteenth century and after', in English Historical Review, Vol. XCII, No. 365, October, 1977, 777.

county government and national politics", for fifty years.¹ J.L. Hammond, commenting upon the relatively unruffled process of local government reform in England and Wales, noted, "it has no pitched battles leaving behind them heroic echoes. It has no Midlothian campaigns."² And another great English historian, writing during the passage of the County Councils Bill, 1888, constructed an elegant conservative obituary notice on the incipient demise of the 'old' county government : F.W. Maitland said,

...an old form of local government which has served us for five centuries and more, is breaking up...A vital organ of the body politic must be renewed...But that this should be so is not a little strange...The average justice of the peace is a far more capable man than the average alderman, or the average guardian of the poor ...As a governor he is doomed; but there has been no accusation. He is cheap, he is pure, he is capable, but he is doomed. He is to be sacrificed to a theory, on the altar of the spirit of the age.³

In fact, as Maitland would have been in a position to acknowledge, the 'spirit of the age' had enjoyed a negative triumph in the same field earlier, in 1869, by the work of Forster who, as draughtsman of the Endowed Schools Bill and spokesman for the strong Radical wing of the heterogenous Liberal administration, avoided the Schools Inquiry Commission's tactic of propagating a local authority for middle-class education based upon the 'old' model of county government.

It is now impossible to re-construct accurately the discussions which took place among Forster and his colleagues over the detailed preparation of the 1869 Endowed Schools Bill.⁴ But in the period between the publication of the S.I.C. Report and the beginning of Gladstone's first administration a Select Committee was appointed on

1. *ibid.*, 779.

2. J.L. Hammond, in H. Laski, W. Ivor Jennings and William Robson (eds.), *A Century of Municipal Progress, 1835-1935*, London, 1935, 39.

3. H.A.L. Fisher (ed.), *The Collected Papers of F.W. Maitland*, i, 468-472, quoted in Dunbabin, *op.cit.* Maitland was writing in February 1888.

4. But see, Chapter XII, below.

29 April 1868 "to inquire into the present mode of conducting the Financial Arrangements of the Counties in England and Wales" and "whether any alterations ought to be made either in the persons by whom, or the manner in which, such arrangements are now conducted."¹ The Chairman of the Committee was Col. Wilson Patten, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the current Disraeli Government. Among the other members of the Committee were Lord Henley and H.A. Bruce, formerly Vice-president of the Council. On the same day, in April 1868, James Wyld, Liberal M.P. for Bodmin,² had introduced the second reading of his County Financial Boards Bill.³ In the subsequent debate on the Bill, Forster said that he was glad to see decided agreement upon the principle which it embodied, that of a Board elected by the ratepayers and consulting with Quarter Sessions. But he shared Bruce's view that Wyld, by giving in to the proposal of setting up a Select Committee, would get his way in the end.⁴ Forster was M.P. for a borough, Bradford, which was nevertheless rated by the County. The time had come, he said, for the application of the elective principle to county government. He trusted that "the result of this debate would be, not only to refer this Bill to a Select Committee, but that various other questions in connection with it would receive full consideration."⁵ What these "other questions" were he did not specify.

The witnesses who gave evidence before the Committee generally offered no substantial criticism of the existing guardianship of the

1. Report from the Select Committee on County Financial Arrangements... Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 13 July 1868, ii.
2. James Wyld, 1812-1887; Geographer to the Queen. He was defeated at the next election in December 1868. Boase, op.cit.
3. Hansard, 3rd Series, 31 Victoria, 1867-8, CXCI, 1542.
4. *ibid.*, 1550, 1553.
5. *ibid.*, 1553.

magistrates in Quarter Sessions. But while John Curtis Hayward, chairman of Gloucestershire Quarter Sessions,¹ could report that none of the local farmers' clubs - Cirencester among them - had recently raised the question of representation in county government,² Anthony Sharpley, a small farmer from Lincolnshire, could say that, while farmers in his county did not complain of mismanagement by "the gentry", they did resent their lack of representation in financial discussions.³ The Report of the 1868 Committee noted that "a desire prevails on the part of the county ratepayers to place the County Finances more directly under their own control, by means of elected representatives to be associated with the magistrates in the expenditure of the rates."⁴ The Committee therefore recommended that elected representatives of ratepayers should be admitted to all meetings of magistrates where financial expenditure was to be considered. Wyld, as a member of the Committee, added his own comments, noting that the levying of funds for county purposes was "the only instance in the fiscal system of England and Wales of the taxpayer having no control through his elected representatives of the monies raised and expended for public requirements."⁵ His Bill, with the corroborating evidence of the Select Committee, was surely the main plank upon which the 1868 administration's decision to abandon the S.I.C. idea of Provincial Boards was based. The Liberal Government was sympathetic to the reform of county government according to the representative principle; but such a policy was not yet part of their official programme. The problems which would have resulted from the creation of Provincial Boards under a bill dealing

1. See below, Chapter XII,

2. Report of Select Committee, 1868, *ibid*, 70.

3. *ibid*, 54.

4. *ibid.*, iii.

5. *ibid.*, vii.

with the endowed schools would have inhibited any possible progress towards the general reform of county government.

Just as the concerns of the leaders of rural county communities provided a simple framework for the discussion of middle-class education by the Schools Inquiry Commission after 1864, so the Commissioners persisted with their desire to balance the creation of a central authority with the formation of provincial or county bodies which, though containing a selective element, would represent the interests of the traditional leaders of county communities - the diocesan officials, landowners and magistrates. In this sense, some of the S.I.C. proposals can be seen as the last fling of the landed interest; though this assertive action was qualified by the incorporation of liberal ideas for a measure of representation and religious toleration. The ways in which the middle classes at first failed to produce an alternative model or scheme of their own, before 1869, and later combatted this attempt at continued autocratic control, are considered more fully in later chapters. Here it has been thought necessary to say only that the rural community produced a multi-faceted body of ideas which on their own were seen to be sufficient to provide the basis for what was essentially an internal discussion among upper-class persons who dominated the Schools Inquiry Commission in the middle of the 1860s.

CHAPTER III

Local Authorities and Unilateralism: I. a mid-century contrast.

Diocesan and County Boards, and County Schools.

Among commentators on the work of the Schools Inquiry Commission there has been almost universal agreement that, of all the Commission's recommendations, the most important to be omitted from the 1869 Act was the proposal to set up provincial, or county, authorities for prosecuting general reform of endowments, and for preparing plans which would have led to the co-ordination of the work of local middle-class schools of various kinds. The Endowed Schools Commissioners, in their 1872 Report to the Privy Council, firmly attributed the piecemeal and largely unco-ordinated nature of their work completed up to that date, to the 1869 Act's failure to provide for provincial authorities.¹ Evidence in support of this preliminary judgement was given to the Select Committee of 1873.² It will be argued in a later chapter that the abolition of the Endowed Schools Commission in 1875 was largely due to the power of a concerted attack upon the work of the Commissioners, which had its base in the City of London; and it is the aim of this chapter to describe the work of a variety of informal 'local authorities' before 1864. In a later chapter it will be suggested that the incidence of local, unilateral reform has been miscalculated, and that the classic picture of a growing middle-class demand for reform before 1864 is not an authentic portrayal of the situation over the whole of England and Wales.

1. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council, 1872, 5.

2. Select Committee appointed to inquire into the operation of the Endowed Schools Act(1869), 1873, 8-9.

It was suggested in the previous chapter that a strong body of opinion, among those who mattered in the rural counties, held that middle-class education should be established, or re-constituted, in relation to the county as an administrative unit. It should be borne in mind that, in practical terms, the 'county' was frequently co-extensive administratively with the local organisation of the Established Church. Thus, the diocese of Bath and Wells covered the county of Somerset; the diocese of Peterborough was roughly co-terminous with the county of Northants; Exeter with Devon, and Worcester with its county.

Any serious consideration of practical proposals for county and diocesan activity in the field of middle-class education should begin with the initiatives taken by the National Society, the educational shock-troops of the Church, in the 1830s. These initiatives have been touched upon by a number of recent commentators¹ but the National Society deserves some reappraisal in relation to the variety of local, co-ordinated activity in the 1840s and 1850s.

Thomas Dyke Acland and the Revd. W.F. Hook — both destined to become members of the Schools Inquiry Commission —, with W.E. Gladstone among others, were instrumental during 1838 and 1839 in stimulating a new impulse at the centre of National Society activity. The Annual Report for 1839 set out their programme : they were concerned not only with the National Schools in so far as they dealt with the children of the poor, but wished to extend their operations "so as to comprehend

1. See B. Heeney, *Mission to the Middle Classes*, London, 1969; and John Roach, *Public Examinations in England, 1850-1900*, Cambridge, 1971. The Spens Report, *'Secondary Education'*, (1938), does not include a reference to the National Society in its extensive historical sketch.

the middle schools, and will endeavour to elevate the character of the instruction given to the children of all classes."¹ They hoped thereby to do something for those "who are immediately above the labouring classes"; for they considered that the lack of qualified masters was by no means confined to the National Schools : "the difficulty of securing competent teachers is experienced by a large and respectable body who need no pecuniary assistance, but who are able and willing to pay an adequate price for the education of their children." In this the Society was echoing the apprehensions of Thomas Arnold expressed seven years earlier in his letters to the Sheffield Courant.² Henceforward the National Society proposed to extend its help to "this class of persons", and to spread the influence of its principles among them "in supplying...teachers and organising their schools." But they also revealed what was perhaps their fundamental aim when they concluded : "It is confidently expected that while by these means, a beneficial impulse is given to the Middle and Commercial Schools, the profession and the prospects of teachers in general will be improved."³

This new direction of policy was taken at a meeting in Willis's Rooms on Tuesday 28 May 1839. The relevant proposal was put by Hook, "That this meeting contemplates with satisfaction the establishment of Diocesan and Local Boards of Education in connexion with the National Society, having for their object the extension of the benefits of education...as well as the establishment and encouragement of schools for the education of the middle classes, upon principles conformable to those which are embodied in the Society's Charter."⁴ This proposal marks the true beginning of concerted local efforts, by agencies associated with the Church, in connection with middle-class education.

1. National Society, Annual Report, 1839, 9.

2. See above, ch.I.

3. National Society, *ibid.*, 10.

4. *ibid.*, Appendix XVI.

The Annual Report for 1840 noted that, while attention had been devoted to the elementary schools for a number of years, and while the Universities had been improved in the interests of the upper classes, "the instruction of the middle class has been comparatively overlooked and neglected."¹ By this time, it was reported, a number of middle schools had put themselves under the supervision of diocesan boards; but also, when the deficiency could not otherwise be supplied, the new Boards themselves had established institutions of this kind. This had been achieved without great expense : the schools were given loans, rather than grants; and proprietary schools had been established.

This new flowering of diocesan effort, and in particular the policy of supporting middle-schools, came to the notice of the opposition. In November 1841, under the heading 'Diocesan Schools', the Nonconformist noted that "a new and ingenious mode of church extension" had been hit upon by the Bishop of London. "It is self-sustaining, and if acted upon with energy will, we doubt not, prove very effective." The Nonconformist referred to the establishment of proprietary schools, whose object was to afford the middle classes an education based on church principles, under the immediate superintendence of the clergy. "It is, we believe, the intention of the Bishop to connect one of these institutions with every district church in and around the metropolis." The institution to which the Nonconformist referred was the St. Peter's commercial school, Globe Road, Mile End. The management of the school was in the hands of four trustees : the clergyman of the parish — "the son of a Methodist minister" — and three laymen. The clergyman took the leading role, particularly in the spending of money. The building was a handsome one, for 120 boys, near the church. All the pupils were expected to attend the services. There were to be 120

1. National Society, Annual Report, 1840, 6. cf. Arnold, ch.I.

shareholders, with a 5% dividend and the privilege of introducing pupils at reduced rates; "and as might have been anticipated, the most unscrupulous means have been eagerly resorted to during the past six months, for the purpose of getting parents to remove their sons from the tuition of dissenters."¹ This vindictive tone could not conceal a feeling of anxiety that the nonconformist middle classes themselves were doing little in the way of combining to provide similar institutions for satisfying their own educational needs.

The reports of the National Society during the remainder of the 1840s do not provide a continuous commentary on the development or decline of middle-class schools. But in 1851, in a report on Connop Thirwall's new Training College at Carmarthen, it was noted that the Committee of the College "contemplate the addition of a Middle or Commercial School in the hope of supplying suitable instruction to a large class of persons who in Wales no less than in England, are still to a large extent unprovided with the means of education." In the 1859 Report, a new dimension opened up for the middle-class programme; Appendix I contained a report on Whitelands College where, it was said, in 1858 a large number of middle-class girls came forward as students. But when they were examined they were found to be so educationally backward in every case, and "so imperfectly taught", that despite the Committee's wish to encourage entrants from that social stratum, they could not be admitted. The Council of Whitelands College regretted "this defective state of the middle-class education, as they earnestly desire to see young women of this class devote themselves to the profession of schoolmistress."²

1. The Nonconformist, 10 November, 1841, 574.

2. National Society: Annual Report 1851, 'Welsh Fund'; 1859, Report, Whitelands College Institution, Appendix I.

The desire to get larger numbers of middle-class, Anglican recruits to the trade or profession of schoolmaster or schoolmistress was an important factor in creating and sustaining the interest of the National Society, and its local branches, in middle-class education. At Worcester, for instance, the new diocesan training school was founded by the Diocesan Board of Education in 1839. The Board also set up a middle-class department of the training school, with a headmaster and one assistant. During the 1840s, despite widely fluctuating funds, as well as maintaining both these institutions, the Board helped to plug the gaps in the pattern of middle-class schooling in the county. For instance, in July 1844, taking account of the closure of Kidderminster Grammar School, and the controversy surrounding its management,¹ the Board granted £15 a year for two years to the Revd. T.L.Cloughton "for a Middle School at Kidderminster."²

At various times, but usually together, Lord Lyttelton, Sir John Pakington, and C.B.Adderley were members of the Worcester Board.³ In 1844 Lyttelton gave notice for the next meeting "that the subject of the position of the Commercial Part of the Diocesan (Training) School in relation to the Board and to the general control and regulation will be brought forward for consideration." As it happened, this motion was brought in order to define clearly the Board's power of dismissing the Assistant Master of the School, at short notice.

The Worcester Board went through some lean financial patches, as did others at this time.⁴ At a particularly bad period of

1. S.I.C., XV, Bryce's report on Kidderminster, 541-546.

2. Worcester Diocesan Library, Minute Books for the Diocesan Board of Education, 31 July 1844.

3. Newcastle Report, V, Answers to the Circular of Questions, Lord Lyttelton's reply, 277.

4. See below, this chapter, 138 ff, for evidence of the Manchester Society's similar difficulties.

commercial distress, in 1846, the Bishop circulated a printed appeal for funds. He described the Board as having been formed "at a very influential meeting of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Worcester" in 1839; at which meeting donations of £1,500 had been made. As a consequence of these and further donations and subscriptions, grants had been made to assist in the erection of 49 schools. The founding of the Middle School had cost the Board £360, but it had become self-supporting. He regretted, on the other hand, that the training school exhausted nearly the whole of the annual income of the Board — not more than £190.¹

At a quarterly meeting in April 1847, with Lyttelton present, it was decided that two clergymen and a layman should be constituted a committee to report to a subsequent meeting upon the subject of "the establishment in this county of Schools for the Education of the children of farmers."² Nothing further seems to have come of this particular proposal which is clearly related to the pattern of ideas about middle-class schooling in the countryside described in the previous chapter. But a special meeting was held later in the same year at Dee's Royal Hotel, Birmingham.³ The Bishop presided, and Pakington and Adderley were present. In his speech the Bishop outlined the aim of the meeting which was to establish a training institution and associated middle-class school to serve the Birmingham area. He mentioned the successful training institutions already established in the dioceses of Chester, Durham and York. Moreover, if Worcester "followed the example of York, they would combine a yeoman school

1, Worcester Diocesan Board Minute Book, printed appeal, 26 January 1846.

2. *ibid.*, minutes of quarterly meeting, 7 April 1847.

3. *ibid.*, newspaper report (unnamed) of meeting, 7 October 1847.

with a training school."¹ Nothing, he thought, was more lacking than schools for the education of the middle classes. The third resolution at the meeting, moved by Adderley, was "That a school for the Education of the Farming and Middle Classes of the Diocese be established, as an adjunct to the Training School"², if the funds subscribed proved to be sufficient. Lyttelton and Pakington each put up £100 at the meeting.

Unfortunately, yet, one might have thought, foreseeably, the Board encountered difficulties over their scheme when they approached the Committee of Council. The Board's Annual Report for 1848 mentioned that the Committee of Council's reply had excluded the middle school for grant-aid because it and the training school were so closely blended together under the proposed arrangements. At the same time the report had acknowledged that the middle schools sub-committee, set up in the previous year, had not made specific proposals since they hoped something might come out of the Saltley venture. Hope persisted because the sub-committee trusted that "no impediment will be thrown in the way of a union which seems calculated to increase the efficiency of both institutions, without in any way compromising the character of either."³

Despite the enthusiasm with which the Worcester Board prosecuted their plans for middle-class education, the middle-class school itself suffered a set-back in 1849. Three diocesan clergy, the Revds. Claughton, Morrell, and Fales, undertook an inspection of the Worcester school in January and found that, while the senior class passed

1. For the Training College and Yeoman School at York, see below, this ch., 156-157.

2. This training college became St. Peter's, Saltley.

3. Minute Book, Annual Report for 1848.

creditably in History, Biblical History and Geography, the pupils were "grievously deficient" in their knowledge of the Catechism. There was also "a painful lack of reverence" in their handling of sacred subjects ; and the general order and discipline of the school wanted improving.¹ It was therefore decided at the next meeting to make a further examination of the school in the summer. The commercial part of the school was found to be quite sound; but the five boys in the training school — teacher-exhibitioners — received considerable criticism. Nevertheless it was decided not to remove the exhibitioners from the care of the headmaster, Mr. Elton, for the time being, because of the plans for establishing a new training college in the diocese. Mr. Elton responded to the implied criticism of his management in an honourable way and, admitting his faults, tendered his resignation to the Board at their October meeting. The main protagonist in the events leading to Elton's resignation seems to have been Lyttelton : it was certainly to Lyttelton that Elton addressed his apologetic letter; and Lyttelton seems to have gone out of his way to attend all the meetings which dealt with the condition of the training and middle schools. The five student-exhibitioners were placed temporarily at Battersea and St. Mark's Colleges; and the Board behaved well to Elton, giving him a gratuity of £25 as "a mark of goodwill."

The work of the Worcester Diocesan Board in the field of middle-class education lasted, formally, for only ten years after 1839 : Elton's resignation marked the closing of the middle-class school and the end of a period. From 1849 onwards there are no specific references to middle schools in the Minutes. Nevertheless the Diocesan Board was the only local agency which, before 1869, attempted to deal

¹ *ibid.*, Quarterly meeting, 10 January 1849.

comprehensively with problems associated with middle-class education in the county and the diocese. Though its official activities ended abruptly, it is possible to see, in a number of cases, how the leading figures in the diocese — lay and clerical — continued to work for the aims which the Board had collectively set out. For Worcestershire endowed schools, the period from 1839 up to the establishment of the S.I.C. was one of considerable upheaval and controversy. This is illustrated by the case of Kidderminster Free Grammar School.¹ Throughout most of the 1840s the School was closed, pending a Chancery judgement. When a scheme was finally settled the Bishop of Worcester became the School's Visitor and the appointment of the Master was to rest with the Vicar of the parish and nine other trustees; but even in the case of appointment, the Bishop's approval was legally necessary.²

The Diocese was also closely associated with a revival in the fortunes of Stourbridge Free Grammar School in the 1850s. "After having remained in a depressed state, this school has lately been started afresh with handsome new buildings, and a new set of rules, framed by the governors with the consent of the Bishop of Worcester as visitor."³ These new statutes were issued in September 1862. Two of the trustees were Anglican clergy, The Dean of Worcester was Visitor for Wolverley Grammar School, the wealthiest educational foundation in the county.⁴ In 1865 James Bryce described the work of the Worcester Cathedral Grammar School as "in most respects highly satisfactory,"⁵ and the government of that school was in the hands of

1. See below ch.VIII, 391, for a brief discussion of George Griffith's involvement in the affairs of this School.

2. S.I.C., XV, 590.

3. *ibid.*, 602.

4. *ibid.*, 608-613.

5. *ibid.*, 617.

the Dean and Chapter. Hartlebury Grammar School obtained a new scheme in November 1849, and among its eighteen governors were four Anglican clergy, including the Dean, and Sir John Pakington, a member of the Diocesan Board.¹ Lord Lyttelton and the Bishop were among the trustees of Bromsgrove School.²

Lyttelton, his lay colleagues and the diocesan clergy therefore continued to operate a discreet system of control over local grammar schools during and after the period in which the Diocesan Board tried to promote a policy of assisting middle-class schools in its area. Indeed, their interest in local schools was so marked that it helped to create a reaction in the shape of opposition from a Kidderminster corn dealer named George Griffith. The scope and nature of his work will be considered later.³ The Diocesan Board had served as a means of reinforcing individual local enterprise where it existed, and initiating it where it was absent. While it must be admitted, in assessing the total activity of the Board, that its work in the middle-class field accounted for only a small part of its efforts, it is true to say that the administrative structure of the Diocese was the only framework for the co-ordination of enterprise and policy-making in secondary schooling in the county area up to 1864. The Board did have a policy of encouraging middle-class education; it established a middle-class school, and it supported others. Its leading members were intimately involved in the trusteeships of a variety of local endowed schools and in their reform. It has also been shown elsewhere in this study that two prominent members of the Board, Lyttelton and Pakington, were closely concerned in developing a new species of lower middle-class education in connection with the National School system.⁴

1. *ibid.*, 581.

2. *ibid.*, 549.

3. See below, ch. XVIII.

4. See below, 164, ff.

which was associated with the Board by its financial encouragement and local inspection. Both these men, in addition to their official services to Royal Commissions and Select Committees on educational subjects in the 1850s and 1860s, were at various times leaders of meetings of the Education Department of the Social Science Association; and another member of the Worcester group, G.W.Hastings, an eminent former pupil of Bromsgrove School, was Honorary Secretary of the Association throughout its existence.¹

As soon as it was constituted in 1838 the Bath and Wells Diocesan Board published a copy of the general aims of the National Society, along with the new Board's own interpretation of them. As its third aim the Board proposed "to build and fit up Middle Schools."² However, this policy does not seem to have been discussed at meetings of the Board until five years later. In July 1843, at a quarterly meeting, the Revd. Principal of the Diocesan Training College proposed that a grant of £15 be made to the Master of the Middle School at Castle Cary; but after discussion the motion was withdrawn.³ At the same meeting the Revd. H.D.Wickham gave notice of his motion "That the Board be authorised to make grants of Books to be awarded as Prizes to the Best Pupils at the Middle Schools in Union with the Board, the prizes to be given away at an annual Examination by the Diocesan or Decanal Inspector." The Minute Book provides no clue as to how many of these schools there were. At a meeting in October Wickham's

1. For G.W.Hastings and the Social Science Association, see below, ch.VI.

2. Wells Chapter Library, Minute Book of the Bath and Wells Diocesan Board of Education, 1857-1874; a copy of the printed aims are pasted inside the front cover.

3. Wells Diocesan Board Minute Book, 1838-1857, 5 July 1843.

motion was carried : £20 was granted to the Diocesan Inspectors to be spent upon suitable prizes for pupils in the Middle Schools. The books presented in 1844 were bound in calf, with the Board's insignia stamped on the cover. The titles included Southgate's Travels in Persia, Paley's Natural Theology and Loudon on Agriculture. At a meeting in 1846 Prebendary Homer inquired, on behalf of the headmaster of the Norton Hall Middle School whether the Board would consider supplying "some apparatus" to assist him in his lectures.¹

There appears to have been some diminution of interest in the prize scheme in the late 1840s, though prizes were awarded to schools at Dunster, Portishead, Norton Hall, Frome and Chewton. But in April 1853 the Committee of the Board recommended that "with the view of encouraging Church of England schools for the education of the children of the middle classes, a certain sum be expended in providing prizes for schools of that character, provided they be awarded after an examination by one of the Bishop's inspectors, and a report of his approval of the school."²

A further perspective on the work of guidance and encouragement in the diocese of Bath and Wells is provided by the evidence which the Bishop gave to the S.I.C. in June 1865.³ He brought with him before the Commission the brothers Browning who conducted a large private school at Weston, near Bath, which they had founded in 1844.⁴ Near Wells there was another successful middle-class school established by a group of local gentlemen. This was Failand Lodge, which had 60

1. Wells Diocesan Chapter Library, Minute Book, Diocesan Board of Education, 1838-1857, quarterly meeting 7 January 1846.

2. *ibid.*, printed statement pasted in Minute Book, "Midsummer, 1853". cf. the date and proximity of Fortescue's Bath and West Prize Scheme.

3. S.I.C., IV, 20 June 1865, 683-698.

4. *ibid.*, 687-688.

boarders and was subsidised by the produce of a small farm. In both these cases the schools were considered as serving the needs of the tenant-farmer class, and although they were conducted on Anglican principles and visited by the Bishop, they were open to the sons of dissenters who used the schools "in large numbers."¹ The diocese also promoted a school "for the lower middle class" at Wells. This had been founded by a local clergyman, and in addition to tenant-farmers' sons there were a few boarders.² The Bishop was in favour of systematising the arrangements for middle-class education in the diocese by encouraging groups of tenant-farmers, within administrative areas ten miles square, to rent a small dwelling, convert it for the purpose of boys' education, and jointly employ a certificated master at a salary of £125 per annum. "If asked, the clergy would render their assistance most willingly in examinations."³

It is clear even thus far that diocesan boards active in the field of middle-class education comprised a varied species : there was, as might be expected, little uniformity, and this related to the vagueness of the National Society's statement of policy. But certain common features of their work emerge. There was, firstly, a general concern for what they might have called the lower middle-class pupils; and the epitome of this type was the tenant-farmer's son, or, in a country town, the son of a small tradesman. Secondly, the boards were willing to supply financial assistance to middle-class schools in much the same way as they were already lending aid to local efforts in elementary education; though the giving of money was always qualified by

1. *ibid.*, 694.

2. *ibid.*, 692.

3. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

the stipulation that the school's religious teaching should conform with the principles of the Church of England. Thirdly — and here the boards were re-invoking a procedure whose passing had been regretted by Thomas Arnold — they used visitation and examination to monitor the efficiency of the education provided by schools in union with them, their approval often taking the form of prizes. Finally, at this stage — in the 1840s and 1850s — they tended to avoid becoming entangled in the complex problems posed by the unreformed endowed schools, though there were notable exceptions to this feature of their work.

The positive role of supervision and encouragement which the diocesan boards could play in the organisation of middle-class education is demonstrated by a passage in the development of the Winchester Diocesan Board during the 1840s. The leading permanent members of the Board, as it was constituted in 1839, were the Lords Lieutenant and the High Sheriffs of the counties of Hampshire and Surrey; the Dean and Chapter of Winchester; the Warden, Fellows and Master of Winchester College; the Chairmen of Quarter Sessions for the two counties; the Mayor and the Recorder of Winchester; "All Noblemen and Privy Councillors", and the M.P.s for Hampshire, Surrey, and the Isle of Wight.¹ The second of the stated aims of the Board, after the provision of training schools, was "the promotion of schools for the Commercial and Agricultural Classes."²

The Winchester Board involved itself thoroughly in the work of promoting middle-class schools, whether they were endowed or private

1. Hants. County Record Office, pamphlets reserve box C, '6th Report of the Winchester Diocesan Board of Education, May 1846, 2.

2. *ibid.*, 4.

foundations. The Report for 1846 noted that at Andover Grammar School the trustees had requested, and received, the co-operation of the Board in appointing a new Master.¹ There were three other schools "whose managers united them to the Board" : the Classical, Commercial and Mathematical Academy at Fareham; a private grammar school at Amstey, and a similar middle-class school at Maldon. There were also three private schools "in direct connection" with the Board : the Southampton Grammar School whose rules had been modified under the supervision of the Bishop in 1840²; a private school at Portsea, and another in Dorking.³ A further institution, the Richmond Classical and Commercial School, had been established by the local clergy under the aegis of the Board. In 1846 it was also noted in the Report that the Southampton Diocesan Church School, having been placed in the charge of a former English master at Marlborough, had "passed the trials of infancy", and was well established with 38 day pupils and 8 boarders. It had been examined by Moberley of Winchester College.⁴ In all its labours for middle-class education the Board showed a clear concern to promote the teaching of useful subjects, In the case of the Southampton Grammar School in 1840 the Bishop supported the following resolution of the trustees :

That the principle of the grammar school shall remain unchanged but that, as from the altered state of society instruction in Latin and Greek alone is not desired by the inhabitants of Southampton, it is advisable to add to the instruction in those languages instruction in other branches of education.⁵

In the Richmond Classical and Commercial School, which advertised

1. *ibid.* 'See' also S.I.C., XI, report of Andover school, 310.

2. S.I.C., XI, 353.

3. Winchester Diocesan Board, 6th Report, 4.

4. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

5. S.I.C., XI, 353.

itself as being "in connexion with the Winchester Diocesan Board of Education", the curriculum included, in addition to religious knowledge, "English taught grammatically", Latin, (no Greek), Writing, linear drawing, Arithmetic and the elements of Mathematics, book-keeping, History, Geography, the elements of Natural History and Philosophy, French (taught by a graduate of the University of Paris), and vocal music.

A further and equally important emphasis was upon proficiency in religious knowledge. At Dorking the curriculum comprised Biblical knowledge and the Catechism, English grammar, Geography and Arithmetic, listed in the prospectus in that order. The Board commented with satisfaction upon the interest taken in the School by the clergy and gentry of the neighbourhood. In the case of Richmond school the Board noted, "Here, as in the other schools established by the Board, the local clergy have access to the pupils as often as is convenient and watch over their spiritual welfare."² The Winchester Board shared with Bath and Wells a readiness to present prizes, usually of books, to successful and deserving pupils.

The Board also acknowledged the special financial constraints which bore upon the middle classes in their search for efficient schools. The reports of the Board therefore listed, in great detail, not only the curricula of the schools, but the number and qualifications of the masters and the fees for boarders and day pupils. This was a concern which related very closely to the lower middle-class clientele which the Board was seeking to attract to the schools. At Dorking, for instance, the fees in 1847 were 30 guineas for boarders and 8 guineas

1. Winchester Diocesan Board, 6th Report, 10.

2. *ibid.*, 5.

for day pupils; and parents were assured that "the School will be periodically inspected under the direction of the Diocesan Board."¹

The Seventh Report of the Winchester Board, for 1847, again listed the middle-class schools, and commented upon the steadily increasing numbers of pupils being attracted to them. Their satisfaction, however, was not about to relax into complacency :

The schools above enumerated, with the exception of Andover... are entirely new creations, and owe their existence to the assistance of the Board. Although, therefore, a painful sense of what remains to be done in this department... cannot but exist, something has been effected, which if permitted to extend, bids fair to offer to the commercial and agricultural classes in the Diocese - a class upon which the prosperity of the country, under God, so much depends - the means of procuring for their children a sound and useful education, according to the principles of the Church of England.²

All the reports of the 1840s carried an Appendix which declared that "Middle or Commercial Schools" could be connected to the National Society, or to its diocesan boards, after a declaration by the proprietors or managers that religious instruction in conformity with Anglican doctrines would be practised, and that the schools would be open to "the visitation of the parochial clergy."³

An even more elaborate form of county activity, according to the National Society's model, emerged in Northants in the early 1850s. In 1854 the county branch of the National Society - 'The Northants Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church' - which had existed since 1813, transformed itself at its annual meeting by adopting a report embodying new aims and rules.⁴ The Revd. Lord Alwyne Compton read the report of the Committee

1. *ibid.*, 9-10.

2. Winchester Diocesan Board, 7th Report, 1847, 5-6.

3. *ibid.*, 9.

4. Northants County Record Office, Box 306, Minutes of the Middle Schools Committee of the Northants Educational Society, 1854-1873. Printed Report of Special Committee, 1854, 10-11.

appointed "to consider the best means of improving and extending education in the diocese (of Peterborough), either by the establishment of training, reformatory, or middle schools, or other institutions, as well as by the appointment of diocesan inspectors." Here, clearly, was a body which was setting out to co-ordinate all kinds of educational work in the county, giving it a coherent form. There can be little doubt, though there is no explicit evidence for the assertion, but that the motivating factor in this refashioning of a county body was the activity of agents elsewhere, particularly in the field of industrial schooling. As will be shown later¹ there were also direct connections between the leading personnel of the Committee in Northants and T.D.Acland, who was at this time reviving the publishing activity of the Bath and West of England Society with its special interest in middle-class schooling in the countryside.

The new Northants Committee had discussed in some detail the question of middle schools. They considered that the heavy charges to which the middle classes were liable for the education of their children — presumably in inferior private schools — made the establishment of middle schools absolutely necessary. The extension of education among the middle classes would produce a beneficial effect, they felt, throughout the whole community. "To the supply of such schools the Society hereafter may perhaps be able to contribute. At the same time it should not be overlooked that the endowed schools and hospitals which exist in many large towns would, if properly managed, serve, in great measure, to supply this want. Your Committee therefore hope that the trustees of the charities

1. See above ch.II; below, ch.VIII.

throughout the county will take the necessary steps for extending their advantages as far as possible, as has recently been done so successfully in Birmingham. And they further think that your Society might, in many cases, lend a helping hand in this good work."¹

Apart from their connection with the work in relation to middle-class education being publicised in the Journal of the Bath and West Society, there were two other reasons for the Northants Society taking comprehensive action at this moment. Firstly, in relation to Reformatory and Industrial Schools, they had now the means of responding locally to the initiatives of Mary Carpenter, Stafford Northcote, and the Revd. Sydney Turner.² Secondly, the passing of the Charitable Trusts Act had released a new potential in endowed charities for secondary education, making possible the transformation of moribund institutions into valuable educational assets.³

Here was an instance of a county which was aware of new movements and vital opportunities in a number of fields, especially that of middle-class education. It was conscious of the possibility of co-ordinating, if not linking in a complete system, a wide range of agencies for various kinds of education within a considerable geographical area, under one unofficial 'local authority.'

Having stated the aims of the new Society the Committee said that, to carry them out, large resources would be necessary, in the form of donations and subscriptions. "But your Committee cannot doubt that, if an appeal be made to the county for so important an object, the means would be forthcoming."⁴ They clearly revealed

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. For industrial schooling, Mary Carpenter and her associates, see below, ch.VI.

3. See below, ch.V.

4. Special Committee Report, 14.

the roots of their intentions when they said that the expense of Reformatory and Industrial Schools would be saved to the county in "criminal expenses." The education of the poor and of the middle classes could not, however, be reduced to such a pecuniary standard, "yet your Committee believe that even this can be found to add to the wealth of all."¹ After linking money and education they joined salvation with schooling : all schools should use a measure of religious training in accordance with the doctrines of the Anglican church. "Even supposing it possible that the worldly results of increased prosperity, contentment, and happiness, should not seem commensurate to our efforts, still those who attempted thus to benefit the ignorant classes around them will surely not lose their reward." Despite this expression of faith, the concern, in a material way, for the common weal shone through all that the Committee was setting out to do; and since their concerns related to a largely agricultural county, they bear a close resemblance to the broader aims which the more far-sighted leaders of landed society in the West Country and elsewhere were uttering and had been considering for some time.²

The fifth rule of the new Society suggested that a general committee of ten clerical and ten lay members ought to be appointed.³ The sixth rule provided for the appointment of three committees, each consisting of seven members, and "in each of which not more than four shall be members of the General Committee." The first of these was to look after the education of the poor, combined with industrial training where possible, and superintendence of the training school for teachers; the second was to establish and manage the reformatory schools; and the third "to promote education among the

1. *ibid.*, 15.

2. See above, ch. II.

3. Report of the Special Committee, 16-17.

Middle Classes."

The first meeting of the Middle Schools Committee took place on 30 December 1854. Those present were not entirely typical of the subsequent pillars of the Committee : Lord Lilford, the Dean of Peterborough, the Archdeacon, H.O.Nethercote, a gentleman farmer, the Revd. H.deSausmarez, H.P.Markhan, who was the Clerk to the Justices, F.S.Perceval, and the Revd. Thomas Jones. The meeting was held in the office of the Clerk of the Peace in Northampton. Their first resolution showed a measure of uncertainty in the Committee, but also demonstrated their determination to get information from an authoritative quarter : the Secretary was invited to write to the Provost of St. Nicholas College, Hurstpierpoint, and to the headmaster of the Middle School, Banbury, for any information they might be able to furnish concerning the expenses and management of such schools. It is hardly surprising that the Middle Schools Committee should have had at the top of its list of prospective counsellors the headmasters of two of the celebrated Woodard schools. The most recent historian of the Woodard foundation has described the foundation which was established in 1846 as "an Anglo-Catholic mission to middle-class England" and "the national agent of middle-class schooling."¹

The task facing the Northants Committee was considerable. In the county there were twelve schools which could still be called grammar schools, with a handful of others, like Little Harrowden, Preston Capes and Pytchley, which had given up any attempt to provide a classical education, and which were conducted as elementary schools.

At their first meeting the members dealt also with the matter of Northampton Grammar School which was passing through a period of considerable difficulty. The Minutes of the meeting merely record a

1. Brian Heeney, Mission to the Middle Classes, London, 1969, 1.

resolution that Mr. Markham should be requested to call a meeting of the trustees of the Grammar School, and that they be invited to meet and confer with the Committee in January 1855. The School at Northampton was one of the first cases to be brought to the attention of the new Charity Commission on information supplied by a local solicitor, Mr. G. M. Cooke, in April and June 1855. The Commission was also petitioned by the headmaster, Charles West, in March 1854, with a complaint that the trustees had reduced his stipend. The trustees, after repeated requests from the Charity Commission, refused to give any information, and a formal inquiry was instituted. The results were reported to the Clerk to the Trustees, Hensman, in May 1856:

Without imputing any personal misconduct to the individual members of the former or existing Corporation...there is abundant proof that the dealings of that body with the property belonging to these foundations (including the Grammar School) have been and are still to a considerable extent unauthorised by the Trusts.¹

It is interesting that Markham should have been the intermediary between the Society and the Grammar School trustees in 1854. He was also a member of the trustees — the Grammar School Committee of the Northampton Town Charities. The Middle Schools Committee of the Society worked hand in hand with the trustees during the years of uncertainty, trying to make a new scheme for the School. At a meeting in February 1855 they suggested hiring a house capable of accommodating 200 day scholars. They conceived of three masters at first, with a fourth when the numbers reached 150. They thought that English, Mathematics and Classics should be the basic subjects. They also suggested a religious prescription for the School, taking into account Northampton's mixed population: "No boy shall be required to attend

1. PRO ED 27/3672, Northampton Grammar school file, Charity Commission Inquiry, 1854-1856.

when the parents object....no doctrinal questions shall be introduced into the School." This was a most liberal gesture on the part of an Anglican Committee. But at the next meeting the question of a scheme for the School was deferred.

In December 1855 the Committee discussed the establishment of a new Middle School at Northampton, separate from the endowment. Evidently the complexity of the local controversy over the endowed grammar school was too great for them to hope for its immediate resolution. A sub-committee was set up to consider the new proposal and it was hoped that it would look particularly at the possibility of using hospital endowments in the town for setting up a new school. But the first meeting of this sub-committee was postponed pending the publication of the findings of the Charity Commission inquiry.

The postponed meeting eventually took place in February 1856, with Compton and the Revd. Chancellor Wales representing the Society, and Messrs. Phipps, Parris, Markham, Whitworth, Higgins, Page and Whiteman for the Town Charity Trustees. As a result a further scheme was devised which would have given the Society peculiar privileges. The second clause of the scheme stated that the new governors were to be the Charity Trustees, (the Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors) "and donors of 30 guineas", or annual subscribers of 3 guineas; and that for every such donation of 30 guineas from the Northants or any other Educational Society connected with the county "such Society or Societies be entitled to appoint a life governor from among their number." The scholar's fee was to be 2 guineas a quarter, but "Governors being donors of 30 guineas may nominate one boy at the reduced fee of 1 guinea a quarter — and Governors of 50 guineas and upwards may nominate one free scholar for every such donation." There were to be free scholarships in the proportion of not less than one to every 50 boys, to be open to competition among candidates between 11 and 14

years of age. The scheme as it stood was a mixture of the conventional — patronage — and the new — open competition for a small number of places; and it clearly represented the educational experience of the members of the Society, rather than of the Trustees.

When the Committee met at County Hall in December 1857 it was announced that legal difficulties had held up the approval of the scheme, and the idea of a completely separate and legally untrammelled school was again proposed. If the current scheme were not accepted within six months, such a new school should be contemplated — "a good Middle School independent of the Grammar School." In fact nothing new occurred until the drafting and acceptance of a new scheme by the Master of the Rolls in 1864. This did not contain the clauses conferring privileges on subscribers. But although it did include a conscience clause it still caused great resentment in the town among dissenters. The controversy continued so that when T.H. Green visited the School, in 1866, on behalf of the Schools Inquiry Commission he found it in abeyance.¹

The Committee of the Society were instrumental in helping the trustees of the decaying Grammar School at Guilsborough in the west of the county, in 1855.² Markham reported that the Guilsborough trustees were waiting for a Chancery decision on the future composition of the trust and were wondering whether they could still act as trustees since "a considerable sum" was needed to put the School in good repair. Consequently a resolution was passed offering to the trustees any assistance that lay in the Committee's power. The Society, aware of Guilsborough's rural location, wrote for advice to the

1. The foregoing information is taken from the sequence of reports in the Minutes of the Northants Education Society. See also T.C. Lees, A Short History of Northampton Grammar School, Northampton, 1947, 53.

2. Minutes of the Middle Schools Committee, 17 March 1855.

agricultural colleges at Cirencester and Kinbolton, with a view to recommending the inclusion of agricultural training in any scheme for the School. The Revd. Robert Isham stated at the February meeting in 1856 that the trustees' power had been confirmed and that "he would be glad of any assistance in framing such a scheme that the Committee could give him." In June it was reported to the Committee that a new scheme had been drawn up, "and was likely to be adopted."

However, in February 1857 Markham said that the scheme was still before Chancery, and that the funds of the Charity had been found insufficient to implement the current proposals.¹ In July 1857 Compton reported that £30 had been sent as a subscription to Guilsborough by the General Committee of the Society, and that a total of £1,200 had been raised in support of the charity. The design of the new school building was being made to conform to that sum. Compton attended several meetings of the Guilsborough trustees on behalf of the Society. The new School seems to have started flourishing early, since in 1859 it supplied a large proportion of the candidates for the Cambridge Junior and Senior Local examinations at Northampton which were organised by the Society.²

Kettering's early sixteenth-century Grammar School was passing through a critical phase in the early 1850s. In 1850 the headmaster, Watson, became curate of Burton Latimer and conducted the School in that village, three miles away, with only two or three pupils.³ After receiving a petition from the trustees, Chancery provided a new scheme in April 1854. Watson resigned on gaining the living of

1. Minutes of the Middle Schools Committee, 6 February 1857.

2. See below, ch.VII,377, for the Local Examination work of the Northants Society.

3. Victoria County History of Northants, IV, 293.

Rothwell nearby. At their meeting in December 1855 the Middle Schools Committee resolved "that the Secretary be requested to communicate with the Rector of Kettering and to ask if there is any mode in which they can assist him with respect to the Grammar School supposed to be now vacant."

On 7 June 1856 the Secretary read a statement from the 15 new trustees of Kettering, appointed under the 1854 scheme, in which they complained that they were still hindered by "the insufficient and dilapidated state of the School house...under the circumstances the trustees venture to appeal for assistance to the liberality of the public and especially those who are connected either by property or residence with the town of Kettering." They added that the town was expected to grow in size and influence, in view of the newly-opened railway line. "This Grammar School", said the trustees, "is the only establishment by which as regards the Middle Classes of the town the Education of their children can be provided and is therefore at this time and in this state of things an object of much importance." By this time all but £300 of the £1,400 needed by the trustees had been raised. Nevertheless the General Committee of the Society were requested to send a grant of £25, and at the next meeting, in February 1857, a letter of acknowledgement was read out.

Magdalen College School Brackley, of which the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, were trustees, first came to the attention of the Society in December 1855. On that occasion the Committee communicated to the Fellows their satisfaction that a new scheme had been proposed for the School. At the next meeting, in February 1856, it was recorded that a conference had been held with the Fellows, and "that it appears they intend to restore the Ancient Chapel and make the School efficient as a Middle School." The

Committee decided to keep a close watch on future developments.

In June 1856, however, a request was received from the Fellows that the Society should submit a scheme "for the reorganisation of Brackley School." Suggestions were subsequently sent to the Fellows, including the notion that "the Northants Society be permitted to co-operate in the Annual Examination and General Inspection through the Diocesan Inspector, or in some other way"; also, "that provision be made for industrial, agricultural and scientific instruction", in addition to Classics, Mathematics and modern languages. In December, having received no reply from Magdalen, the Society made a list of potential subscribers to a Brackley School restoration fund, in case their scheme should be accepted. The Earl of Ellesmere promised £50, and Earl Spencer £25. In addition it was proposed that the Society itself should contribute £25 annually and provide two of its members as inspectors.

A letter from the Fellows, signed by the President, Frederic Bailey, finally arrived and was read to the Quarterly Meeting in March 1858. It was something of a snub to the Society : the Fellows did not feel able to accept the scheme : "there seemed to be no advantage in joining with other parties unless by so doing the views of the College as to the School...could be carried into effect, and this did not appear to be probable with an amount of help so limited as that which your Society are able to give out of their funds, or to be instrumental in providing from others." That was the end of the matter as far as the Society was concerned, and Brackley School did not get a new scheme.

The name of another school appears in the Minutes of the Middle Schools Committee. Clipston School, founded near Market Harborough in 1667, was conducted in the midst of a hospital for the aged; but it

had long been elementary in character. In the 1859 Annual Report the Secretary of the Society stated that the School, "owing to the resignation of the master and the reference of its affairs to the Charity Commission, is at present in abeyance, but there is every hope that some modification in the past mode of conducting it, and by the appointment of a new master, it may be restored to its efficiency as a Grammar School without detriment to the claims which the poor in Clipston and its neighbourhood have upon its resources."¹

The Middle Schools Committee of the Society was attempting to carry out in a systematic and economical way the aims which had been set before the members in 1854. There was a responsible body keeping watch over the fortunes of the endowed grammar schools of the county. More positively the Committee served as a source of encouragement to trustees and as an authoritative ally in dealings with the agencies of central government whose interest in education per se was not very substantial. The Charity Commissioners and the officers of the Court of Chancery were more concerned to provide for the efficient financial administration of schools than to adjust or revise their educational aims or resources. The Northants Committee, on the other hand, was consciously, in some cases, trying to modify the curricula of schools in a general way so as to meet new social requirements in a largely rural community. The greatest single achievement of the Northants Society lay in a rather different, though closely related, field; and this aspect of their work, in connection with the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, is dealt with elsewhere.² It can be

1. Annual Report of the Northants Education Society, 1859. Printed copy in Middle Schools Committee Minute Book.

2. See below, ch.VII, 377.

argued that the clergy and laity who were the leading members of the committees in Worcestershire, Winchester, Bath and Wells, and Northants were far less ignorant about contemporary local educational needs and priorities than any other specific group of local citizens; there were no other groups in the local community which could have prompted useful and cohesive change.

The work of the diocesan boards formed a framework within which the Newcastle Commissioners were able to propose the establishment of what they called "County and Borough Boards of Education".¹ Their County Board was to be appointed by the Court of Quarter Sessions from their own number and from the Chairmen and Vice-chairmen of the Boards of Guardians : six members might be chosen in this manner and they would be able to co-opt up to six additional members. The number of ministers of religion on any board would not exceed one-third of the total.² In corporate towns of over 40,000 inhabitants the Town Council would appoint the Board, consisting of not more than six members, the clergy being limited to two members. The Boards would sit for three years, but at the end of each year one-third of the members would retire to be replaced or re-elected. An Inspector should be attached to each Board by the Committee of Council; the Boards should appoint examiners who would be certificated masters of at least seven years standing.³ Those Boards would control elementary education.

Earlier, in dealing with the possible administration of endowments, the Newcastle Commissioners had shown their dissatisfaction with the

1. Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, 1861, I. 545.

2. See below, ch. VIII, 329, for George Griffith's notion of a representative local body.

3. Report of the Commissioners... 1861, I, 546.

conduct of most local trustees. They said that "local government, when pure and efficient, is no doubt much to be preferred to the action of a central authority"; but the conduct of local trusteeships did not inspire their confidence. "The vision of local administrators is limited to their own schools; it does not extend to any comprehensive scheme of improvement for endowed schools throughout the country...or to anything like a graduated connexion of school with school for the purpose of drafting promising pupils from a lower place of education into a higher."¹ Only after the Privy Council had generally set an efficient system working would it be found "possible and desirable to transfer to some local authority" a portion of administrative responsibility.²

The County Board idea was taken up by Pakington's Select Committee on Education in 1865, which received evidence during the first few months of the existence of the S.I.C. Indeed, the Committee received evidence from Frederick Temple, currently a leading member of the S.I.C.³ As Chairman of the Committee, Pakington, evidently a supporter of the diocesan boards in principle and practice, asked H.A.Bruce whether he had considered the possibility of establishing "some joint action" between Diocesan Boards and a central authority. The Vice President replied that he had; but he could see that any such arrangement, however carefully devised, would be open to grave objection. Bruce thought, also, that the Newcastle proposal of county boards was too complicated, and that "it was not acceptable to Parlia-

1. *ibid.* 480-481.

2. *ibid.* 481.

3. Report from the Select Committee on Education, 24 April 1865. Temple gave his evidence on 23 June 1865.

ment or to the country" in the present state of feeling about such subjects. The chief problem, as he saw it, was religious feeling.¹

Another witness before the 1865 Committee also had close connections with the S.I.C. Canon H.G. Robinson, later to become an Endowed Schools Commissioner, gave evidence on 2 June 1865, two days after he had been similarly questioned by the Taunton Commissioners.² Replying to Pakington, Robinson said that he was favourably impressed by Newcastle's county board proposal, and wished to see it brought into execution; though he foresaw general public objections to it. Nevertheless he thought there would be fewer public objections to county than to municipal boards. He approved of the plan since it marked a step towards the achievement of his desire "to see a complete and well developed national system."³

It seems therefore that a sceptical tone characterised the comments of witnesses upon the possibility of creating local or county boards. Yet it is clear that discussion of the proposition had to continue, since the administrative alternative — the extension of the central government's powers in education — was considered a worse evil. Peter Erle, giving evidence to Newcastle, was strongly of the opinion that, in relation to charities, "there would be a great opposition to the transfer of local funds to any general fund", and that, rather than wishing for an extension of the powers of his own Charity Commission, he felt that "the consent should be local, at least in the first instance."⁴

1. Select Committee, 1865, 52.

2. S.I.C., IV, 602-603.

3. Select Committee, 1865,

4. Popular Education Commission, 1861, VI, 452-453.

The debate about the necessity for instituting some form of local administration for education, and for middle class schooling in particular, intensified between 1859 and 1867. The S.I.C. sector of the debate has been considered already.¹ In spite of the ways in which sympathetic witnesses qualified their support for the creation of local or county boards, the S.I.C. was prepared, like its predecessor, Newcastle, to cleave to an idea which was controversial. Their confidence, such as it was, must have rested firmly and almost exclusively on the local experience of Church organisations in the field of middle-class education during the previous twenty-five years, and on the security, for the time being, of the traditional structure of county government, upon which radical politicians had not yet begun to mount a serious attack.²

All the organisations so far considered were operating for the most part in rural areas. One of the most interesting Anglican urban experiments in middle class education occurred in the diocese of Chester at Manchester in the 1840s. The Revd. Frederick Watkins, H.M.I., in his report on schools in the Northern district for 1845, recorded that one Manchester clergyman had told him that there were in his district "hundreds of men living with a community of wives !" And Watkins said that he himself had seen in another part of industrial Lancashire "pamphlets which are largely circulated among the middling and operative classes...denying the sanctity of marriage" and encouraging abortion of unwanted children. In these districts, he had

1. See above, ch.II,

2. *ibid.*

been told, there were tens of thousands of Englishmen who never entered a place of worship. "It is credible that a great many of this number never utter a word, nor feel the desire, of private prayer. Many of them spend a great part of Sunday in bed..."¹

Watkins' anxiety about what he considered to be this canker in industrial communities was largely related to the upper sections of the labouring classes, and the lower reaches of the middle class. In fact he was happy that the most successful efforts of the Manchester Church Education Society had been "in a field which has as yet been little cultivated, and yet there is ample space and sufficient depth of soil for the most earnest and unflinching labourers" : that of middle-class education. He reported that the Society had completed one of four proposed schools for the middle classes in Stretford New Road.²

"Thus Manchester, next to the Metropolis the most populous and richest of the towns of England, may be the first, if not to design, at least to carry into execution, a well-devised plan for the right education of that important class which, as it has been from various circumstances little acted upon by the direct teaching of the Church, has become impatient of her discipline and most alienated from her communion."³

Watkins' enthusiasm for the Manchester experiment was loudly echoed by the Revd. Alexander Thurtell in his report for 1847.⁴ The Society had been established partly as a con-

1. Committee of Council Minutes, 1845-46, 160-161.

2. *ibid.*, 173.

3. *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*

4. Committee of Council Minutes, 1847-48, 34.

sequence of the general effort in the Chester diocese, after the National Society's new initiatives in 1838-1839, in the Deanery of Manchester, and partly as an Anglican attempt to fill the local vacuum of 'comprehensive' effort created by Sir James Graham's Bill.¹ The general aim of the Society was to extend elementary education "by stimulating not superceding local exertions."² The Society assisted local National and parish schools with grants to aid teachers' salaries, to establish book depositories, to supplement school building funds, and support evening classes and Model Schools. They discovered, however, that there was one section of the community, the middle class, "for which scarcely any public education is provided in this parish." Therefore in 1845 they appointed a special sub-committee "to inquire into the need for Commercial Middle Schools". The sub-committee found that the need was considerable; and that in other places where such schools had been founded in connection with the Church they had quickly become self-supporting.³ They may have had in mind the National Society's diocesan training colleges, the closest example of which was the very successful College at Chester.⁴ They concluded that four or more such schools were needed in the parish of Manchester. They rejected the notion of one large school, since four schools would better serve the needs of the geographically dispersed lower middle-class population, and would also encourage a healthy spirit of emulation.

1. Manchester Church Education Society, 1845 Report, 34.

2. *ibid.*, 7.

3. *ibid.*, 14.

4. Malcolm Seaborne, 'Early Theories of Teacher Education', *B.J.E.S.*, XII, No.3, October 1974.

The Society took immediate action, purchasing a site and commissioning plans. The School in Stretford Road opened on 26 January 1846.¹ The Working Committee, as might have been expected, was dominated by the clergy; but there was also a handful of "gentlemen" and three solicitors. It is interesting to note, also, that a high proportion of the subscribers to the Society's funds were business firms, like "Merek and Co., Cross St.", who gave £21; "Kennedy, James and Co., Ancoats," £15; "Oxford Road Twist Co.," £5; "Birley and Co., York St.," £200. It can be supposed that the interest of these commercial firms had been enlivened by the prospect of a new school which would train its pupils to become more efficient junior clerks in local offices. In addition to the business subscriptions there were donations from the local gentry and, indeed, from county landowners living at a distance from Manchester. Lord Francis Egerton of Worsley gave £50; Sir Oswald Moseley of Rollleston Park, £21; the Earl of Wilton, Heaton House, £105.² Buried in a long list of such names were two which were associated with middle-class education in entirely different, rural contexts: Earl Ducie of Tortworth Court in Gloucestershire, who owned land in the centre of Manchester, subscribed to the fund. His son was later to play a leading part in organising 'county' activity over middle-class schools in Gloucestershire. Lord Ebrington, whose father also had a stake in the City, and who was later to introduce the prototype of the Local Examinations in the South-west, contributed £45. Lord Derby gave £100.

1. Manchester Central Library, Local Room, Special Report of the Working Committee of the Manchester Church Education Society, 1.
2. Manchester Church Education Society, 1846 Report, 31-38.

The general management of the new School was to be in the hands of a committee under the Dean of Manchester, Dr. Herbert.¹

In the absence of the Dean, Canon C.D. Wray, at the annual meeting in 1846, pointed out "the delightful expectation of seeing Manchester teeming with infant schools, and flanked by Commercial Schools on every side, under the auspices of the Society", or, as he might also have said, of the Church of England.² The report showed that there were, by a rough calculation, about 20,000 or 30,000 young people in the City whose education was paid for wholly by their parents. A middle-class school had now been provided for some of these pupils, "on public considerations alone", avoiding the proprietary or private principle. The teachers chosen were well qualified. The Society expressed their gratitude to the Manchester Natural History and Geological Societies for co-operating with them in providing specimens and the resources of the Museum as aids to teaching in the School.³

The efforts which are now commenced must not, then, be relaxed, but must rather be increased, for, if 200 or 300 were under instruction in these new schools, and 400 more were receiving instruction in the Grammar Schools, what is such a number, after all, in comparison with that large proportion of the youthful population, who ought to be receiving that regular and guaranteed instruction which Schools of this character are intended to provide.⁴

The first Headmaster of the School was the Revd. J.G. Slight, M.A., formerly of the Grammar School, Barrow-upon-Soar, Leicestershire; the second master was A.T. Bramah,

1. Second Report of the Working Committee, 4.

2. Manchester Church Education Society, 1846 Report, 7.

3. *ibid.*, 26.

4. *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

lately second master at the Royal Grammar school, Guildford; the third master, Mr. Davis, had lately been headmaster of one of the Society's model schools, and there were a German and a French master. Other teachers were employed for vocal music and drawing.¹ The course of education comprised Latin, English Grammar and Composition, History, Geography, linear drawing, writing, vocal music, Mathematics, pure and practical, Arithmetic and book-keeping, the principles of mensuration, the use of globes, mapping, and "useful information and the elements of Natural Philosophy and General Science to the Senior Pupils."² The terms were £1.15s. in the Upper and Lower Schools, with Greek, French, German and Drawing as extras at 10s.6d. each, though there was the possibility of remitting fees in the cases of orphans. All scholars were to wear "the usual school cap". Books were supplied from the Society's own Repository at reduced prices.

In the 1846 Report the Society's new School was acknowledged to be a success.³ The Society distinguished four classes of schools :

1. Self-regulating Superior Private schools, in which the children of the middle and upper classes of society receive instruction; wherein the subjects professed to be taught are similar to those in the Grammar School of this Town, or the Commercial schools of this Society; — and in which the terms vary for day scholars from one guinea to two guineas and upwards per quarter.

2. A Lower Class of self-supporting Private Schools wherein the children of the artisan and the smaller shop-keeper are taught; — in those schools the education is professed to be adapted to the requirements of the pupils; and the terms are paid weekly, and vary from sixpence to

1. Annual Report, 1845, Appendix A, 32.

2. *ibid.*, 33.

3. This was read at the Annual Meeting in the Town Hall, 22 February 1847.

one shilling and sixpence for each child.¹

The other two categories were a class of schools for the poor (from 1d. to 6d. a week), and pauper schools, which could be called Workhouse, Refuge, or Industrial Schools. Schools in the first two categories, it was thought, should always be self-supporting, never eleemosynary. This was a commonly held view at this time; but the Society's statement of opinion may well have been influenced by an increasing shortage of subscriptions, due to the current commercial depression.²

Having congratulated itself on the success of the Stretford New Road Schools, the Society proceeded to consider the possibility of establishing schools of the second type : artisan schools for "the smaller shop-keepers, mechanics, and other persons who find it convenient to pay for the education of their children in small weekly sums."³ They therefore expressed their determination to rent premises for the purpose of founding an "artisans' school", in some suitable part of the town, "as an experiment of what might be expected if such second-class schools were established generally". But despite such confident statements of intent the Society simultaneously made fervent appeals for further contributions, to support the Commercial Schools, the proposed artisan schools, and the schools for the poor. In the meantime, the reproach so long applied to Manchester, of doing so little in the cause of education, was no longer justified. The Society had already

1. Manchester Church Education Society, 1847 Report, 12.

2. *ibid.*, 14. cf. the Northants Society's categorisation of schools; see above, this chapter, 123.

3. *ibid.*, 23.

provided educational machinery "which for comprehensiveness of purpose and capability of extension, is scarcely surpassed in any part of the Kingdom."¹

In all probability the latter claim was exaggerated. Nevertheless, though the extent of its success may have been limited, the characteristics of the Society's provision of middle-class schooling comprise an interesting example of both Church activity in this field and current thinking about such schools. The Society evidently had no desire to emulate the kind of school — presumably a first-class school — which was evolving from the ancient Tudor foundation in Manchester : the Commercial School in Stretford Road was designed specifically for the local requirements of the business community in a great city, rather than for entry to the Universities or the professions. The School was a limited vocational institution for the training of clerks; and the detailed structure of the curriculum underlined this characteristic. The Society was far from implying that this School was part of a 'scholarship ladder' by which lower middle-class boys could begin to ascend to the Universities. In this sense it would be wrong to see this Manchester 'system' as an anticipation of the S.I.C.'s tripartite grading of middle-class schools which were seen, theoretically, as end-on institutions.

Yet the Society, by implication, was contributing to the creation in Manchester of a three-tier school system in which each tier would be self-contained. It published a prospectus

1. *ibid.*, 26. N.B. use of the term "second class" in relation to a type of school, earlier in this paragraph.

for the proposed artisan schools.¹ The first such school was built in Fairfield Street and had as its first headmaster a Mr. Holdroyd, lately Mathematical master at Hoddesdon Training School in Hertfordshire. Later there were to be a drawing master and a music teacher. The School was advertised as "intended to furnish all that is requisite for the complete and useful Education of the Sons of Artisans, Mechanics, and all other persons in a similar situation in life." As in the Commercial Schools, the religious and moral instruction was an important part of the curriculum.² The course also included English Grammar and Composition, History and Geography, Drawing ("Architectural decorations, plain and pattern drawing, the Figure, etc.") Writing, Vocal Music, Mechanics and their practical application, the principles of mensuration, arithmetic and book-keeping, the use of the globes, mapping, "And all other useful information, together with the elements of Natural Philosophy and General Science, as the pupils may appear to need."

By the time of the publication of the fourth Report in 1848 the chief consideration had become "the general commercial depression" and its effects upon the progress of the Society's work. The Committee appreciated the necessity of "immediate retrenchment". The Artisan School was closed, despite the fact "that there is so much of unquestionable fact in the report presented by Mr. Chadwick in 1840 and so great evidence that the character and values of the artisan

1. *ibid.*, Appendix B, 35.

2. *ibid.*, 36.

3. Manchester Church Education society, 1848 Report, 9.

are proportionally increased by training and Education, that an effort towards the establishment and improvement of Artisans' Schools is, in their opinion, a subject of the highest public importance."¹ The Commercial Schools, however, had fulfilled the best hopes of the Society and were more than self-supporting; playgrounds and gymnastic apparatus had been added during the past year.²

The 1849 Report was read by a new Dean, with the first appointee to the new see of Manchester, Prince Lee of King Edward's, Birmingham, taking the chair. Retrenchment continued to preoccupy the Society, but the Commercial Schools were still seen to be working satisfactorily. "And it is pleasing to the Committee to add, that one large firm in Manchester has voluntarily stated that in selecting youths for admission into their counting-houses, they will give special consideration to those who have been educated at the Commercial Schools."³

The further history of the Manchester Commercial Schools is somewhat obscure and rather misleadingly documented. A.A.Mumford, the most famous historian of Manchester Education, attributed considerable significance to the Schools as a middle-class institution up to the 1870s, saying that they "continued to maintain a high, if not the premier position before the reform of the Grammar School."⁴ Certainly the roll of masters during that period contains some interesting

1. *ibid.*, 11-12.

2. *ibid.*, 16.

3. Manchester Church Education Society, 1849 Report, 18.

4. A.A.Mumford, *The Manchester Grammar School, 1515-1915, A Regional Study of the Advancement of Learning in Manchester since the Reformation*, London, 1919, 297.

names. The third in line of succession, the Revd. C.E.Moberly, appointed in 1855, had previously been head of Lancing, embodying, therefore, an intriguing connection between Woodard's Anglo-Catholicism in Sussex and Prince Lee's high Churchmanship in Manchester. Moberly moved almost immediately to Rugby where he later served under Temple. Mumford mentioned the visit of James Bryce to the School in 1865 on behalf of the S.I.C. But Bryce not only omitted the Schools from his list of middle-class institutions in Lancashire,¹ but misunderstood their character. In his extensive discussion of the state of commercial education in Manchester Bryce referred to the Schools only very briefly, in two foot-notes : he characterised them as "quasi-private", that is, schools which, "though not the absolute property of the teacher, are managed by him for his sole benefit." Bryce later reluctantly admitted that they were doing good in their neighbourhood "(although some of the teaching is not what it should be)" and he thought that the "proprietors" ought "not to fear the establishment of a new school on a grander scale."²

The county and diocesan committees and other off-shoots of the National Society's activity were near relatives of, or certainly members of the same species as, the groups founded for creating the array of County Schools which proliferated across the countryside in the late 1850s and the 1860s. These

1. Mumford, op. cit., 296-298; S.I.C., XVII, v-vii.

2. S.I.C., IX, 714, 727.

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schools developed, by a process closely akin to cell-division, from the parent organisation in Devon.¹ They were uniformly Anglican in character, but generally open to the sons of dissenters, unlike the proselytising institutions of Nathaniel Woodard. It is possible in this period to distinguish two distinct groups of County Schools : those which were associated with the parent school at West Buckland, and those which seemed or claimed to have developed independently, while adopting the same nomenclature.

The English genesis of the County School has usually been traced to the work of Fortescue and Brereton in Devon, and in particular to Fortescue's ideas expressed in his Public Schools for the Middle Classes.² In fact, while the idea was articulated for the first time in England by Fortescue and Brereton, the notion of the county as a unit for the organisation of schooling had its roots in the ancient administrative structure of the English counties; also, colonial Ireland, where Earl Fortescue had been Lord Lieutenant in the late 1830s, had been throwing up proposals for the county organisation of middle-class education since 1788. The coterminous nature of the diocese and the county, in a number of instances, has been touched upon already in this chapter.

The foundation stone of the Surrey County School at Cranley (or Cranleigh) was laid by the Archbishop of Canterbury in November 1863. He remarked that the school was part

1. See above, ch. II.

2. For comments on Fortescue's magnum opus, see Roach, op. cit., 50-55; Heeney, op. cit., 160-161. Also Spens Report, 1938, 26-27.

of a large-scale attempt to fill the gap in the provision of education between the great public schools and the National Schools.¹ The Surrey School attracted the attention of the S.I.C. at an early stage in its investigations, for the new institution had a powerful advocate in the person of a leading witness to the Commission, E.W. Benson, then headmaster of Wellington and a trustee of Cranleigh School. He was in fact giving evidence three months before the opening of the School. Like West Buckland, it was intended for the sons of farmers and had been founded by public subscription among "the gentry of the county". The fees were £30 p.a.² But unlike Devon County School, Cranleigh began by establishing its religious exclusiveness : Benson said that the religious principles were to be "Church of England entirely" : all boys would have to attend the Anglican services.³ He also admitted that the governors had canvassed information about school management from Hurstpierpoint, as well as from West Buckland. Replying to Edward Baines, before the S.I.C., Benson said that he thought the county was "a very good and unobjectionable kind of division" for the organisation of middle-class schooling.⁴

The progress of the County School in Suffolk was reported to the S.I.C. by Sir Edward Kerrison, one of Acland's, Fortescue's and Brereton's colleagues on the committee of the Royal Agricultural Society.⁵ The School at Framlingham had

1. Fortescue, op. cit., 170-171.

2. S.I.C., IV, 23 May 1865, 478.

3. *ibid.*, 478, 481.

4. *ibid.*, 483.

5. *ibid.*, 645-662. For links between these persons, see above, ch. II.

been opened in April 1865 with a subscription of £22,000, provided by the gentry of Suffolk and also by Suffolk businessmen who had made their fortunes in the London trade. The School opened with 270 scholars, but like West Buckland, and unlike Cranleigh, it had a conscience clause and the Master did not need to be a beneficed clergyman.¹ Lyttelton asked Kerrison whether he had been in touch with any other schools of similar type, and he replied that he had personally visited "several of them", including West Buckland and, once again, Hurstpierpoint; though he thought "our school is perhaps more formed after West Buckland than any other school."²

J.L.Hammond, in his special report to the S.I.C., called Framlingham "the latest and most important attempt to improve the education of the farming and commercial population in the Eastern counties."³ By the time Hammond inspected the School, in February 1866, the number of pupils had risen to 310. The shareholders could nominate pupils, according to a rising scale, from one nomination for £5 donors up to six nominations for a donor of £200.⁴ The Fellows of Pembroke College, Cambridge, were also entitled to nominate 2 boys because of the conversion of a local endowment in their care for the support of the new School. Framlingham was unique among the County Schools in enjoying the support of a converted ancient endowment. In fact, one of the features of this kind of school which had caused Fortescue to favour

1. *ibid.*, 645, 648.

2. *ibid.*, 653.

3. S.I.C., VIII, 370.

4. *ibid.*, 372.

the project was the absence of any eleemosynary characteristics.¹

The curriculum came in for special attention : Hammond noted that in the 1866 'Locals' 16 pupils had passed, some of them distinguishing themselves in modern languages. "It was in this department of education that I observed...the chief indications of future promise."² In another area of the curriculum, however, Framlingham had entered into the controversy over vocational training for farmers' sons which has been touched upon already in the discussion of agricultural education.³ Replying to Acland, Kerrison had commented that, in his opinion, a general rather than a special education was the ideal preparation for farming, before the age of sixteen. Nevertheless, Acland, evidently knowing the answer, asked why agricultural chemistry was a feature of the curriculum at Framlingham. Kerrison replied that its inclusion had been "rather a concession to the fact that the county in which the school is, is purely an agricultural district", and that farmers might therefore require it to be taught to their sons.⁴ However, rather paradoxically he admitted later that he thought the farmers wanted a general education first, since they often sent their sons as "pupils" to farms at a distance from home, after their formal schooling had ended.⁵

Later, in March 1866, the Commissioners called the Master of Framlingham, the Revd. A. Daymond, to give his account of

1. Fortescue, op. cit., 30.

2. S.I.C., VIII, 378.

3. See above, ch. II,

4. S.I.C., IV, 658.

5. *ibid.*, 659.

the School's progress.¹ He had briefly taught at Eton under Hawtrey, but mainly at St. Mark's College, Chelsea, where "we had a very large school of over 600 boys, consisting principally of the upper middle, middle class and lower class!"² He had been ex officio headmaster of the college schools at Chelsea. Daymond, like Kerrison, seems to have favoured a thorough general education, rather than a special preparation for later vocational needs. He thought that in middle-class schooling there was, generally, "a want of thoroughness, a dabbling in a great many subjects, and a good knowledge in a very few." He favoured the Framlingham type of curriculum, with its thorough grounding in Latin, English, French and German.³

West Buckland also had imitators close at hand. In February 1863 a joint stock company was registered as the 'East Devon County School, Ltd.' to supervise the affairs of a middle-class proprietary school at Sampford Peverell in Devon which had been open since May 1860. The stated object of the School was "the instruction of the sons of the middle classes, especially of the agricultural classes."⁴ The boarding fees for older boys, at 19 guineas p.a. compared favourably with those at West Buckland — 25 guineas. The education provided was what would have been called 'English' in character, with Latin as an 'extra' at 2 guineas. Cider was supplied free of charge; though beer was £1.10s. Instruction in the Church

1. S.I.C., V, 588-605.

2. *ibid.*, 589.

3. *ibid.*, 604.

4. S.I.C., XIV, 516.

Catechism was optional, though the headmaster had to be an Anglican. By the time the School was visited by Mr. Stanton the S.I.C. assistant commissioner in 1867, it had 50 pupils, taught by the headmaster and one assistant, and 10 boys had passed the 'Locals', one with honours. Judging by the limited tables in the S.I.C. report, over half the pupils were the sons of farmers from Devon and Cornwall. There were 9 trustees who were also proprietors of stock; but no attempt seems to have been made to enlist the support of county 'grandeers'. The School had been established on the initiative of the Revd. C.S. Bere, rector of Uplowman, near Tiverton, and he and C.A.W. Troyte, a gentleman-farmer and member of the Bath and West Society, had endowed scholarships of £5 and £10 respectively.¹

Another School in the West country, established on similar lines, and registered under the Companies Act of 1862, was the Dorset County School, near Dorchester. The stated objects were to provide a general education for the sons of "yeomen, tradesmen, merchants and professional men."² The School was begun by the Revd. Thomas Sanctuary, Archdeacon of Dorset. In a printed letter of May 1863, which accompanied the first prospectus of the School, he said that he had been motivated by "the repeated communications" of "influential members of the middle classes." He was aware that yeomen especially in the county were not satisfied with the existing provision of education for their sons.

1. Homerton College, Cambridge, Fortescue/Brereton Correspondence, letter from Fortescue, 21 August 1866, arranging a meeting with Troyte at Sampford Peverall.

2. S.I.C., XIV, 471.

He said that he could produce testimonies to this effect "from men of almost every shade of opinion in other matters." A further encouragement to activity had been the recent great advancement in the instruction of "the peasantry". Though he had met with no jealousy towards the National schools among the middle classes, yet,

While...it is a matter of thankfulness to see the families of the day-labourers making efforts to take advantage of the good instruction which is now almost everywhere generously provided for them; and while almost everyone would regret that any single child of that class who may be gifted with special talents should, from lack of education, miss the opportunity of exercising them, and of raising in the social scale; at the same time it cannot be right that one Class should be gradually taking a place in intelligence beyond another which is above it in other respects. And yet it is acknowledged that there is a tendency in this direction, because in very many circumstances the education of the peasantry is thoroughly substantial and good, while the children of their employers are far less well instructed.

He was therefore enlisting the sympathy of "the county", with a view to steering clear of all political and religious differences. He had not envisaged creating a charitable institution, since it "would not be acceptable to those for whom it is intended..." He wished that the School should come to resemble those at Marlborough and Cheltenham.

In other counties, such as Devon and Suffolk, schools of the kind now proposed have started with a good prospect of success, and there can be no reason why the county of Dorset need hold back. To those who object to class education, I should reply that a school that should include the sons of the average yeoman, the average man engaged in general business, the average county professional man, would have at least as broad a foundation as the schools to which I have referred.

And far from discouraging other enterprises, the County School would, he thought, stimulate by competition the growth of good private middle-class schools and eradicate useless ones.¹

1. Dorset Record Office, P97/ SCI, letters concerning proposed County School, printed letter of Archdeacon sanctuary.

The prospectus of the School proposed a Council of 19 members, 9 of whom were to be chosen "in virtue of their offices": the Lord Lieutenant, the Sheriff, the 3 M.P.s, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Quarter Sessions, and the Archdeacon of Dorset.¹ This plan was followed after the opening of the School, with the qualification that, in addition to the officials, 15 members were to be elected by the shareholders. The School opened at Michaelmas 1863, and by 1867 had 75 boarders, more than half of whom seem to have been the sons of Dorset farmers.² Religious knowledge was an optional subject, though only 9 boys did not take it. The headmaster had to be an ordained clergyman. There were six masters and a drill sergeant in 1867.

A School which attracted the attention of the S.I.C. from a number of directions, and which shared many of the features of the County School and the National Society schools was the Yeoman School at York. It was described in Fitch's S.I.C. Report as Archbishop Holgate's School.³ The explanation for this confusion of nomenclature was provided in H.S. Thompson's evidence to the Commissioners in December 1865. Thompson had been one of Acland's associates in the conduct of the Royal Agricultural Society's Journal in the 1850s.⁴ His chief educational concern was for the lower division of the middle class, the farmers, who could not afford to pay a high rate to secure a good schooling for their sons: "tenant farmers have from time to time asked me if I could recommend them any school where their children might receive a good education."⁵

1. *ibid.*, Prospectus of Dorset County School.

2. S.I.C., XIV, 471-472.

3. S.I.C., XVIII, 429.

4. See above, ch. II.

5. S.I.C., V, 269.

Thompson's desire to create boarding schools for farmers' sons had first been embodied in his establishing, with a committee of local Anglican gentlemen, including the Earl of Carlisle, the Yeoman Proprietary School in York, in 1849. A site and buildings were acquired and the fees fixed at £22 p.a. The headmaster was the Principal of the Diocesan Training College. Despite help from the College, the new School got into financial difficulties.¹ Consequently in 1857 a new scheme for the management of the School was prepared in Chancery. Archbishop Holgate's Free School, also in York, had fallen into decay. The Chancery scheme arranged that the trustees of the Free School should pay the debts of the Yeoman School; that certain of the trustees and subscribers of the Yeoman School should be appointed as trustees of the Charity;² and that the fees should not exceed £30 a year. A Conscience Clause was incorporated into the scheme. His experience in relation to this York scheme had led Thompson to believe that "it would be desirable to amalgamate these various endowments for educational purposes which are now scattered throughout the country."³ But he admitted that the original Yeoman School had failed because of its clear connection with a Church of England Training College.

Canon H.G. Robinson, later to be an Endowed Schools Commissioner, went to York as Principal of the Training College, and therefore as headmaster of the Yeoman School, in 1854.⁴ He resigned in 1863. He made it clear, in his evidence to the S.I.C.,⁵ that there were in fact three foundations in York : the Yeoman Proprietary School

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. S.I.C., XVIII, 429.

3. S.I.C., V, 271.

4. See below, ch. XII, 639-40, for further details of this passage of events, which link the Yeoman School with the Royal College at Cirencester.

5. S.I.C., IV, 602.

with its boarding pupils; the Holgate charity school; and a model school attached to the Training College as a day school for middle-class boys from the City. Robinson mentioned that it had been intended by the subscribers that there should be a farm established in connection with the Yeoman School; but this scheme had never come to fruition. He had told the Social Science Association meeting at York in 1864 that such a complex of schools might be established in every town throughout England by voluntary local efforts.¹ Robinson had also been responsible for recommending the first headmaster of West Buckland School to J.L.Brereton; as the former told the S.I.C., "the master was sent there by me and I have had constant communication with him."²

In February 1870 the Northampton Mercury carried an item headed, 'The Bedford Middle Class School' :

A public school has been founded in Bedfordshire to suit the agricultural and other middle-class inhabitants of the county. The education of this class has had a large share of discussion in the last few years; and the land-owners, tenant-farmers and professional and trading classes of Bedfordshire have taken a practical step to meet the demand now generally felt.³

Just over a year earlier the Times had reported the founding of a large school for 300 boarders at Kempston, near Bedford. The funds had been raised through shares purchased by landed proprietors and leading farmers of the county. The Duke of Bedford, who had also endowed exhibitions at West Buckland, had supported the movement by taking shares worth £10,000; Lord Cowper, the Lord Lieutenant, subscribed £1,000, and Samuel Whitbread, M.P., £2,000;⁴ The School was to be governed by a board of "Noblemen, Gentlemen,

1. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science at York, London, 1864, H.G.Robinson, 'Suggestions for the Improvement of Middle-class Education,' 373.

2. S.I.C., IV, 606; see also Brereton's evidence, *ibid.*, V, 129.

3. Northampton Mercury, 12 February 1870.

4. Times, 29 January 1869; also S.I.C., I, 311 (footnote).

and farmers of the county", of which Cowper was chairman. The fees were "moderate" : £33.10s. p.a. "It is right to say that the religious principles upon which the school is conducted are free altogether from sectarian bias."¹

While Fortescue and Brereton relished receiving evidence of the expansion of the movement they had largely initiated, this Bedford County School was not completely to their liking. In a letter he wrote to his colleague in 1867, when the Kempston plan was first being mooted, Fortescue likened the non-sectarian religious character proposed for the Bedford school to that of the schools of 'Hang Theology' Rogers in London.² Yet it seems clear that by the time the Report of the S.I.C. was published, a varied and widely dispersed pattern of county schools for the middle classes had established itself. The original model for these schools was West Buckland. They had been conceived as boarding schools for the sons of farmers and other members of the rural middle classes, with fees set at a moderate level, and curricula which, though general rather than vocational, were devised with the aim of preparing boys for local middle-class occupations, as distinct from entry to the Universities and the higher professions. In most cases they were proprietary in principle and were governed by boards of varying sizes whose composition was nevertheless uniform in the sense that their members were usually local or locally connected noblemen and gentlemen. They were not elementary in character; and their religious teaching was of a broad Anglican kind, tempered by conscience clauses, unlike the aggressively exclusive Woodard schools. In fact, the contrast between the Woodard model and its

1. Northampton Mercury, 12 February 1870.

2. Homerton College, Fortescue/Brereton Correspondence, letter of Fortescue to Brereton, 30 June 1867. For Rogers, see below, ch.X, 514, ff.

Brereton counterpart has been highlighted by Brian Heeney in his brief comparison of the St. Nicholas foundation at Denstone in Staffordshire and the more moderate Trent College established not far away near Nottingham in 1868, the latter patronised by the Duke of Devonshire who had connections with West Buckland. Lord Harrowby, alluding to the religious principles operating at Trent College, said,

I hope we are doing good work here and are enduing the middle class with a sound religious education without any animosity towards our Nonconformist brethren and without enforcing our opinions upon those who object to the principles of the Church of England.¹

Brian Heeney has shown that Woodard and Brereton had much in common — their middle-class target, their aversion to state intervention, and their espousal of the boarding principle. But they differed markedly on other points, particularly in Brereton's willingness and Woodard's adamant refusal to compromise with dissent.² Of the two, Brereton would seem to have been the more typical Churchman of his time: he was essentially part of the mainstream which flowed through Tait and could be traced back to Thomas Arnold. But Heeney, with his scholarly commitment to the cause of Woodard, is substantially correct when he states that "on the whole, the practical results of the County School plan were small when compared with the success of St. Nicholas College."³

Even Fortescue at his most pessimistic, in 1868, told Brereton that he had glanced briefly at the S.I.C. Report and seen in it "more mention a great deal made of Woodward (sic) (thanks to Lyttelton and Acland) than of us a good deal." But his preliminary judgement was hardly proved accurate, since in Volume I at least as much

1. .A.J.Tarver, Trent College 1868-1927, 1929, 5, 7. Quoted in Heeney op. cit., 167.

2. Heeney, op. cit., 161-165.

3. ibid., 165.

space was devoted to the County Schools as to the Woodard foundations.¹ And Fortescue said later that "the truth must come out in the reports of the District commissioners", and in this anticipation he was substantially correct.² The remarks of assistant commissioner Stanton, and of Giffard and Hammond on other County Schools at Framlingham and Cranleigh, were moderately favourable.³

But Giffard's report on the Woodard schools in Sussex was both more extensive and more damning, albeit faintly. He said that "many thoughtful people" feared that "a triple chain of boarding schools", like those of the St. Nicholas foundation, without any scholarship links between the various tiers, would, if it took the place of the old grammar schools, introduce "a kind of caste education totally foreign from our institutions." He thought it right, to some extent, that market forces should operate in relation to middle-class schooling; "but there are individuals in every class who are fit for much higher training than the mass of their fellows." Until there was a glut of ability in the country, or until the upper sections of the community monopolised the production of it, "the aspirants for higher training ought in the interests of the country to receive it."⁴ It could be argued that, according to Giffard's reasoning, the County Schools, with their distant prospect of entry into Fortescue's County Colleges, offered the middle class an unfettered kind of education, more flexible by comparison with the Woodard system. But this would be to overlook the fact that existing County Schools, and the Colleges, if they ever appeared, were only a little less

1. cf. S.I.C., I, 311, 313.

2. Fortescue/Brereton Correspondence, letter of Fortescue to Brereton, 23 March 1868.

3. S.I.C. (i) VII, 62-63 (Stanton's Report on West Buckland); (ii) XI, 157-158 (Giffard); (iii) VIII, 370-378 (Hammond).

4. S.I.C., VII, 147-148.

caste-ridden than Woodard's system. By implication West Buckland and its imitators were themselves means of diverting middle-class pupils to middle-class occupations, and away from the ancient Universities (or rather, the ancient Colleges) and the higher professions. Giffard seems to have shared the opinion he had received, that the Woodard system, "if widely extended, would go far to set a social stamp upon a boy at his very entrance to life, and would necessarily tie him down to the pursuits of his father."¹ There was only a minute degree of difference between this comment on the Woodard schools and what Mr. Stanton and Mr. Hammond might legitimately have said (but did not) about the County Schools. But in addition, Giffard's report on St. Nicholas raised the bogey of religious prejudice :

The close adherence of the (Woodard) schools to the discipline of the Church of England obviates many of the difficulties which are complained of in mixed schools; but this rigid adherence has given rise to apprehensions in the minds of many churchmen as well as dissenters, who, though they may acknowledge the truth of the doctrines of the Church, are indifferent or averse to its ritual. This is the case especially in the county of Sussex, which has a strong evangelical penchant; and there...the schools have not yet shaken off the unpopularity which certain accusations, made some years back, created.²

Despite Fortescue's apprehensions, and whatever Acland's and Lyttelton's personal sympathies, the S.I.C. Report seems to have embodied an impartial evaluation of the two sets of schools, not favouring one above the other. Fortescue and Brereton, Woodard, and the exponents of National Society policy had all conceived their plans for the organisation of middle-class schooling in the era before reasonably efficient central agencies for the reform of education had been created. The advent of the Charity Commission in the early 1850s had meant that it would be unlikely that England

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. *ibid.*, 146.

would soon be covered by a network of proprietary schools, whether based on the diocesan, county or Woodard model. Fortescue's and Woodard's plans were based on the assumption that no good could come of a mass of ancient educational institutions; that the endowed grammar schools were incapable of being reformed en masse. The S.I.C. accepted the possibility of reform, and also the idea that a temporary department of the central government was the appropriate body for undertaking reform. For different reasons Fortescue and Woodard found the prospect of government interference in the development of middle-class schooling distasteful.

The chief importance of the County School movement and the work of local diocesan committees was that they suggested to the Commissioners the possibility of creating official local agencies, or boards, based upon the county, or a group of counties, for managing a system of middle-class education, the greater part of which would rely on existing educational endowments. The S.I.C. accepted the probable necessity for supplementing the endowed schools with existing private or proprietary, and rate-aided secondary schools in urban areas, with appropriate guarantees of educational standards.¹ They also accepted the need for creating a graduated system with centrally located second-grade schools, like West Buckland, serving a wide geographical area within a county.² The contribution which Fortescue, Brereton and others made to the discussion of the local board idea has been considered in an earlier chapter.³ Further evidence in support of the idea was provided by the comments of the Newcastle Commissioners and of Pakington's Select Committee.⁴

1. S.I.C., I, 652-659.

2. *ibid.*, 580-581.

3. See above, ch. II.

4. See above, this chapter, 136 ff.

In their different ways the National Society's local committees and the County School movement encouraged the S.I.C. to adopt the proposal of provincial boards which was a crucially important component of their overall scheme for creating a graduated system of middle-class schools.

A link between the kinds of schools and local agencies discussed above and a further provincial development in middle-class education between 1845 and 1864 is suggested by the S.I.C.'s consideration of two other schools which fell into the 'county' category. Volume XIV included a report upon Callington Proprietary School in Cornwall, founded in 1864 by the Revd. F.V. Thornton, whose object was to educate "all classes in the immediate neighbourhood, and upper and lower middle classes at a distance." Callington partook of the character of a County School since the governors were to be "gentlemen of position in the county and neighbourhood."¹ Volume I contains a brief reference to the foundation of a County School in Herefordshire; Dean Dawes' proxy written evidence to the Commissioners also mentioned this school "designed to meet the needs of the lower middle classes"; and there was a brief report upon the School by assistant commissioner Bompas.²

This conjunction between Dawes and Thornton, the result of their common concern for the education of the sons of farmers and rural tradesmen, was not fortuitous. They shared interests which lay outside the environs of the County School movement. In a later chapter Thornton's work is touched upon in relation to

1. S.I.C., XIV, 520.

2. S.I.C., I, 311; II, 28; XV, 810. Also Hereford Times, 29 October 1859.

his pamphlet, The Education of the Middle Classes in England, written in December 1861 when he was still Rector of Brown Candover in Hampshire.¹ In this pamphlet and in his later evidence to the S.I.C. he revealed his debt to Richard Dawes, formerly, though briefly, his neighbour in Hampshire.

Richard Dawes was born in Wensleydale in 1792, the son of a freeholder. The foundations of his mathematical prowess were laid at John Gough's famous school in Kendal. One of his elder fellow-pupils there was Whewell, later to become his tutor at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1818 he was elected Fellow, mathematical tutor and bursar of Downing. In one sense the last of these offices signified most in connection with his future educational activities, for Downing was a sociable, but hardly an intellectually energetic college at that time. His earliest biographer wrote that the College's depleted funds benefited from Dawes' "active and vigilant stewardship." Much of the College estate property lay in Cambridgeshire and from his management of it he may have gained his sympathy for the tenant-farmer and some vicarious experience as a landlord.

With the tenantry Mr. Dawes conducted relations of a most friendly character, making them free of the hospitality of the College, on audit days and other like occasions, and partaking, as did other members of the College, of their hospitality in return...The estate soon found itself in the hands of a man who played the part of a landlord for the College precisely as he would have done for himself, and who scrupulously and rigidly maintained all rights of ownership, while showing all fairness, justice and even leniency, when needed, towards the tenants.²

1. For Thornton's general views, see below, ch.VI, 329.

2. William Charles Henry, F.R.S., A Biographical Notice of the late Very Revd. Richard Dawes, M.A., Dean of Hereford, London, 1867, for private circulation, 9. (Copy in Hereford City Reference Library.)

An interesting foretaste of Dawes' staunchly tolerant religious opinions came in 1836, when it was thought that he was sure to succeed to the Mastership of Downing. But he had voted earlier, along with Professor Sedgwick, for the admission of dissenters to the University, and in the eyes of some of the electors, the Master of Clare particularly, this action disqualified him. In the next year he was presented to the living of King's Sonborne in Hampshire, by Sir John Mill, a former pupil of his at Downing.¹

The features of Dawes' school at King's Sonborne, and the public praise raised upon it by H.M.I.s Moseley and Allen, are well known.² It was in order to publicise his experiment even more widely, "giving some assistance to those who have the same object in view as myself", that Dawes prepared his pamphlet, Hints on an Improved And Self-supporting System of National Education, in 1847.³ His chief aim, as Rector of a scattered rural parish, was to provide a self-sufficient and economical form of education which would meet the needs of the children of the labouring classes and also of the tenant-farmers in the neighbourhood. The scheme therefore ran contrary to the currently accepted convention that even the smaller tenant-farmers would not countenance such a blending of social classes in schools attended by their children. Dawes thought that a realistic inducement for its acceptance by farmers might be provided by the creation of a curriculum which would be seen to prepare children for their practical occupations in after-life. If the quality of the secular education provided was found to be

1. *ibid.*, 10.

2. See (i) W.A.C. Stewart and W.P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators, 1750-1880*, 1967; and (ii) D. Layton, *Science for the People*, London, 1973, chs. II and IV.

3. Richard Dawes, *Hints on an Improved and Self-supporting System of National Education*, suggested from the working of village school in Hampshire, 1847.

good, then, he argued, one would be able to "promote the blessing of a sound scriptural education" to a higher degree than was possible in an ordinary National school. A further inducement, to the practically minded farmer, might be that the fees would be lower than those exacted by local private schoolmasters.¹ And since the farmer would be able to maintain his children at school longer than the labourer, an important social and intellectual aim would have been achieved: the labourer's son would no longer be, in point of education, the superior of his employer's child.²

Why disconnect these adjoining and important links in the social chain — the very mainstay and support of the whole fabric — when they might be united by a much stronger tie than any which binds them together at present; that of an education in common?³

The School opened in 1842 and Dawes used the secular school-books of the Irish National Board from the start. The fees were fixed according to an ascending scale: 2d. per week for the first child of a labourer; 6s. per quarter for parish children of those above the labouring class. In 1842 there were 38 children, of whom 11 paid quarterly; by 1846 there were 158, and 45. There was a master and a mistress, an assistant master, and four monitors.⁴ The curriculum at King's Sonborne has been treated comprehensively by David Layton,⁵ but the chief significance of the School, for the present purpose, lay in its effect, as Dawes suggested, upon a number of neighbouring schools, and even upon schools in distant parts of the kingdom. That Dawes became a leading member of the unofficial rural 'establishment' of education has been demonstrated already, particularly in his association with Acland and the Bath and West Society.⁶

1. Dawes, op. cit., 1-4.

2. *ibid.*, 5. See above, ch. II, for other examples of this fear, 91.

3. Dawes, op. cit., 7.

4. *ibid.*, 12-14.

5. David Layton, op. cit., chs. II and IV.

6. See above, Ch. II,

He lectured far and wide, on adult 'secondary' education as well as his elementary schemes; and he spent his energy particularly in supporting the Hants and Wilts Education Society, which devoted itself especially to promoting Mechanics' Institutes and Reading Rooms. He not only introduced, but himself taught, scientific subjects in his school, and he attracted there lecturers of considerable reputation; for example, Professors Frankland and Tyndall, later to fill the places of Davy and Faraday at the Royal Institution, were, in the late 1840s, lecturing at the neighbouring Queenswood Agricultural College, and both went to give courses of lectures to the junior and adult pupils at King's Sonborne.¹

On Russell's recommendation Dawes became Dean of Hereford in 1850. Besides the restoration of the Cathedral building, he continued his educational work in his new place. In particular he personally supervised the reform of the Bluecoat and Scudamore charity schools in the City of Hereford. The improved condition of the schools soon attracted to them "the children of the tradespeople" who were admitted after 1856 on payment of moderate fees, alongside the free children. In 1863 the usefulness of the schools was extended by the introduction of a plan of payments graduated according to the means of the parents; while 70 free scholarships were still reserved for children of the poorest class.² Dawes himself chose the certificated masters and pupil-teachers. In addition he managed the Cathedral School and took a close interest in the Proprietary School, mentioned above. Thus Mr. Bompas, on behalf of the S.I.C., could say of Hereford that it already possessed a graduated system of middle-class education in 1866 : there was the

1. Henry, op. cit., 14. This passage was contributed to Henry's memoir by the Hon. and Revd J. Best, for whom see below.

2. *ibid.*, 16-17.

Cathedral School for classical instruction; the Proprietary School for higher commercial education; and there were also "very good free elementary schools, to the upper classes of which the sons of the lower middle class are sent."¹ It is interesting to speculate upon the extent of Dawes' interference in the appointments to the Proprietary School, for the headmaster in 1859, J.J.Lomax, had formerly been supervising master of the National Society in the diocese of Hereford; while the "Professor of Chemistry and Machinery", Robinson, had come from the Diocesan Training College at Chester.² All the Hereford schools, save the Cathedral School, operated conscience clauses, and in this they reflected Dawes' opinions which he had brought from King's Somborne, and anticipated by a decade the policy of the Committee of Council. At a meeting of the Bluecoat School trustees, in January 1852, at which Dawes presided, a regulation was instituted whereby boys and girls were to receive scriptural instruction "unless the parents of any child should object to it."³ He also instituted National schools in Ledbury which had similar social and religious characteristics.⁴

Dawes died, after a painful and long illness, in March 1867. His biographer provided a fittingly broad evaluation of his influence on educational development :

Nor was the dean's zeal in promoting education confined to schools founded or organised by himself — his friends, whether near or remote, were always sure of his sympathy, advice, and active aid, in the management of their schools, and in the careful selection of teachers. In fact he had become a kind of minister of public instruction, not merely for the diocese of Hereford, but wherever in England or Scotland he had friends engaged in this noble work...And during the later years of his

1. S.I.C.XV, 215-216.

2. Advertisement in Slater's Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography of the Counties of Gloucester, Hereford... Manchester and London, 1859, 66.

3. Henry, op. cit., 17.

4. ibid., 19.

life, he was constantly receiving letters from persons whom he had raised from humble stations into competence and respectability.¹

Prominent among Dawes' education 'friends' was the Hon. and Revd. Best, Rector of Abbot's Ann, Hampshire, a neighbour of Dawes in the 1840s, and with him a supporter of the Hants and Wilts Education Society. When he gave his evidence to the S.I.C. in 1865 Best had held his Hampshire living for thirty-four years. It is clear from his account of the school at Abbot's Ann that it resembled very closely the institution at King's Sonborne : the sons of farmers and labourers were educated together; there was a system of graduated fees; the rudiments of agricultural chemistry were taught; a master from the Andover School of Art came over to teach the pupils; and a conscience clause was operated.²

Thornton gave his evidence in March 1866. At that time he had been Rector of Callington for two years. Previously he had held the living of Brown Candover, Hampshire, for fourteen years. He had regularly been a lecturer for the Hants and Wilts Society. Thornton had entered Hampshire just before Dawes left for Hereford. Lord Taunton described Thornton's school at Callington as one in which "there is a mixture of the children of different classes of society". The nucleus of the school had apparently been brought from Hampshire.³ It had soon attracted to itself the sons not only of the lower middle but of the higher classes also. A boarding house had been added to the school. In this case, too, the fees were graduated according to the parent's income. Later an assistant master from Marlborough was appointed headmaster. However, the school continued to cater for the children of the lower orders.⁴

1. *ibid.*, 24.

2. S.I.C., IV, 668-701.

3. S.I.C., V, 685.

4. *ibid.*, 686-687.

Some of the female working-class pupils were trained simultaneously as domestic servants in the rectory and the masters' houses; Thornton felt that "the great diligence" of the girls had a beneficial effect upon the boys' work in the school. As evidence of the successful mixing of social classes at Callington he recorded that "the captain of the school at the present moment is a labourer's child."¹ He, too, instituted a conscience clause. Greek was taught : one of the local pupils had got on to the foundation at Eton. But Thornton said that good teachers of chemistry were hard to find, and that consequently there was no systematic science teaching.² Thornton's own sons had attended the school; and one of his daughters had remained a pupil till she was 18.³

Dawes was mentioned neither in Thornton's evidence nor in his pamphlet. Yet, if only circumstantially, because of the basic common features of their schools, and the geographical coincidence, it seems likely that King's Sonborne was a model well known to Thornton. A school of a different, though closely related type, came to the notice of the S.I.C., and in this case too there is no evidence of direct connection with the work of Dawes. The ancient Aldersey school, at Bunbury in Cheshire, differed from King's Sonborne in that it had begun its career as an endowed grammar school. The trustees were the Haberdashers' Company of London. The S.I.C. summoned the Revd. W.B.Garnett Botfield as a witness in 1866. He described the school as being "at present carried on more like a national school...a school for all classes."⁴ Mr. R.S.Wright, the S.I.C. assistant commissioner, described Bunbury as "a National

1. *ibid.*, 692.

2. *ibid.*, 695.

3. *ibid.*, 689.

4. S.I.C., V, 579.

school rising into a middle school."¹ The school contained, sitting on the same benches, the sons of labourers, of tradesmen, of farmers, of professional men, of clergymen, and of merchants; the higher classes among the pupils represented one-third of the whole. As at King's Somborne, the fees were fixed according to the means of the parents : the highest at 15s. a quarter, the lowest 2d. a week.²

Bunbury had been brought to the notice of the S.I.C. early in its proceedings by the former H.M.I., the Revd. J.P. Norris. Commenting on the work of Garnett Botfield, and his single-minded transformation of the school from one for 12 boys conducted in a barn, to an institution of 100 pupils serving a rural parish of 5,000 inhabitants, Norris said that "what has been done at Bunbury might be done in 400 or 500 of such schools all over the country to the greatest possible advantage."³ Latin was taught, if required; chemistry, land-surveying and "the English education", all by a "highly trained certificated master" from Battersea. He also referred to a similar endowed elementary school under Government inspection at Audlem, which had been overhauled by Lord Combermere. The funds for reconstructing the buildings, in both cases, had been provided by local subscription. Bunbury, far from needing a conscience clause, was conducted on most liberal principles : most of the pupils were children of dissenters, and the only religious stipulation made was that pupils had to attend a place of worship on Sundays.⁴

In the matter of the school's endowment and its nominal trustees, the Haberdashers' Company, Botfield seems to have shown a

1. S.I.C., XVII, 21.
2. S.I.C., V, 580.
3. S.I.C., IV, 59.
4. S.I.C., V, 584.

judicious ignorance. Replying to Lyttelton, he admitted that he had neither consulted the trustees nor made any application to Chancery before making radical changes in the character of the school.¹ Surprisingly the Commissioners pursued further neither this point nor the rather doubtful conjunction of a £50 endowment and receipt of the Government grant. It is impossible to be sure whether these matters are connected with the absence of any information about the Bunbury charity in the Charity Commission files at the Public Record Office. Botfield was a school patron of considerable energy, willing to use, illegally it seems in some cases, whatever resources were to hand in order to create a school which served what he considered to have been the best educational interests of the local rural community. He ended his evidence by saying,

I would suggest that in all national schools and others receiving the government grant there should be a scale of payments for the better classes, so that if the schools were efficient and satisfied the requirements of such classes in the district, they might avail themselves of it at a fair charge.²

The significance of Norris's reference to Bunbury lay in a wider context than the comment of one H.M.I. upon an isolated example of educational enterprise on behalf of the lower middle classes. Comments such as his are not numerous, but neither are they isolated, in the writings of H.M.I.s during the period from the mid-1840s till the 1860s. Their references were to a system of schools which would establish some interconnection between elementary education up to 11 or 12, and a higher department of upper standards providing a fundamental secondary education for

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. *ibid.*, 587.

children in country towns and rural areas. The Revd. H. Sandford, H.M.I., sent an unsolicited letter to the S.I.C. in September 1866 in which he claimed that, to a certain extent, the public elementary schools of his acquaintance were attended by the children of the middle classes : "farmers, tradesmen,...well-to-do mechanics...furnish a considerable proportion of the scholars in our national schools."¹ The main defect of the system, as he saw it, was that "in cases where there are two or more institutions under public management they do not work harmoniously together, there is no proper division of labour, no graduated system of instruction, by means of which one class of schools might take up and carry forward the work begun by the other."²

He reiterated his plan for creating higher departments and a graduated system in his report to the Committee of Council in 1868,³ and demonstrated that his plan was not a new one by referring to much earlier statements of similar views by some of his inspector-colleagues. He quoted Mr. Kennedy's report for 1855 :

Our voluntary system, by connecting the whole course of elementary instruction with an ecclesiastical district, prevents our having three or four series of graduated schools, and chains the schools down to a uniform dead level. There is not sufficient scope, there is not a sufficiently high style of school, for boys ranging from ten to fourteen years of age. We want at least three grades of schools, an infant, a first school, a second school, and a third school.⁴

Sandford also referred to Norris's report of 1857 in which he had mentioned a letter from the Secretary to the Vice-President; Lingen had said :

1. S.I.C., II, Miscellaneous letters, 106.

2. *ibid.*, 109.

3. Minutes of Committee of Council, 1868-1869, 201.

4. Minutes of Committee of Council, 1855-1856, 359.

The Lord President thinks that a system of secondary schools might with great advantage be added to the present system of primary schools, in all these localities where schools of the latter kind are sufficiently large or sufficiently numerous to afford a supply of children who have mastered the common elements of instruction, and are prepared to proceed with more specific studies.¹

These kinds of opinions, held by educationists employed by the central government, were taken up, as has been noted earlier, by the Newcastle Commissioners in their Report.² When the S.I.C. came to interview Sir John Pakington in 1865, he stated firmly his belief that, if a proper system of elementary education existed, then the lower middle class — "the farmers to a great extent certainly" — would be willing to send their children to the National schools for their elementary education.³ He referred to a school with which he was connected at Cuttaall Green in Worcestershire, where there was a mingling of social classes and a graduated system of payments; and to a school at Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, conducted on similar lines, where Latin was taught. He had received evidence from the counties of Lincoln, York and Oxford about the operation of similar schools, and he mentioned also the case of St. Peter's School, Droitwich, "which Lord Lyttelton is well acquainted with", run according to the same principles.⁴ Lyttelton himself, in his written evidence to the Newcastle Commission, submitted in 1859, said of his own school at Hagley: "A large proportion of the children...belong to the lower part of the middle classes...as well as to the labourers." Though he went on to admit that, given the present state of elementary education, he could not imagine there ever being

1. Quoted in Committee of Council Minutes, 1868-1869, 202.

2. See above, this chapter, '37.

3. S.I.C., V, 674.

4. *ibid.*, 667-668.

numerous imitators of "the remarkable case of King's Sonborne School."¹ Of Pakington's long-standing commitment to the idea of this extended form of elementary education there can be little doubt; for in his address to the Education Department of the first conference of the Social Science Association at Birmingham in 1858 he said, "I believe there is no greater error than that of supposing that it is impossible to get the middle classes to associate with the working classes for the purpose of education." And he referred on that occasion to Mr. Stewart's report to the Committee of Council in which he had mentioned that in 31 schools inspected by him, over half the pupils came from the lower middle classes. T.D.Acland's support for the idea in principle has already been considered in an earlier chapter.²

Sandford's opinions and plans served to draw together the threads of this body of experiments : diocesan and county boards, County Schools, and National schools with higher departments and a mixture of lower social classes. He thought that the plan of a county board administering a county rate for education, was a sound one; and even without the rate he favoured the establishment of boards, comprising representatives of trustees of endowed school and local men of influence in the county appointed, perhaps, by the magistrates. Such boards, he thought, would certainly find favour with those who feared too much centralisation. They could examine rigorously the work of the local endowed schools, and promote the training of teachers for them. He raised again Fortescue's suggestion for training middle-class schoolmasters in

1. Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England, 1861, V, 277, 288.
2. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, at Birmingham, London, 1858, 41. For Acland see above, ch.II, 74-75.

county colleges, and referred to Fitch's discussion of this question at the York meeting of the Social Science Association in 1864.¹ Sandford believed that endowed schools, proprietary schools and higher departments of elementary schools should be encouraged by the proposed boards to "supplement and carry forward the work of the primary schools." The boards should exist "for the double purpose of creating local interest in education, and exercising a limited degree of supervision over the different institutions connected with them."²

The 'liberalism' of the views put forward by Pakington, Acland, Sandford and others is open to misinterpretation. The opinions ranged against them — that the middle classes did not want their children to mix, in the schools, with their social inferiors — were conservative, and could be substantiated by statistical evidence and by the existence of a thriving market providing ineffectual private schools for the lower middle class. But their 'liberal' schemes, for the extension of the scope of the elementary school in an upward social direction, in conjunction with the supervision of that schooling by 'county authorities', were part of a broader plan for controlling social movement and preserving the balance of traditional elements in the structure of rural society. This policy of social containment became part of the underlying philosophy on which the apparently radical proposals of the S.I.C. were based. The local boards which had existed and the provincial boards which the Taunton Commissioners wished to see established were, or would have been, dominated by the traditional leaders of county society.

1. S.I.C., II, 115-117.

2. *ibid.*, 119.

Brian Heeney has stated that the National Society's concern for middle-class education resulted in "comparatively little action between 1839 and 1860."¹ The first part of this chapter went some way towards providing evidence for a considerable modification of that judgement. One of the mysteries pervading the work of the S.I.C. has been the question of why that mixed bag of Commissioners collectively and doggedly clung to the proposal for county and provincial boards which they had begun to discuss in 1865. A considerable part of the answer to this question is provided by the evidence of widespread and varied activity, at a local level, described here. The National Society's efforts of 1839 were not sustained at the centre; but they were continued strenuously by local agencies like the Northants Society. The original impulse of the National Society was represented on the S.I.C. by Acland, one of the 1839 'group'; the local initiative by Lyttelton and all those who had ever regularly attended local meetings of the National Society. The County School movement had its roots in a related field: a liberal local alliance of Anglicans sharing an interest, founded upon self-interest, in the well-being of the tenant-farmer class and its sons. The schemes for lower middle-class elementary education, which seem to have owed so much to Richard Dawes, were similarly based upon Anglican effort in rural communities. It can be argued that, under the combined and connected pressures of the experience of these movements, all of which had originated in the quarter-century before 1864, the S.I.C. could hardly fail to grasp an idea for the local management of middle-class education which originated in the kinds of rural county communities from which most of the leading members

1. Heeney, op. cit., 169.

of the Commission came. Certainly, the urban industrial communities of mid-nineteenth-century England could offer no coherent or systematic alternative for educational reform. When the S.I.C. made proposals about lower middle-class education, their examples were almost invariably the tenant-farmer and the rural tradesman.

Chapter IV

'Fiat experimentum in corpore vili':

Irish models for Middle-class Education in England

Ireland would ever seem to be the place of experiment, both of politics and of education, and a cloud of never-ending failures has encompassed her in both.

W.J.E. Bennett, *Crime and Education: the Duty of the State therein*, London, 1846.

The fashioning of the terms of reference of the Taunton Commission during the summer and autumn of 1864 was a complicated process. Lord Granville sought advice on the subject from Temple, who was for part of the time on holiday in Ireland, and from Lingen¹ ; but his chief referee was Henry Austin Bruce, then Vice-president of the Committee of Council. During a period of four months, Bruce wrote six letters, each of them containing detailed and searching advice.² At one point in the correspondence he suggested to Granville that the best terms of reference for the new Commission would be "to inquire into the State of Middle-class Education in England and Wales, and into the application of endowments designed to promote it." He went on, "Some such inquiry was made into similar schools in Ireland by a Commission presided over by Lord Kildare, of which Dr. C.Graves, Dean of the Chapel Royal, Dublin, was an active member. Perhaps a reference to the terms of that Commission would supply a useful limit."³

The usefulness of Ireland as a laboratory for conducting experiments in the contentious area of the education of the poor is well known. During the past forty years a succession of studies of Irish education has revealed, if only by implication, the close connections between these experiments and subsequent similar

1. Granville Papers, PRO 30/29/19 : letters from F.Temple, 5 August 1864 and 15 August 1864; from R.R.W. Lingen, 7 October 1864, and listed in the PRO catalogue, is missing.
2. See Chapter IX below
3. Granville Papers, PRO, *ibid.*, letters from H.A.Bruce, Duffryn, Aberdare, 15 August 1864. The name of Dr. C.Graves occurs elsewhere in this thesis : in this Chapter 241,ff ; and in Chapter VII, 332 , in connection with his solicited evidence on the working of the new Civil Service examinations.

developments in England and Wales.¹ Among these studies the work of Donald Akenson holds the pre-eminent place.

A number of agencies in Ireland attempted to promote education and to evangelise for the Anglican cause in the early nineteenth century. The Charter Schools for the poor had been founded as early as 1733. The Lancasterian Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland began its work in 1811, and counted among its early supporters Daniel O'Connell. The Association for the Discountenancing and Promoting the Knowledge of the Christian Religion was incorporated in 1800. The London Hibernian Society was founded in 1806. A resumé of these developments was provided in the Reports of the Commission of Irish Education Inquiry, fourteen of which were issued between 1806 and 1812, recommending the creation of a national system of education. The early work of the Lancasterian Society was acknowledged by Peel, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, and as a result of his intercession it received a Government grant of £6,980 in the session 1814-15 to supplement voluntary contributions, in the following year changing its name to the Kildare Place Society. In 1817 the Society was supporting 8 schools; by 1831 the number had risen to 1,269. Ireland was mapped out into inspection districts, and the Society sold about 60,000 specially printed school-books by the beginning of the 1830s. The Kildare Place model school produced 2,500 teachers between 1814 and 1831. Despite continuing religious

1. See, J.J.Auchmuty, *Irish Education: a Historical Survey*, Dublin and London, 1937; P.J. Dowling, *A History of Irish Education: a Study of Conflicting Loyalties*, Cork, 1971; T.J. Durcan, *A History of Irish Education, from 1800 Bala*, 1972; D.H.Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment: the National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century*, London and Toronto, 1970; N.B. Graham Balfour, *Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland*, Oxford, 1903, remains a sound work of factual reference, and has been invaluable in the writing of this Chapter.

warfare, Irish educational administration developed in advance of the system in England, and was completed at elementary level by the liberal compromise of the National Board of Education in 1831, which was based upon the broad assumption, expressed in the Commons at the time, that "no system can be expedient which may be calculated to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenet of any sect or denomination of Christians."¹

Yet despite very thorough recent investigations of these developments in elementary education, there have been no detailed studies of the origins of Irish intermediate education. More extraordinary has been the failure to relate early nineteenth-century experiments in middle-class education to English experience at the same time and in the same field. This void in educational inquiries is hardly accounted for by a critical evaluation of Ireland as a stagnant backwater in the history of British secondary education. On the contrary, the Irish middle-class system which existed in the early nineteenth century was very largely the creation of English royal and aristocratic patrons and shared a number of important features in common with schooling for the middle classes in England and Wales.

Bruce's letter to Granville reinvoking the findings of the Kildare Commission was inspired, it can be assumed, not so much by a profound interest in the history of Irish education, as by a politician's search for any evidence which might have a bearing on the solution of a current problem of definition. But another item in the Granville

1. The foregoing summary is based upon Akenson, and Balfour, op.cit.

correspondence suggests that the examination of Irish education had a deeper significance for the future reform of the English middle-class system. R.R.W. Lingen, the Secretary of the Privy Council Committee, wrote to Granville advising him about the composition of the new Royal Commission. He also recommended for the Lord President's consideration "a well-written article" in the last issue of the Cornhill, on middle-class education. Lingen said he was inclined to think that "(from internal evidence)...the article is by Miss Martineau."¹

Harriet Martineau's article (she later wrote a companion piece on girls' education) was not her first essay on secondary schooling. For the Daily News in 1858 she wrote a series of twelve articles which were published in the following year under the title Endowed Schools of Ireland.² To the original articles she added a preface in which she directed the attention of "the friends of education in general" to the "misapplication of Irish endowments" and "the educational interests of the great middle classes." She thought that "the humblest friends of the rising middle class of Ireland should put forth their efforts" on behalf of "Irish Intermediate Education".³

In her first article she said that there had been sufficient popular interest in middle-class education in Ireland to compel an effectual inquiry into endowed schools there, in order to determine what remedial legislation should be prepared. There were already the

1. Granville Papers, PRO 30/29/54; letter of Lingen to Granville, 7 October 1864. Lingen's opinion over authorship is confirmed in the Wellesley Index of Nineteenth-Century Periodicals.
2. H.Martineau, Endowed Schools of Ireland, reprinted from the Daily News, London, 1859.
3. *ibid.*, i, Preface, dated December, 1858.

Queen's Colleges for the training of the educated class of young men; and there were national schools for the poor. "But the interval between the two is not well filled". This kind of analytical cryptogram had already been applied to the decadent state of middle-class schooling, in relation to elementary provision, in England; and in the 1860s, it was to be further applied, more accurately, to Wales. The need to reinforce the educational standing of the middle class in England was a central feature of the debate about secondary provision in the 1850s and 1860s, and was a fear which had first been uttered by Thomas Arnold in 1832. Miss Martineau said that the middle class in Ireland, though disproportionately small half a century before, was richly supplied with educational resources, used or misused, in comparison with the aristocracy or the labouring classes. "When it became apparent a few years since, that the Queen's Colleges were doing much less good than they ought from the small number of middle-class lads qualified to benefit by them, attention was directed to the educational condition of the great class on whose intelligence and moral culture every country mainly depends for its welfare."¹ It was apparent that, in their preparation for business life, the children of the "peasantry, artisans, and labourers" had a distinct advantage over those of the "shop-keeping, manufacturing, and professional orders." This, she thought, was a portentous fact, "when society is taking a new form of growth in Ireland, by the elevation of the lower classes, and the creation of a larger middle class, as a sign of present, and a pledge of future, prosperity." The possibility of the further development of this middle class in

1. Martineau, op.cit., 1-2

Ireland had been the chief motive for constituting the Kildare inquiry. She hoped that in the next Parliamentary session there would be effectual legislation, "by which the means of a good education will be recovered in abundance, and restored to that part of society which has been too long deprived of its due."¹ Despite disagreements over the old topic of 'mixed' and 'separate' education in relation to ancient endowments, "the essential point of the insufficiency of middle-class education, even after a due application of all the existing resources, is agreed by all the Commissioners."² A similar unanimity of opinion on this point was to be a feature of the Taunton recommendations ten years later.

The second chapter of Miss Martineau's commentary was designed as an historical survey of the origins of Irish middle-class education. The early schools, after the suppression of the Geraldine rebellion in 1536, were founded in order to make the rising generation submissive and obedient and willing to pay the King's taxes.³ She compared this process to the policy of Peter the Great : Galway citizens had had to shave their moustaches and wear their hair long at the same period. The Diocesan schools, established in the time of Elizabeth, never accorded, at any time in their subsequent history, with the original sixteenth-century plan : there had never been as many as one per diocese. Schoolmasters' salaries had not partaken of the changes in the value of money over the years, and had become wholly inadequate, or held as sinecures. "What the schools are now may be judged from the fact that there are but twenty of them, with only 240 pupils." The instruction in the diocesan and

1. *ibid.*, 1-2

2. *ibid.*, 2

3. *ibid.*, 5

Royal schools was considered "satisfactory" by the Commissioners in only six instances.¹ As an example of what had happened to the "satisfactory" schools, she chose, from the Commission's findings, Dungannon, about which, seven years before, a memorial had been addressed to the Lord Lieutenant complaining that sufficient facilities were not afforded for the admission of free scholars; and that the instruction given and the payment demanded for it put the school out of the reach of "the manufacturing and shopkeeping classes", for whose benefit it should have been conducted. No Catholics were admitted as boarders, and of the 65 pupils, all, excepting 8 Dissenters, were Anglicans.²

She was careful to represent how much money was flowing into Ireland for the support of elementary education.³ In 1856 the numbers of pupils in the Irish National Schools was 560,134, the Parliamentary grant £227,641. But she was anxious to show that, alongside the growth of these kinds of schools, the failure of the Queen's Colleges had indicated a deficiency of intermediate education which the existing endowments ought to have been made to supply. The difficulty of finding instruction for their children was severely felt by "the growing commercial classes of a renovated society". This accounted for the importance of the work of the Kildare Commission, and the interest of its findings "at a time of profound peace and growing plenty in Ireland."⁴

She was aware that the middle classes were small in number,

1. *ibid.*, 10-11.

2. *ibid.*, 14.

3. Royal Commission on Popular Education, Vol. 1, 1861, (The Newcastle Report), cf. figures for England, 1856, 18, 20.

4. Martineau, *op.cit.*, 29.

injuriously small in relation to the lower orders. Ireland was rapidly creating a sound agricultural class with its accompanying commercial order; yet tradesmen's and farmers' sons and daughters could not be sure of obtaining sound instruction. Private schools, of the kind which had sprung up to meet the need, were of poor quality. But the clearest indication in her analysis of the lines the Taunton Inquiry was to pursue occurred when she declared,

At present the wisest way appears to be, to see what can be done with the old, in order to ascertain what more is wanted. To restore institutions which have lapsed, to recover those which have disappeared, to extend such as have been redeemed, to verify those which are traditional, and build up those which are insecure, adapting all to the needs of the time, as those needs would be regarded by the founders if they were living now - these are the means of providing for a good deal, though not nearly all of that intermediate education which the middle classes of Ireland are in distressing need of.¹

In Ireland, it would seem, according to her estimate, the need to use thriftily the limited bounties of charitable benevolence were even more pressing than in England. Of the classical schools of the country she said that, in general, a sound English education, such as was wanted for future tradesmen, farmers and manufacturers, was not to be had there.²

She did not seek to criticise the intentions of the original founders, but was rather concerned with the needs of society in the mid-nineteenth century.

Here is a population, now, after ages of depression, rising in prosperity, numbers, comfort and type of character; and dividing more conveniently into classes of agriculturists, merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and so on. The intellectual training of the schools should, in the first place, arouse and discipline the mind generally; and, in the₃ next, meet the needs of the various employed classes of society.³

1. *ibid.*, 30-31.
2. *ibid.*, 32.
3. *ibid.*, 37.

The Kildare Commissioners, classically educated men in every case, were, she thought, hardly likely to undervalue an education rooted in Latin and Greek; yet even they emphatically condemned the amount of time devoted to the dead language and lamented the imperfect return for labour out of all proportion to the object, even if pursued with success. Employers complained that they could not find travellers practically acquainted with German or French. "They want young men who can not only tell how many years they have been learning French, but read and reply to a French letter, or conduct purchases or sales in France." Such persons had for the time being to be brought from abroad.¹ Natural science in the middle-class schools was as yet an unopened book : "the farmer is not taught the chemistry of agriculture, nor the shopkeeper the laws of life and health, nor the manufacturer the secrets of the management of the products in which he deals."² She laid great stress on the need to provide for the education of the farmer : the venerable art of agriculture was no longer a simple business, and the products of the agricultural schools at Templemoyle and Glasnevin were snapped up as valuable fodder for nourishing the rural economy.³

Her interpretation of cy près was equally interesting. She said that the way to judge the actual condition of old endowments was to regard them with the eyes of the founders, were they able to rise from their graves : "There is no denying that the spectacle would, in too many instances, be one of deep mortification". She attributed to the founders the motive of establishing grammar

1. *ibid.*, 40.

2. *ibid.*, 42.

3. *ibid.*, 43-44. See also this thesis, Chapter II, 77.

schools for the education of the middle classes; but it was melancholy to think how far the large funds were from raising up an energetic, public-spirited and trustworthy order of society. On the other hand she was critical of many of the masters for dropping the free scholars : in some instances she said, the word 'free' was omitted from the title of the school and from the advertisements.¹ But she concluded this group of remarks by saying that, though the improvement of the labourers' condition was in many ways encouraging, she was anxious that the middle classes should receive their educational due. "The opportunity is present and pressing for restoring these young creatures to their proper rank, and making them the strongest link in the union of Ireland with England."²

It was a matter of opinion, she thought, whether the endowed schools of Ireland did more of ill or good. The funds of many were paid away to sinecurists. In other cases the revenues had increased considerably without causing any proportionate expansion of the quantity or quality of the education provided. Greater energy on the part of the trustees would render the property of the trusts far more productive.³ But in general, though she admitted that "we have little to boast of in our middle-class schools", she thought that England - with its new Local Examinations, and the proprietary and better private schools - was far better off.⁴ There can be little doubt that, though her chief motive for raising the question of intermediate education in this instance was her general concern for the present and future condition of the Irish people as citizens of Great Britain,

1. Martineau, op.cit., 49-50

2. *ibid.*, 53-54

3. *ibid.*, 56

4. *ibid.*, loc.cit.

her remarks should be considered in relation to her broader interest in the well-being of the middle classes in England. This judgement upon her work is based upon the evidence of her anxiety about English middle-class education which she expressed later in the two Cornhill articles.¹

But the Kildare Report and the journalism of Miss Martineau should by no means be treated as the first expression of profound English interest in Irish middle-class education. The official recommendations and the twelve articles should rather be seen as marking an important late stage in the sporadic development of English interest and activity which, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, had been an expression of two areas of emotional commitment: on the one hand, - and Miss Martineau stood squarely in this tradition - imperialist guilt about the colonial depredations of earlier generations; on the other, the reinvocation of the lost cause of Anglican evangelism in Ireland, and in particular, the fear of Catholicism. Underlying all was a prevalent despair about the possibility of ever solving the Irish problem.

The provision of educational facilities for Ireland by English reformers in the first half of the nineteenth century was part of a broader scheme to pacify and civilise the Irish people.

The barbarity of Irish society, in the three decades after 1800, has not been stressed by recent writers on education. Yet Sir George Cornwall Lewis, writing in 1836, could say, "In a large part of Ireland there is still less security of person and property than in any other part of Europe, except perhaps the wildest districts of

1. Cornhill Magazine, Vol. X, July-Dec., 1864, 409 ff.

Calabria or Greece."¹ After 1800, despite Dublin's continuing reputation as the second most fashionable city of Britain, Ireland and England were two distinctively different societies. The period of Irish politics from the 1798 rebellion until the end of the French Wars was characterised by genuine terror, and continuous and real, though largely unfounded, English fears of conspiracies aided by Napoleon. A torrent of hysterical reports poured into Dublin Castle. From Waterford in 1812 : "The people complain of being unprotected and the gentlemen of being unsupported...The system of terror is not to be described in words." From Cavan in 1813 : "...yeomen are in general the most daring smugglers in the county." And again from Waterford in 1813 : "...assassins are to be hired very reasonably as has already appeared in trials."² There were rumours of oaths having been sworn to Bonaparte in Kildare and Athlone in 1812 and 1813. But the anxieties expressed to Peel, the Chief Secretary, by Whitworth, the Lord Lieutenant, were based mainly upon supposition. Nevertheless it was an excessively lawless time, in which secret societies like the Threshers, the Whiteboys and the Ribbonmen ruled large tracts of the countryside; when looting, pillage and murder were frequent occurrences. In fact it seems that fears of political conspiracy masked a more fundamental anxiety about what Gash has called "a species of intermittent social warfare" rooted in lower-class lawlessness.³

In the same year as Sir George Cornwall Lewis was writing,

1. G. Cornwall Lewis, *Local Disturbances in Ireland*, London, 1836, Introduction.
2. Quoted in Norman Gash, *Mr. Secretary Peel: the Life of Sir Robert Peel to 1830*, London, 1961, 168.
3. *ibid.*, 174.

1836, Thomas Wyse said of the period after the Napoleonic Wars that the middlemen - the agents and bailiffs - had imagined that War prices would be eternal, that competition for land would continue in the absence of large-scale manufactures. But with the peace the economic stimulant ceased. A collapse began, and the tenant had been the first to feel it; after struggling in vain to pay his rent, he was compelled to call for abatements. Eventually, after many tenants deserted their land, the middlemen began to suffer too, and were crushed between the tenant who could not pay, and the landlord who demanded his rents at wartime levels. The landlord's estates, said Wyse, "swarmed with paupers not of his own making", and, far from paying rents, these tenants demanded charity. Forcible ejections only drove the problem from one estate to another. "A large floating mass of turbulence and violence was thus insensibly generated, ready, on all occasions, for the highest bidder : it was pressed successively into service wherever Absenteeism and aristocracy and their opponents fell with the greatest severity upon the peasantry."

Wyse saw education as an important element in solving these problems: the more education that could be infused, he thought, "the more tolerance and smoothness you give to all popular movements."¹

Peel remarked in 1815 that if he stayed in Ireland much longer he would become so familiarised to murder and robbery that he would never get used to an uninterrupted state of tranquillity. The Chief Secretary strengthened the police force by the Peace Prevention Act of 1814, and reluctantly reinvoked Wellesley's Insurrection Act in

1. Thomas Wyse, *Education Reform, or the Necessity of a National System of Education*, Vol.I, (there was no Volume II), London, 1836, 429-435.

the same year. But such measures as these were rendered relatively ineffective by the twin underlying problems of the continued existence in Ireland of a largely indifferent land-owning class, many of whom were guilty of absenteeism, and unwilling to invest capital; and a sullen, depressed peasantry who resisted attempts from above to improve their position. Norman Gash has suggested that the simplest solution to the Irish problem would have been to consolidate holdings and invest more capital in large-scale farming.¹ But the historic features of Irish society would have prevented such a policy's success. A further element hindered plans for healing and settling : in 1813, in the House of Commons, Henry Grattan reopened the debate on Roman Catholic disabilities.²

Peel's policy did not consist wholly of police measures, however. He acknowledged that the religious problem could not be solved by trying to stamp it out, and he continued the liberal programme by which his predecessors had investigated and tried to encourage elementary education. But it is evident that he was aware of the social void which existed in Irish society, between a barbarous peasantry and an indifferent aristocracy. In 1813 he carried an Act which has been ignored by recent social and educational historians.³ On the 10th of July, 1813, an "Act for the Appointment of Commissioners for the Regulation of the several Endowed Schools of Public and Private Foundation in Ireland", received the Royal Assent.⁴

1. Gash, *op.cit.*, 195.

2. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XXVII, February 23 747 ff.

3. The existence of the Act is ignored by Gash, *op.cit.* It is, however, mentioned in R.J.MacDowell, *Public Opinion and Government Policy in Ireland, 1801-1846*, London, 1952.

4. See, *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Volume V, Containing the Acts 53 George III and 54 George III...* London, 1814. The act in question is 53 George III, cap.CVII 215-221.

The Reports of the Commissioners of Education for Ireland, between 1809 and 1812, though their principal aim was to present an account of the state of elementary education, were punctuated by detailed references to the condition of the endowed schools of a higher class.¹ Their first Report mentioned the Royal schools at Armagh and Dungannon. The former, with a Master and four classical assistants, they deemed the best in the country. But despite the presence of 27 boarders at Dungannon, the Master, Dr. Murray, "from age and decay of his memory...appears for some time to have been wholly inadequate to the conduct of such a seminary"; and they recommended that a new Master should be found as soon as possible.² Their second Report was devoted to the privately endowed schools at Navan and Ballyroan. Commenting upon Navan, which was passing through a financial crisis due to mismanagement of its estates, they recommended "that a respectable English school should be immediately established, under a Master with a liberal salary", who would teach "mercantile arithmetic, Geography, and other useful branches of education for the Middling Classes", and who would be obliged to teach the poorer children "at very low prices," since the reason given for the decline of the Writing school was that the children could get a similar education more cheaply at a local Roman Catholic seminary.³

Their fourth Report (like its predecessors, signed by, among others, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, the author of Professional Education and Practical Education) on the Diocesan Free Schools

1. Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1809-1812, reprinted 7 December, 1813, Dublin.
2. *ibid.*, i.e. Reports, 2-4. They remarked also upon the endowed schools at Enniskillen, Raphoe, Cavan, Bannagher and Carysfort.
3. *ibid.*, 13.

founded by Elizabeth, stated that hardly any of the 34 dioceses had schools in good repair, and that the Masters' stipends were utterly inadequate. They suggested that the schools should be thoroughly reformed, and that in choosing sites for new institutions "regard should be had principally for the want of proper Grammar Schools in the different districts of each Province." They drew attention to the neglected Acts 12 George I and 29 George II which had provided for the building and repair of Diocesan schoolhouses; but they chiefly hoped that a new Act would be prepared for the purpose they suggested.¹ This Report is dated 21 April, 1809, and it constituted a clear request for legislative action by Parliament. The Commissioners' petition was repeated in their fifth Report. Thomas Wyse, writing in 1838, attributed the genesis of the 1813 Act to this fifth report, saying that, in 1812, the deficiencies of Irish educational endowments "at last attracted the attention of the Commissioners appointed to examine into the State of Irish Education".² But it is clear, from the foregoing references to earlier Reports, that Wyse was here guilty of a gentle libel upon the work of an assiduous Commission : it was Chief Secretary Peel, not the Commissioners, who "at last" took notice of the question of Irish endowments in 1813.

Even before the 1813 Commissioners began their investigative work, there had been inquiries into the state of charitable endowments in the United Kingdom. The failure to make the Elizabethan

1. *ibid.*, 113-115.

2. Report of the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 9 August, 1838, 46.

Statute of Charitable Uses operate effectively, after 1660, had resulted in a rash of corrupt practices. As will be explained in a later Chapter,¹ the rigours attendant upon trying to wring a decision from the Court of Chancery deterred all but the most wealthy or foolhardy litigants. Attempts were made occasionally to improve the situation by legislation; the most promising of these ventures were the Returns of Charitable Donations Act, 1786, and the Irish Charitable Donations Registration Act, 1812. But both of these, which applied to England and Wales, met with little success, though they did serve as precedents for future action.² The 1812 Act may be said to have anticipated the appointment of the Irish Education Commissioners in the following year. But even in the realm of general interest in the condition of charities, activity began in Ireland and was subsequently imitated in England. For in 1763 a measure was passed by the Irish Parliament, the Act for the Better Discovery of Charitable Donations and Bequests, whereby all local charities would be made subject to registration.³ It has been found impossible to make a direct connection between this statute and the Gilbert Act of 1786 in England.⁴ However, in a related field two years later the Irish Parliament passed a further Act, 28 George III, cap.15 (Irish),

to enable the Lord Lieutenant...to appoint Commissioners for inquiring into the several funds and revenues granted by public and private donations for the purpose of education in this kingdom, and into the state and condition of all schools...on public and charitable foundations...

1. See below, Chapter V.

2. See. G.W. Keaton and L.A. Sheridan, Equity, London, 197

3. 3 George III, cap.18

4. 26 George III, cap.58, See Below, Chapter V.

The Report of these Commissioners was published in 1791, and something of a mystery surrounds its subsequent history. Thomas Wyse referred to it frequently as a point of comparison in his 1838 Select Committee Report. But apparently, after that time, all copies of it were lost. The Kildare Inquiry noted that, after careful searches of the public offices in Dublin and London, no copy had been found. The help of Wyse and of the Edgeworth family was enlisted. But eventually through a relative of the Secretary of the 1788 and 1813 Commissions, John Corneille, then resident in France, a copy turned up, entitled "Draft Plan of Education". The title alone suggests that the 1788 Commissioners had taken their task seriously.¹

The Report of the 1788 Commissioners contained a brief investigation of the main group of endowed schools in Ireland. As a remedy for the main abuses which they discovered, they proposed the endowment of a "Collegiate School" connected with the University. They thought the learned languages were so poorly taught that a model school was needed. The Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, had tried to stimulate endeavour by offering premiums to good scholars in the schools, but with little success. The single Collegiate School, it was proposed, should have at first one Master to teach classics, and three assistants. Other staff could be added as the need arose. There should be 32 boys on the foundation, to be known as "King's Scholars", their education and board to be free.

1. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Endowments, Funds, and actual Condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of Education in Ireland, Vol.II, 1858, Evidence with Index, Document No.XIX, (the 1791 Report), 341. This contains the title of the 1791 Report.

The first appointments to masterships should come from Eton, Westminster, Winchester or Harrow : "Their courses are all good, and agree in the principal object, by making composition the means and the test of acquiring the knowledge of languages." The course would last six to seven years. King's Scholars would be admitted after a public examination to be conducted by the Master, the candidates undertaking composition tasks set by him.¹

In addition the Commissioners proposed the establishment of a "professional academy or academies" to instruct young persons in mathematics and science; "to initiate them in the principles of chemical knowledge, with its application to arts and manufactures"; to teach also natural history; to prepare soldiers, seamen, and merchants for their respective businesses; "to give a general account of the manners, customs and governments of different nations, with a short abstract of their history"; and to teach modern languages, particularly French, Italian and German. The course would last for three years. The total cost was estimated at £2,100, and they hoped that such model 'public' schools would encourage private imitations.

Despite current knowledge of similar schools elsewhere, such a thorough prospectus for a school of this kind is a surprising phenomenon in a British public document of the late eighteenth century. But the Commissioners did quote as their example the Dundee Academy, basing, for instance, their proposal of a three-year course upon the practice of the Scottish school.² They may also have been stimulated to action by the recent creation of the Belfast Academy which had been

1. *ibid.*, 345, 348.

2. *ibid.*, 354, 355.

established by public subscription in 1785, and which also owed its origin to Scottish academic models.

In a sense the 1788 Commissioners anticipated the early decline of the infant Belfast Academy. Such public institutions as they were proposing, they thought, would not thrive without close external supervision. And so they suggested perhaps the most remarkable feature of their programme : a "Board of Control".

As we find that many of the existing abuses in schools on public and private foundations, and misapplication of their funds, have proceeded from the delays, difficulties, and expenses attending the usual way of proceeding in such cases, by information in the Courts of Equity, and as we find large sums of money, part of the said funds, have been employed in such proceedings, we beg leave...to recommend that a summary jurisdiction should be created under the authority of an Act of Parliament...

They therefore suggested that certain Commissioners should be appointed for that purpose, to be called the Board of Control. This Board would deploy any surplus revenues of existing endowments for setting up the new schools, and inspect all the endowed schools. If these remedies seemed too severe, it should be remembered that "the justice and credit of the nation are at stake", and that means of some kind ought to be taken to prevent abuses recurring in future. They thought that such plans could be financed by "the faithful application of existing funds" to the purpose of the founders, "without violating the will or intentions of any one of them."¹

This 1788 Report, then, seems to provide the origin of the ideas which were incorporated partially in the 1813 Act, though this fact is not explicitly allowed in the commentaries of Wyse in 1838 or the Kildare Report in 1858. In any case it is hardly surprising that

1. *ibid.*, 364-366.

even a part of such a radical programme took so long to achieve its embodiment in the Act of 1813. The years between comprise a period of volcanic political and constitutional disturbance in Ireland, with the Rebellion and the Union as its main features of cause and effect. Nevertheless it is remarkable, firstly, that such a plan should even have been entertained publicly as early as 1791; and secondly, that a Tory Government should, albeit indirectly, incorporate some of its major propositions in an Act of Parliament.

The Preamble to the Irish Endowed Schools Act of 1813 drew attention particularly to the abuses of the system of schools; to the "Misapplication of their several Funds and Revenues"; to the "Delays, Difficulties, and Expenses" attending their attempted reform in the Courts of Equity.¹ The Act therefore proposed, for the better regulation of the endowed schools, that Commissioners should be appointed for the special purpose of "visiting, regulating and superintending" the management and application of the funds of the Royal, the Diocesan and the privately endowed schools, excepting the Erasmus Smith foundations, the Protestant Charter schools, and the parochial schools, all of which were elementary in character. These omissions help to establish that the Commission was designed to deal with schools above the level of elementary. The Commissioners were named as the Lord Primate of All Ireland, the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, the Bishop of Dublin, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Provost of Trinity College, four other Anglican bishops and "four other proper and discreet persons

1. N.B. the exact coincidence of wording here between the 1791 Report, and the 1813 Act.

to be chosen by the Lord Lieutenant.¹

This Commission of powerful Anglican individuals was given extensive powers of equitable jurisdiction by the Act; in fact it was the first lay authority in southern Britain to be granted such powers for over two hundred years. It had a Secretariat, and it could sue and be sued in the name of the Secretary, and hold lands for the purpose of the Act. The Commissioners were empowered to visit endowed schools and administer oaths at such visitations ; they could summon books, papers and persons, "and all other Documents whatsoever". They could appoint assistant visitors to act in their stead.² From the time of the Act's passing the lands granted by Charles I for establishing the Royal schools were to be vested in the Commissioners; the incomes of the estates were to be applied only on the orders of the Commission for the benefit of the schools. They could order extra or diminished payments to masters, and the erecting of new schoolhouses. They had powers to unite two or more adjoining dioceses into one district or to direct that the free schools of several dioceses should be consolidated into one free school to be held in such place as they should appoint; the salaries of two or more masters could be paid to a single master under such a scheme. They could purchase houses or exchange lands for the purpose of creating new schools. The Act further stipulated, "it shall be lawful for the Grand Jury of any County...to present on the County" (i.e., to assess the County for) "any Sum or Sums which they shall think proper for purchasing, providing, building or repairing any such School House or Dwelling House, for the Master thereof..."

1. 53 George III, cap.CVII, Preamble, 215.

2. *ibid.*, clauses IV to X, 216.

They could impose a fine of up to £20 for non-attendance after a summons to give evidence, and could invoke the usual penalties for perjury.¹

A Commission exercising such powers in the field of education was a startling novelty. But even more remarkable are the clear, though not always identical, coincidences between the functions of the 1813 Commission, and the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 for England and Wales. This comparison is based, firstly, upon the similarity between the general problems, widely separated in time, with which the two Commissions had to contend ; the laxity in the administration of the funds of endowed schools in England and in Ireland; some considerable increases in the incomes of certain of the schools;² the obsolete nature of the curricula of the schools in relation to supposed middle-class needs, commercial, industrial and agricultural, and the consequent competition, with the private and proprietary schools, for middle-class pupils; the obsessive intention of the two Commissions to establish schools for, or reform them in the interests of, the middle or "middling" classes, despite the fact that neither the 1813 nor the 1869 Acts specifically mentioned the object of reforming "middle-class" schools; and the sectarian issue, common to both, with the qualification that in Ireland the 'nonconformist' lobby was predominantly Roman Catholic : though in both cases the Commissioners would appear to their sectarian opponents to be part

1. *ibid.*, clauses XI to XXX, 217-221. N.B. the Irish Grand Jury was the body which, like Quarter Sessions in England, governed each Irish county from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. It was usually composed of prominent landlords, and oversaw the collection of local taxes, the upkeep of roads and public buildings, and the local administration of justice.
2. 1838 Select Committee Report, ; Schools Inquiry Commission, Report, Volume I, Ch.V, 473-545.

of an Anglican establishment making ungenerous concessions to the need for still greater toleration.

Secondly, the comparison is based upon the nature of the powers vested in the two sets of Commissioners by the Legislature. In this respect the parallel must be extended to include, not only the Endowed Schools Commission, but its progenitor, the Schools Inquiry Commission and the recommendations of the 1867 Report. The S.I.C. had the power, as a Royal Commission, to summon witnesses and, through the agency of assistant commissioners (comparable to the "assistant visitors" under the 1813 Act) to examine documents relating to the management of endowed schools and their estates, and to visit and inspect the schools in order to ascertain what they taught. The Endowed Schools Commissioners, though their powers were complained of vociferously after 1869, did not share with their Irish predecessors the legal right to take over the estates of endowed schools in England and Wales; but they enjoyed the particular power of making new schemes, though this procedure was subject to checks and balances of a public nature which had not applied to the 1813 Commissioners' work. More especially the Irish Commissioners did not have to submit their proceedings to the perusal of Parliament; rather were the Irish Courts of Equity their final resort in contentious cases. Both Commissions had the right to unite formerly separate endowments (or divide unwieldy ones).¹ The Irish Commission was a 'central authority' in the same sense as the Endowed Schools Commission was for a limited period; and just as the S.I.C. recommended Provincial or county boards, so the Irish Act of 1813 implied the

1. See, Endowed Schools Act, 1869, 32 and 33 Victoria, cap.LVI, clauses IX, X, and XXXI to LI.

existence of 'local authorities' on two levels : the Grand Jury of each county, and the individual boards of trustees or patrons for each school.

The 1813 Commission presented its first Report to the Lord Lieutenant on 25 March, 1814.¹ In the period of five months covered by the Report the Commissioners had held 18 meetings. They addressed themselves first to what they considered to be the most pressing issue : the condition of the Royal schools. Their initial activities included the dismissal of the Rev. Thomas Foster, Bart., Master of the school at Carysort, who had failed to keep the school, and the more creative task of building a new school in the same town to accommodate 60 pupils: this was to be an English or commercial school for the children of the poor. At Cavan they found the school was being kept seven miles from the town, so, using the considerable surplus of income from the endowment, they employed an architect to design a new building three-quarters of a mile from the town, on school estate property. They found that the five remaining Royal schools had suitable schoolhouses. They were critical of the conduct of the school at Ballyroan, and dismissed the Master, calling on the local patrons to appoint a successor; in addition they resolved that a "Mercantile Academy" should be established there, an institution likely, from the information they had received, "to succeed...and to be highly advantageous to the children of the description of persons

1. Report of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant; of the Proceedings of the Board from the 18th of November 1813, to the 25th of March, 1814; published in Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland from the year 1834 to 1842 inclusive, Dublin, 1844.

residing in Ballyroan and its neighbourhood." The present Usher was to continue in his post, at a salary increased from £35 to £60, teaching Greek and Latin to the children of parents who wished them to receive a classical education. They ordered two local houses to be surveyed for the purpose of providing boarding accommodation. They deprived the Master of Navan school of his post, and proposed to establish a commercial academy there, too; though, as at Ballyroan, classical education was to be allowed to continue if there were sufficient demand for it. At Navan the annual income was £1,000 and the current surplus £4,000. They commissioned visitations of three other schools, and inquiries into the rents and condition of 14 other endowed and 'charity' schools.¹

The Commissioners' second Report, for 1816, revealed that their first burst of activity had not met with a uniformly welcoming response. At Ballyroan and Navan, though the masters had been removed, cases were pending in Chancery over transfer of the trustees' powers to the Commissioners. But the Commission pressed on with a proposal for recreating a classical school at Wicklow, using funds granted "in time past" by the Earl of Chesterfield.² The Reports for 1817 and 1818 were brief accounts of the work in progress at Cavan, Carysfort and Banagher. The sixth Report, for 1819, showed that the Navan and Ballyroan litigation was still proceeding.³ The 1825 Report, the next in the sequence of published documents, declared that most of the Grand Juries had so far declined to present money for the building or repairs of the Diocesan and

1. Report 1814, 2-4; paginated as 308-310 in the 1844 publication; see above, this Chapter.
2. Report of the Commissions of Education...from the 25th of March 1814, to the 25th of March 1816, 3.
3. The Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland...dated March 31, 1819, 2.

District schools, despite the charges of Judges and Assizes; "the Act (of 1813) not being considered imperative on the grand juries". The Commissioners therefore suggested amending the Act in this respect. Until then "we entertain no sanguine expectation of aid from the grand juries for these most successful Classical Seminaries." But there were exceptions : the Grand Juries of Antrim and Down had each presented £1,000 for building District schools. The sites for these had been donated by a Mr. Adair in Antrim, and by Lord de Clifford in Down; and the Commissioners requested an architect to prepare plans for the schools. Monaghan Grand Jury had presented £500, and in that case "considerable progress had been made in the building of a suitable house and offices near the town of Monaghan, for the establishment of the School of the District of the Dioceses of Clogher, Kilmore, and Raphoe." The schoolhouse at Rathvilly, in Co. Carlow, which had been commenced under the will of the late Benjamin Disraeli, was nearly complete, the supervision of the work having been taken over by the Commissioners : "we shall direct it to be inspected by the Architect before it shall be given up to the Master."¹

It seems that as time went on the Commissioners had less and less confidence in their own statutorily defined powers. In their 1828 Report they said that "In consequence of the lunacy of Dr. Dowdall, Master of the School at Dungannon", they had found it necessary to order a visitation of the school. But in this instance they put in a new Master only with the approval of the Lord Chancellor. They

1. Report of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland...for the year ending the 25th of March, 1825, 2-3.

also spent £80 on repairs. It is clear also that the majority of the Grand Juries were still refusing to pay for the creating or support of the Diocesan and District schools, and once again the Commissioners pleaded for an amendment of the Act. Again, however, there was an exception : the Grand Jury of the City and County of Limerick had presented £1,533 8s. 6³/₄d. for a school to serve the united dioceses of Limerick, Killaloe and Kilfenora. And there was also belated news of another kind : Chancery had declared in favour of the Commissioners in the Navan and Ballyroan cases, so that "this Board will be able to build suitable schoolhouses at Navan and Ballyroan, and thus carry into effect the charitable intention of the Founder."¹

However, an air of pessimism hung over the next Report for 1830. The Commissioners had experienced further delays at Ballyroan over their attempts to develop the income of the endowment. They admitted that, since the publication of their last Report, though they had tried to establish the Diocesan and District schools on a sound footing, they had "in great measure failed" because of the indisposition of the Grand Juries of most of the counties to co-operate with them. Religious and cy pres issues seem to have been the chief causes of trouble, for the Commissioners said that the Grand Juries, Anglican to a man, had misapprehended the nature and constitution of the schools, "which are erroneously supposed by many not to be open to Free Scholars of whatever religious persuasion." Some of the Grand Juries raised a further objection, refusing to levy rates for new buildings until a Master had been appointed. In this they were

1. Annual Report for the Commissioners of Education in Ireland, for the year ended 7th April, 1828, 1-2.

adhering strictly to the letter of the Act; and the Commissioners suggested another amendment permitting them to appoint Masters who would teach in accommodation, perhaps private houses, temporarily rented by the Commissioners, until the Grand Juries should supply money for permanent schoolhouses. But again, even in 1830, there was one crumb of optimism. The Grand Jury of Antrim provided £1,000 for building a school to serve the dioceses of Armagh and Connor.¹

The 1830 Report was the last printed document presented by the Commissioners to the Lord Lieutenant. The sequence of Reports from 1813 onwards seems to represent a period of sustained endeavour, in which dedicated work was met with a large measure of frustration and some degree of success. A concise appraisal of the Commissioners' work, with a brief analysis of the reasons for their failure, was provided in 1838 by Thomas Wyse, writing in the Report of the Select Committee on Irish Education. At first commenting very generally, he said that though some improvement occurred because of their appointment, "it was by no means as great as was required by the existing evils". Wyse believed that administration of the schools still laboured under serious defects. Firstly, and most important, there was the factor of the "uncertainty of the law", with the attendant differences of opinion over the objects of the schools, the rights of the public in their administration, and the obligations of the masters, the Commissioners and the financial supporters of the schools. "It is not generally understood whether they are designed for gratuitous education, and open to all

1. Annual Report of the Commissioners...for the year ending the 25th of March, 1830, 3-6.

persuasions, or are classical boarding schools, preparatory to the University, principally intended for the upper classes"; or whether the Grand Juries, Masters or Commissioners had the right to interfere. "The collision of parties tends to neutralise attempts at a general or local improvement." The buildings in many cases had not been intended to serve as schools. They were not, generally speaking, subject to systematic inspection, despite the Commissioners' statutory powers, and there were no explicit rules for the educational conduct of the schools. Finally, the schools were still insufficient in number for meeting "the wants of the country".¹

Wyse's point about the "uncertainty of the law" was to be echoed over thirty years later by Lord Lyttelton, the Chief Endowed Schools Commissioners, in his Report to the Privy Council on the working of the Endowed Schools Act, in 1872, when he said, under the heading, "Want of Preparation for the Act", that "some of the express provisions of the Act have come upon some of the parties affected by them with the force of startling novelty; and a great deal of explanation and discussion must take place and much time be allowed...before proposals can be calmly considered."² And the problem of ascribing a role to a school, especially in relation to gratuitous education, was a singularly sticky problem for the Endowed Schools Commissioners, too, in their work of reform. The "collision of parties" was another feature of the Irish Commissioners' work which Lyttelton would have appreciated intimately.

1. Report from the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland...9 August, 1838, 46-49.
2. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council on Education, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, London, 1872, 37.

In a later section of the 1838 Report Wyse concluded that "Both the constitution and functions of the Board (of 1813 Commissioners) appear to have produced numerous inconveniences". The attendance at Board meetings had been irregular, with ex officio members attending less frequently than others. No salaries were paid to members; partly in consequence there was a want of "special interest and responsibility". There were no fixed times for meetings, which usually depended upon the summons of the Secretary or of any other member of the Board. Nevertheless, he admitted that they generally met once a fortnight, which hardly seems to merit the charge of infrequency. The meetings had no official location : they generally took place in the Secretary's private house. In mitigation of their relative ineffectiveness, he said that their function had "of late been judiciously exercised," though the buildings they had provided were often poor, their design having been left to local architects without appropriate experience. Much of the Board's time had necessarily been devoted to the financial management of schools' estates. "No minute investigation takes place into the intellectual management of the school. It is presumed that the Master does his duty." There was no local committee which might report upon the educational progress of the school to the Commission. Sometimes a Master was "summoned to town" to answer for misdemeanours, but this was a dilatory and largely useless kind of sanction. The Commissioners seemed to have no control over the content of educational courses.¹ In general terms Wyse may have been correct over the matter of "intellectual management"; but the charge that the

1. Report of the Select Committee, 1838, 62-64.

Commissioners had no control at all can be refuted by reference to the instances of their early work mentioned above.

Wyse was commenting at a time when the final reports of Brougham's Charity Commissioners on English and Welsh endowments were being published. Yet these Whitehall commissioners merely had powers of inquisition; they carried considerably less weight in terms of reform, while at the same time drawing attention to a multitude of abuses. Despite Wyse's strictures, by comparison with their English counterparts, the Irish Commissioners were attempting to operate a completely new system of reform which was not to be introduced into England until the 1850s, and even then in a more limited and cautious form. The problems of the English Charity Commissioners, in embryonic form in 1849, and on a larger, permanent scale in 1853, had been prefigured in detail by their Irish counterparts in the period from 1813 into the 1830s. There is no evidence that the architects of the Charitable Trusts Act had any precise knowledge of the work begun in Ireland forty years before; but the parallels between the weaknesses they were both designed to eliminate, and the problems which confronted them in their work at different times, are clear and comprehensive. It is ironic that further relevant parallels exist : between Wyse's comments upon the Irish Commissioners, and the Taunton Report's more measured criticisms of the work of the English Charity Commissioners in 1867.¹

Thomas Wyse was undoubtedly the predominant figure in the development of Irish education between 1830 and 1847. He was at the

1. S.I.C. Report, Vol.I, 466-469.

centre of every attempt to promote educational progress during this period. In addition, and at the same time, he exercised considerable influence over discussions upon the development of an educational system in England. He therefore constitutes a very important link between the experience of educational proposals and experiments in Ireland, and similar projects and ideas on this side of the Irish Channel. Rev. James Bryce, President of the Belfast Academy (and uncle of James Bryce, early in his distinguished career as assistant commissioner for the S.I.C.), said that Lord Brougham was an enthusiastic educationalist, but that "with Mr. Wyse it was a veritable passion".¹ The son of an Irish Catholic gentry family, Wyse was born in 1794, and went to Stonyhurst, which had been established in 1794, and Trinity College, Dublin, which had opened its doors to Catholic students in 1793. He travelled extensively in Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, and then became an Irish M.P. in 1830, maintaining close links with the Catholic Association. In educational matters his fundamental position was tolerant, in striking contrast to some of his more vehement Irish Catholic opponents, like Dr. John MacHale, Bishop of Killala. However, because of what Sir James Graham in the House of Commons called his "honourable conduct" at all times, Wyse was able to carry the majority of Irish Catholic bishops with him, until finally the Papacy declared against his policies.² During a

1. Quoted in W.M. Wyse, Notes on Education Reform in Ireland, during the first half of the nineteenth century. Compiled from the Speeches, Letters, etc., contained in the unpublished memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Wyse, K.C.B.,...by his Neice, Winifred M.Wyse, Waterford, 1901, 6 (hereafter referred to as W.M.Wyse, Notes).
2. For Wyse's biographical details, see D.N.B.; for Bishop MacHale's, see Frederick Boase, Modern English Biography, Volume II. Sir James Graham is quoted in W.M. Wyse, Notes, 74. See also Peel's eulogy of Wyse, quoted below, note 3, 233.

remarkable public career Wyse married (and was separated from) Laetitia, niece of Napoleon I. Towards the end of his life, on his retirement from the educational fray, he became British plenipotentiary at Athens, where he was able to indulge his other passion, for Greek scholarship.

He does not seem to have attributed to himself any originality of thought on educational issues. He was, indeed, eclectic to a considerable degree and, though he first took up the cause of education on behalf of the moderate Catholic Association in 1829, his notions were then limited to the promotion of elementary schooling. The main thrust of his policy in education was stimulated by a letter from Dr. Slattery, later Catholic Bishop of Cashel, in November, 1830, in which Slattery quoted at length from an unpublished pamphlet by Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighton.¹ Doyle said that if Wyse wished to promote education in Ireland, he should look beyond the elementary schools and try to turn the Government's attention to the establishment of "four Provincial Academies", in which subjects not requiring a previous classical education would be taught to "the middle classes of society". The funds of Trinity College could be used for the purpose. But there should also be established, thought Doyle, "Agricultural Schools", financed by a corporation specially instituted for the purpose, based

1. James W. Doyle, 1756-1834, born the son of a "farmer in reduced circumstances" in Co. Wexford. Witnessed the horrors of the Battle of New Ross, 1797. Attended University in Portugal; acted as diplomat attached to Wellesley in the Peninsular Campaigns. Ordained 1809; taught Rhetoric at Carlow College; became Bishop of Kildare and Leighton, 1819. "The career of Doyle as bishop is identified with the history of the social struggles which were checked for a time by the passing of the first Reform Bill." Established elementary schools in every parish in his diocese. (D.N.B.) N.B. Slattery's letter is wrongly ascribed to Doyle in J.J. Auchmuty, op.cit., 78; the correct ascription is given in W.M. Wyse, Notes, 12.

upon the joint stock principle. Wyse accepted even the terminology of Doyle's proposals, and confirmed his agreement with them in a letter to the Bishop in December, 1830. He admitted that he wished to have gone further, but "in an old country burdened with old institutions", politicians had to work with the implements they had. It is clear also that Wyse, like Doyle, laid great stress upon providing efficient agricultural education for the Irish middle classes.¹ After Doyle's death, his scheme was used as the basic framework for the recommendations of the 1838 Select Committee.

But long before that, in December, 1830, Doyle's ideas were incorporated in a scheme which Wyse presented to the Government. He conceded that elementary education was a subject of urgent priority, and that Catholics and Protestants of the lower orders should attend, wherever possible, the same schools. The object of education, he said, was "to prepare future citizens for a common country." Religious education should be undertaken separately by the various denominations. But, in addition, "the middle require education as well as the lower." He wanted Colleges and Academies for middle-class education, "in those departments of knowledge most necessary to those classes, Mathematics, Mechanics, Natural Philosophy, Natural History, Agricultural and Commercial Chemistry, etc., etc." While allowing that part of the money for such activities should be raised by subscription, he emphasised that the Government had a role to play : it could either provide one-third of the total cost, or "build and outfit, and the people support." At the top of the educational edifice should rest the coping-stone of a National University.²

1. W.M. Wyse, Notes, 12.

2. *ibid.*, 24, 25.

After resigning his Tipperary seat under the old constitution, and failing to gain re-election to the new Parliament, Wyse, like T.D. Acland later, was in the wilderness for three years. Part of this time he used to prepare his Education Reform which was published in 1836. In this extensive work he posed a number of questions which were pertinent to education in the United Kingdom as a whole : Was National Education to be left to the Government, or to chance ? Was there to be a system or no system ? He favoured, not total Government direction, but what he called "a middle term". Did not the Government and voluntary agencies already combine beneficially over such matters as public works, charitable institutions and the Police ? The argument in favour of laissez-faire in education had arisen, he thought from "too precipitate a generalization from Adam Smith's views of bounties and prohibitions". Education flourished most successfully in those countries where the Government-directive system was most, and the voluntary system least in vogue. Even in Ireland such a system had not yet been properly tested : there "education has been a mere machine for the maintenance of Protestantism and Oligarchy - fetters to bind the mind, as there were statutes to bind the bone and sinew of the country." He concluded, "Let the Government provide and extend a good system of education to all the people (it is the Government of all), and let all the people, in return, support and perpetuate such a system when provided by the Government." He took as the framework of his plan three stages, which he called elementary, middle-class, and University.¹

1. Thomas Wyse, Education Reform, 1836, 444, 446.

Earlier, in 1831, Wyse had enjoyed one of his two great moments of political achievement. He prepared a draft education Bill for Ireland at the end of 1830, which ultimately owed a great deal to Doyle's suggestions. He had a number of conversations with Stanley, the Chief Secretary, about the bill. It proposed the establishment of elementary schools in every parish which would all provide 'mixed' religious education. The bill also included his ideas on middle-class schooling. But nothing came of the Bill immediately. Later, in 1831, Stanley asked Wyse if he could look over the draft of the measure again. Wyse hoped that he would be given the task of preparing a new official bill, but Stanley stole his clothes and produced his own measure, agreeing with Wyse's original bill on a number of points. In this rather indirect way, Wyse could claim to be the originator of the National Board of Education for Ireland which began its work in 1832.¹

While the 1838 Select Committee was sitting - it was re-convened on two occasions between 1835 and 1838 - Wyse was becoming involved in a prominent educational pressure-group in England. He became Chairman of Committees for the Central Society of Education in 1837, publishing articles in each of the Society's three annual publications during the years 1837 to 1839.² The Society was essentially a group of Whigs and Radicals promoting progressive educational

1. This confused passage of events has been plotted by D.H. Akenson, *op.cit.*, 108 - 121. Akenson is unable to come to any clear conclusion; but the writings of W.M. Wyse and J.J. Auchmuty offer convincing evidence that Wyse did play a significant role in the drafting of Stanley's measure. But see below, for evidence which Akenson overlooked.
2. See, Central Society of Education, 1st, 2nd, 3rd Publications, introductory papers and contents pages, reprinted by Woburn Press, London, 1968.

ideas, with a broadly comparative approach to the study of educational systems.

In the Society's first annual publication Wyse wrote an article on Education in the United Kingdom. He used the essay to take credit for Stanley's measure of 1831, and, as in his later comments on the 1813 Commissioners, attributed the problems of the new National Board to the "misapprehensions both of the constitution of the Board and the very first objects of education". The real defects of the system, however, had, he thought, another cause : Stanley had departed from the provisions of Wyse's own bill "relative to that important department" - the co-operation of the people". In addition, the Board had no powers to enforce the building of schools : it was not a corporate body, and the arrangement for the application of funds was too complicated.¹ The remainder of the section of the article on Ireland reads like a preliminary draft for Wyse's report for the 1838 Select Committee, which was sitting at the same time. He criticised the Royal and the Diocesan schools for the narrowness of their intellectual objectives : "The whole World do not enter the University; those who do not have little to look for, and less to find, in these schools." Private commercial schools were supposed to supply the want, "but the merchandize is so very meagre in most cases to be worth purchasing." There was a great disparity between the amounts of endowment incomes in various districts. All these defects were, however, "easily remediable", and the prospects for Irish education

1. Central Society of Education 1st Publication of 1837. Sir Thomas Wyse, 'Education in the United Kingdom. Its Progress and Prospects', 52. N.B. in relation to note 1, 217, Wyse in this paper supplies evidence which would serve to clarify the general relationship between his Bill and Stanley's scheme of 1831.

were, on the whole, "encouraging". Sectarian and political differences still existed, and inhibited the work of the new National Board. But Ireland already presented "an organised and regular system" which accorded with those which existed in most other civilised countries, England excepted. The 1813 Commissioners, he admitted (rather more generously than in the 1838 Report), had proved already the utility of having central control over middle-class schooling. What was needed now was a fairer distribution of funds, and a county or Grand Jury system of local government which was more democratic. "The elements and the means of combination once given, the opportunities for such a change cannot long be wanting."¹

Clearly, in his 1837 article Wyse was determinedly muting his fundamental criticisms of the Irish system so that he might represent Ireland as an albeit imperfect model for educational progress, along lines involving more positive state interference, in England. In doing so he was responsible for promoting the first rigorous comparison of educational systems in Ireland and England in a forum of public debate. And even in the absence of hard evidence, it is clear that his ideas had an influence over the thinking of moderate English men of affairs. Certainly it is hard to imagine that his opinions were overlooked by Miss Harriet Martineau, William Ewart, Lord Ebrington, (soon to become Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and, with his son and J.L. Brereton, the progenitor of the County School and County College movement in England), the Marquis of Lansdowne, H.S. Tremeneheere, E.C. Tufnell,

1. *ibid.*, 55-57.

and, from Wales, Williams Williams, M.P., whose Commons resolution in 1847 led directly to the notorious 'Blue Books' inquiry into Welsh educational provision. All these people were annual subscribers to the Central Society publications.

In the House of Commons, on 22 June, 1835, it was ordered that a Select Committee be appointed

to examine into the State, Funds, and Management of the Diocesan, Royal, and other schools of public foundation in Ireland, as also to the system of Education pursued therein, with a view to increasing their utility, and to inquire how far it may be practicable and expedient, and in what Manner, and from what Resources, to improve, extend, and permanently maintain Academical Education in that Country, and to Report their opinion to the House.¹

It is worth noting here the coincidence of intent between these terms of reference and those of the S.I.C. in 1864, and also the basic presupposition common to both and uttered by Wyse in his comment upon using the tools to hand rather than devising completely new institutions. But by whatever principles the 1835 terms of reference were fashioned, the Report of the Select Committee, published on 9 August, 1838, was drawn up "by the Chairman, Mr. Wyse, alone", according to Winifrede Wyse.² The credentials of the other members of the Committee do not deserve detailed description; but Sir Charles Lemon, Bart., F.R.S., LL.D., Sir Robert Ferguson, Mr. Smith O'Brien, and Mr. (later Sir) Lowther Chapman, were all current members of the Central Society of Education. (Smith O'Brien, educated at Harrow and Trinity, Cambridge, was later to distinguish himself in another field : having organised an armed attack on

1. Quoted in J.J. Auchmuty, *op.cit.*, 92.

2. W.M. Wyse, Notes, 51.

Balingarry Police Station in 1849, he was found guilty of treason and transported to Tasmania on a commuted sentence.)¹

The 1838 Report contains a considerably detailed analysis of the system of middle-class schooling in Ireland, and a stridently critical account of the condition of the schools. Wyse first of all proposed the establishment of a new Board of National Education, with wider powers embracing secondary and University education, as well as elementary schooling. His advice on the constitution and powers of the Board ought to have been heeded by the draughtsmen of the 1869 Endowed Schools Act, for he said that the Board should not trespass upon "the liberties or conscience of the community", and that "it should be secured a sufficient degree of power and independence on one side, and be subject to adequate checks and responsibility on the other."²

The section on elementary education relied heavily upon the quoted example of de Fellenberg's school at Hofwyl, and the schools of his imitators in Ealing and Hackney Wick in London, and at Southam in Warwickshire. The evidence proving the significance of de Fellenberg's work was supplied at some length by Baldwin Francis Duppa, the Secretary of the Central Society, editor of its publications, and de Fellenberg's chief apologist in England.³ Duppa, with Dr. James Bryce of Belfast Academy, another voluble witness, was the chief proponent of the notion of 'mixed' religious schooling which figures prominently in the Report. The idea that "Professorships and Courses of the art and science of teaching" should be

1. Frederick Boase, *op.cit.*,

2. Select Committee, 1838, 21.

3. *ibid.*, 34-36. For further references to the significance of de Fellenberg see Chapter II of this thesis,

annexed to the Universities was derived from a proposal of Dr. Bryce; but the Committee came down in favour of Normal Schools for training teachers.¹

On the subject of gratuitous education, the Report came close to adopting a rather patronising opinion which conformed to what was becoming a conventional, though largely unsubstantiated, view of the subject. In general, it was found, "there is no desire on the part of the classes to whom such education would be most applicable to avail themselves of the privilege. They conceive it sets a mark of pauperism upon the applicant." These sorts of opinions were to be repeated in evidence later to the Taunton Commission and the Newcastle Commission, in an equally vague way. Wyse did admit that another current notion, that the schools were meant to be for the sons of gentlemen, was a misapprehension.²

In making general recommendations the Committee first drew attention to the vast amount of Government money being spent on Irish elementary education. They were of the opinion that the same sort of encouragement should be extended to the promotion of middle-class schooling. Revealing their belief in education as social engineering, which was a consistent theme in Wyse's thinking, they said, "To a well-educated middle order, the State must be mainly indebted for its intellectual and moral progress. Such a class is especially desirable at the present time in Ireland." Ireland was not, of course unique in enjoying the balm of such recommendations, for the whole of the middle-class debate in England, from the Utilitarian statements of the 1820s up to the time of the Taunton

1. Select Committee, 1838, 40-41.

2. *ibid.*, 49.

inquiry, was peppered with such notions. The 1838 Committee thought that it was only by a judiciously conceived system of appropriate education that the Irish middle classes might "acquire and maintain that proper position in society to which they are entitled, and by means of which the community can be fully protected from the chaos of internal disorder"; for in Ireland the spectre of social and political disturbances which bedevilled thinking about English society and educational arrangements, was written on a much larger scale. The achievement of a proper middle-class system in Ireland could not come about by the voluntary principle alone; "it thus becomes the duty of the Legislature to intervene, as in the case of the education of the lower classes, in order to secure its blessings." At this point the recommendations of the Select Committee become somewhat contradictory : within the space of a few lines they recommended, firstly, that the proposed system should be in harmony with the real wants and position of "the class" for which it was intended; and, secondly that it should be "general, common to all, without distinction of class or creed". The incoherence of these propositions seems to have escaped Wyse's notice; though it is clear, from his remarks later in the Report, that the conception of a graduated system of education, with a linking scholarship ladder, was part of his overall plan.¹

One of the presuppositions of the Committee's comprehensive plan was that existing middle-class provision was not only insufficient, but that it was generally "inapplicable to their after pursuits in life". No direct evidence from the middle classes

1. *ibid.*, 64-65.

themselves was produced in support of this view, except for the vague judgement that a taste for such professionally appropriate middle-class schooling had been diffused throughout the north of the country, particularly in the region around Belfast, with its Academy, where more efficient and appropriate schooling had given "an impulse to industry".¹ Two courses were open to the Government : either leave the present schools as classical academies, and devise new institutions to serve commercial and agricultural needs; or take advantage of the present system, by extending it to provide both classical and commercial education, thus satisfying the "wants" of both the middle and the upper orders. The Committee favoured the second of these alternatives "as better suited to promote the objects of education, social harmony and economy." One is left with the impression, in the absence of an explicitly stated

1. Since both schools are mentioned in this Chapter, it is necessary to distinguish between the Belfast Academy, and the Belfast Royal Academical Institution. The Academy, according to its first Prospectus of 1786, was formed "for furnishing an extensive course of literature and philosophy combined with a system of schools for a more elementary education". Though it thrived during its first decade, it slowly declined later, largely because of negligent management. However, a new subscription list was opened at a meeting in January, 1834, and thenceforward the Academy began to thrive, under the aegis of the Bryce brothers. Dr. Reuben Bryce, before the Kildare Inquiry in the 1850s, claimed that the Academy had been "the first seminary in the British Empire". (See, Kildare Commission, Evidence, Volume I, 1857, 534). The Royal Academical Institution was founded in 1808, at the time when the Academy was passing through its least successful phase. Its first Prospectus stated, "the want of such a Seminary has long been felt in the north of Ireland, and is still demonstrated by the annual resort of Irish students to the Scotch Colleges." The new institution was designed especially for "the lower classes who are engaged in manufactures, mechanics, or agriculture." An Act of Incorporation was passed in 1810. Both Schools took a considerable proportion of Roman Catholic pupils in the 1850s.

middle-class demand for such "appropriate" education, that the desire for such a system was implicit in these blander notions proposed by a class of commercial and agricultural producers whose activities were constantly threatened by a lack of middle-class skills, on the one hand, and by the relative absence of a cushioning middle order as a safeguard against social and political disturbance, on the other.

Nevertheless, the Committee stated their objection to "any arrangement tending to divide the several classes of society"; and although they may have had in mind sectarian differences rather than purely social ones, one might conclude from this remark that Irish society was considered by the Committee as being considerably more malleable and less inclined to aggressive class-consciousness than England, about which the current orthodoxy was quieta non movere. Certainly it would be difficult to imagine English politicians prescribing, in such an open way, a socially comprehensive scheme of education, at this time, for English conditions. Perhaps the underlying argument in favour of a comprehensive system is explained by Wyse's assumption that separate systems of education for different sections of the middle and upper classes would be expensive, both immediately and in the long term.¹

In outlining his general proposals for the organisation of the middle-class part of the national system Wyse revealed again his debt to the ideas first enunciated by Dr. Doyle which he had first encountered in 1830. The Committee recommended that there should be in each county of Ireland one Academy at least, combining

1. Select Committee, 1838, 65.

classical and scientific instruction, the latter specially adapted to practical purposes; schools already in existence should be modified for this end, with additional schools where necessary. The state should guarantee in any county, should the need arise, funds for providing ground and a building; while the county should assess itself for the upkeep of the building. The powers of the State ought to be exercised through the expanded Board of Education. The State should provide the law under which the Diocesan and Royal schools would be administered, "without any material deviation from their present organisation", and the two kinds of schools should be brought together wherever necessary to establish County Academies. It should be the duty of the State, or the Board of Education, to determine what proportion of the places at the Academies were to be free. In addition it was recommended that all Acts relating to the Royal and Diocesan schools should be repealed, and that the county division should be substituted for the diocese and the district. Boarding pupils ought to be admitted; but the Master should not use any publicly provided buildings for accommodating and profiting from such pupils. The introduction of a similar proposal for England at this time might have produced some interesting reactions from Masters of endowed schools with boarding pupils.

The Committee came to a typically nineteenth-century conclusion on the matter of gratuitous education : "Free scholarships, on their present footing are objectionable". But if it were still thought necessary to give deserving poor boys the opportunity of an "academical education", the Grand Jury should be required to pay for their instruction. "The local Committee, according to the extent of the district, might select from the elementary schools

therein situated, a certain number of children, determinable by the place they held in school for the three preceding years." This would avoid patronage, and be "a strong inducement and stimulant to exertion in all the elementary schools in the district." This proposal prefigured very clearly the propositions for examination and gratuitous education as "the reward of merit" included in the Report of the S.I.C.¹ The 1838 recommendation for examination was soon to be put into effect, voluntarily, in at least one instance. The Report of the Kildare Commission, 1858, related the instance of selection for their schools along these lines by the Governors of the Incorporated Society. Since 1839, the year after the Select Committee's Report, the Society had been operating a system of selection first proposed by Rev. Elias Thackeray, instead of the former method of nominating by patronage. Candidates had to come from "primary schools" approved by the Society. The examination was a public one; "the neighbouring clergy and gentry are all invited to be present", and the pupils were given numbers so that the examiners would not know their names or places of origin.² Similar avenues of promotion, thought Wyse, should be opened from the County Academies to the County Colleges, and from the Colleges to the Universities. In order to improve the quality of the teaching, Masters should be appointed only from among those who had received an academic education and who had attended "a course of

1. S.I.C. Report, Volume I, 593-598.

2. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners...(The Kildare Report), 1858, 258.

educational lectures."¹

The Select Committee set out their recommendations for Central and Local administrative machinery in much the same way, and on the same general principles, as did the Taunton Commission thirty years later. Over the Central body they came to a very similar conclusion. In 1838 there seemed to be three choices open : reform of the 1813 Act; a newly constituted Board; or the consolidation of the existing 1813 Commissioners with the extended elementary Board already proposed by the Committee. The Committee favoured the consolidation idea, following the precedent set in Ireland by the Public Works Board, instituted with Wyse's help in 1831, which was itself the consolidation of previous boards, including those for Fisheries and Inland Navigation. Similarly the Taunton Commission favoured, ideally, a Central Authority comprising the extended Charity Commission and a more responsible Elementary Education Department.²

In the matter of the Local body, the Grand Jury seemed to the Committee to be not ideally suitable, since it did not possess a representative element. But they argued, pragmatically, that, since the Grand Jury already existed, there was no reason why the

1. Select Committee, 1838, 66-69. See also R.L. Edgeworth, Professional Education, 1809, 112 : "The advancement from one class of these (secondary) schools to another should not be left to accident, or to the choice of parents, or to the will of masters, nor yet to the recommendation or favour of the gentlemen who have established, or who patronise the schools. Advancement should be the certain consequence of knowledge and merit. Public examinations, prize exercises, in which all possibility of assistance should be precluded, ought to precede and decide the election, and an honorary medal should be the ticket of admission to the higher schools. ...Thus, without its dangers, the advantages of the Jesuits' system of education might in this respect be obtained."
2. S.I.C. Report, Volume I, 633-637.

responsibility for education should not be added to its duties. For the future, should local government in Ireland be reformed on the representative principle, then the "County Boards or County Councils" would take control of education. The existing town councils were already the natural agencies for their areas.¹

The Committee had already paid special attention to the need for agricultural and horticultural elements in elementary education. The innovations associated with Ireland in this area have already been touched upon in the foregoing chapter on agricultural education.² The first agricultural schools, at Bannow and Templemoyle, had been voluntarily provided. But in 1838 the National Board of Education had established a model farm and school for the training of elementary teachers at Glasnevin, near Dublin, and this initiative was initiated by groups of landlords in various parts of the country, assisted by grants from the National Board; so that by 1858 there were forty-two of these schools, half of them controlled by the National Board, half under private patronage. There were also a large number of "ordinary agricultural schools" which were merely National Schools with small farms attached. P.J. Dowling has written that the object of the Board was to improve agriculture in Ireland; while the immediate aim of the landlords was to train young men in modern methods of agriculture with a view to producing the efficient labourer, tenant-farmer, and bailiff.³ It can be said that the latter motive was shared by the promoters of similar plans and experiments under the Bath and West Society, and

1. Select Committee, 1838, 70.

2. See above, Chapter II, 77.

3. P.J. Dowling, op.cit., 128-129.

at Cirencester, in England, for related social and economic reasons.

At about the same time as the National Board was opening its school at Glasnevin, Wyse was proposing on behalf of the 1838 Committee that a higher tier of similar Agricultural Schools should be founded in order to provide "an educated class of farming bailiffs", since this was "one of the greatest wants felt in Ireland." The deficiency was currently supplied by bringing over well-qualified persons from Scotland. Wyse said that Farmers were suspicious of the improvements made by gentlemen as being too expensive, but that they would be ready to try any experiment which they saw succeeding "for one of their own class". As evidence for the probably success of Agricultural Colleges, he pointed to the undoubted success of the Templemoyle project which had been due to the exertions of several county gentlemen, and the financial support of several City of London Companies with estates in Ireland. The Templemoyle example reinvoked the influence of de Fellenberg, since Wyse pointed out that the experiment there had at first been connected with another school for the upper classes nearby at Fallowlee, "on the plan of the de Fellenberg schools at Hofwyl." Wyse was not put out of countenance, however, by the temporary failure of the Fallowlee project. When the Fallowlee schools had been flourishing, the pupils of the lower school at Templemoyle had been allowed to attend their lectures on higher farming subjects.¹ Wyse thought that there should be an Agricultural School or Academy attached to each County Academy. Technical Schools, along the lines

1. For the Bath and West Society's, and others', similar proposals, see above Chapter II, 77.

of the realschulen or the Edinburgh School of Art, should be similarly placed in relation to schools in the larger towns.¹

Above and associated with these County Academies there should be Provincial Colleges, also meeting the needs of the middle classes, and intermediate between the Academy and the University. The Belfast Academical Institution provided the closest existing model for a Provincial College. The Colleges would prepare pupils, not only for the Universities, but for a broad range of professional careers, "thus obviating the necessity of recurring at great expense and inconvenience to other countries, for a class of instruction which it would be desirable Irishmen should have an opportunity of procuring at home."²

On the publication of the 1838 Report the Scotsman declared it to be so clear that no future inquiry would be necessary, and that it would be a document to refer to in future times.³ The Report of the S.I.C. met with similar and almost universal acclaim, only to stir up controversy later. Inspired by Doyle's pamphlet, Wyse had produced a document characterised by great vision and by a clear and passionate conception of Ireland's educational needs and the possibilities for progress. Apart from the consideration of Doyle's proposals, one might speculate upon the kinds of insights into the centralised French Academy system which Wyse might have acquired by association with his wife, Napoleon's niece. But here speculation enters the realm of fantasy.

The fact is that Wyse had elaborated upon Doyle's brief propositions and produced, firstly, a plan involving national schools

1. Select Committee, 1838, 73-75.

2. *ibid.*, 75-77.

3. Quoted in W.M. Wyse, Notes, 52.

organised in a graduated series. He conceived of every parish with its elementary school. These would then be linked, by a loosely structured examination system, to provincial academies, or middle-class secondary schools, in each county; the middle-class schools in turn, would provide exhibitions for entry into higher education. The most remarkable feature of the Report is that, in the 1830s, it seemed a realistic proposition that the most backward area of the United Kingdom, according to a number of criteria, should be the place most suited to the development of a comprehensive system of education, extending from the elementary schools to the University, and that this system did not have to be constructed from scratch. Despite his criticisms of the work already accomplished by the Board of Education, Wyse admitted that even in 1838 it controlled 1,200 schools in Ireland; and so it could be argued that the lowest tier of his educational edifice was a fair way towards completion. As he had said in 1837, Ireland already possessed "an organised and regular system".¹ For the remainder of his educational career Wyse turned his attention to building the uppermost tier of the system.

One of the immediate consequences of the Select Committee's Report was the formation of a committee, in September, 1838, for the purpose of establishing a University of Southern Ireland, the proposed general location bearing some relevance to the Report's favourable comments about provisions in the north around Belfast. A meeting on

1. See above, 218. It is only fair, at this point, to note D.H. Akenson's comment on the 1838 Committee : he said it was "impressive both for its vision and for its impracticality". (Akenson, op.cit., 135.) Similar retrospective remarks might be made about the recommendations of the S.I.C.

the subject was convened at Cork on 15 November, presided over by the Earl of Listowel. Ten resolutions were passed relating to higher and professional education, proposed by the Mayor of Cork and "a number of Catholic and Protestant gentlemen". A petition was got up for presentation to Lord Melbourne in the Lords; Wyse presented a similar petition in the Commons. He thought the meeting was one of the most imposing he had seen in Ireland, in point of "respectability" as well as numbers. "It is a new thing in this country", he wrote later, "to see enthusiasm for a purely intellectual question". All shades of opinion were represented. For the time being, however, nothing came of the meeting or its petitions.¹

In 1844 Peel saved the dilapidated Maynooth Seminary with a grant of £30,000 for its rebuilding. Wyse was responsible, according to his niece, for securing the services of Augustus Welby Pugin, then at the height of his reputation, to design the new buildings.² Perhaps encouraged by Peel's political generosity, Wyse made a speech in the Commons, in July, on the Irish University. Peel replied,

I am sure I shall state what is in conformity with the feelings of hon. Members on this side as well as with the general feelings of the House, when I state that I think no Member of this House is better entitled to take up this subject than the Hon. Gentleman; I must also say that the Hon. Gentleman has another qualification besides that of experience on this subject - he has the high qualification of discussing with temper and with moderation which ensures, amidst all the animosities which may divide us, an impartial and favourable consideration of anything he proposes.³

1. W.M. Wyse, Notes, 52-60.

2. *ibid.*, 55.

3. Hansard, Series III, LXXVI, June-September 1844, 1129.

Although Irish hopes may have been raised by this eulogy, and the grant to Maynooth which preceded it, there must have been considerable astonishment when, on 19 May, 1845, Sir James Graham rose to bring a Bill for the establishment of royal colleges for the advancement of learning in Ireland.¹ This was essentially a Bill which would create Provincial Colleges - under the name of Queen's Colleges - proposed by the 1838 Committee. Replying to Graham, Wyse thanked the Government for the measure, and said that it was well known that the Irish middle classes were not as anxious for scientific and literary knowledge as it was desirable they should be; and he regarded it as a great boon that colleges might now be created which would help to remove sectarian prejudice from the country. He rejoiced at "the near approach of that time when Ireland might hope to be regenerated by improved intelligence, morality and education, rather than by force and violence."

The presentation of the Bill caught the Irish Catholics unawares. But the parties soon aligned themselves, Dr. MacHale, along with O'Connell, calling the measure "Godless". The majority of the laity approved of the Bill, though the Bishops wished to go further than Wyse in the number of Catholics to be appointed to professorships. The Government, once the Bill became law, constantly consulted Wyse over the nomination of staff for the institutions. Despite MacHale's enlistment of papal support for his anti-Queen's Colleges campaign (he travelled to Rome in 1845 in order to bring about a rescript of an earlier favourable encyclical, approved by the other Irish Bishops),

1. Hansard, III, LXXX, May-June 1845, 345

the Catholic laity and Young Ireland in particular, continued to support the proposed new institutions. According to Duffy, then editor of the Nation, "the middle classes in Dublin and Cork hailed it (the Bill) with rapture."¹ Wyse himself, however, became judiciously silent after the papal rescript arranged by MacHale; and he was defeated, on the reluctant advice of the Catholic Bishops, in the 1847 General Election. His career then moved into another diplomatic dimension when he became English Minister at Athens.² Nevertheless, despite the comparative failure of the Queen's Colleges, largely the result of Catholic opposition to them as infidel institutions, Wyse could claim the achievement of a fair measure of his original aims, by the time of his retirement.

He was aware of the failure of his hope of seeing the creation of middle-class county schools, and he wrote to the Committee at Cork in August, 1845,

In secondary education our progress has as yet been inconsiderable, or more properly speaking, we have only just begun. There is a hiatus of some extent between the proposed Model Schools (promised by Peel's Government as upper elementary schools) and the proposed Collegés yet to be filled up.³

Welsh educationalists in the 1860s and 1870s were to call a similar "hiatus" in their own system of education "the missing link"; and it was to the Irish Queen's Colleges that Hugh Owen looked for his model of a federated Welsh University before he gave evidence to the Aberdare Committee on higher and intermediate education in Wales, in 1880.⁴

1. Quoted in W.M. Wyse, Notes, 98.

2. W.M. Wyse, Notes, 102.

3. Quoted in W.M. Wyse, Notes, 90.

4. See, D.Lewis Lloyd, The Missing Link in Education in Wales, Bangor, 1876; for Hugh Owen, and the influence of the Queen's Colleges upon Wales, see, Report of the Committee appointed to Inquire into the condition of Higher Education in Wales, (The Aberdare Report) 1881, Vol.II, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix I, 865.

The question which inevitably asks itself is : why was the work of Wyse never a frequent point of reference during the classic period of the debate on middle-class education in England during the period of the 1850s and 1860s ? The answer may lie, not so much in his Irishness as in two other directions. Firstly, in relation to Irish affairs, he was, after his political eclipse, over the rescript at the 1847 Election, an outsider - a temporiser for the Catholics, and a problematical figure for Irish Protestants to invoke, if they held out the hope of circumventing sectarian difficulties. Secondly, in the context of the English middle-class debate, it could be argued that, as an exponent of solutions to the Irish educational problem, he had apparently little to offer towards English experience. But, perhaps more significantly, Wyse's 'comprehensive' plan of an open system with graduated means of preferment sat rather uneasily upon the more distinctly etched English notions of a stratified system - the notions of clearly separated social systems of education which were the stock-in-trade of contributors to the debates of the Social Science Association.

The extensive 1858 Report of the Kildare Commission mentions Wyse only once by name, with a brief historical sketch of the work of the 1838 Select Committee.¹ But the Kildare inquiry itself was the direct result of two aspects of Wyse's work : it was an attempt to understand the relative failure of the Queen's Colleges - whose creation was among Wyse's real achievements - to attract suitably qualified students; and the correlative motive for the Commission

1. Kildare Report, 1858, Vol.I, 21, 23.

was the failure of the middle-class school system - which Wyse had criticised and proposed to reform - to provide appropriate middle-class education for the lives which pupils were destined to live. The Commission was initiated as an immediate consequence of a petition presented to the Commons by a group of Irish M.P.s, and was issued on 14 November, 1856. Its members were the Marquis of Kildare, Dr. Charles Graves,¹ and three lawyers, Robert Andrews, H.G. Hughes, and Archibald Stephens. The Commissioners, or the Lord Lieutenant, could appoint up to four assistants to aid them in their inquiries.²

It has already been suggested that the Taunton Commission owed at least a part of the formulation of its terms of reference to the precedent of the Kildare Commission.³ But there is circumstantial evidence to support the belief that the two Commissions were linked in another equally important way : by the mode of their investigations. The Kildare Assistant Commissioners set out to inspect all forty-six of the Irish grammar schools⁴; their S.I.C. counterparts, though the first inspectorial forays were limited to selected regions, later extended their inquiries to cover all the endowed grammar schools of England and Wales, excepting only the Great Schools.⁵

The Kildare Commission's recommendations hardly constitute a significant advance upon the work of the 1838 Select Committee. But the 1858 Report placed more explicit emphasis upon the role of

1. See above, this Chapter,
2. Kildare Report, Volume I, 1858, ix, xi.
3. See above, this Chapter,
4. Kildare Report, Vol. I, 1858, 257.
5. The Times, 26 March, 1866, contains a brief report on the extension of the scope of the inquiry, and the appointment of additional Assistant Commissioners.

the endowed schools as distinctively middle-class institutions. They said that the Irish Board of Education was moving towards the completion of an efficient elementary system; and that the middle class was, however, in terms of educational provision for their children still comparatively impoverished. The Commissioners thought that the "grammar schools" of Ireland had been founded "mainly for the benefit of persons in the middle rank of society, to provide an education suited to the wants of persons of that class." The schools had been designed for the sons of the farmer, the artisan, the shopkeeper, to qualify him "intelligently to carry on the business of his father's calling." The schools ought also to provide an education for the sons of merchants and manufacturers and "the landed gentry", which would enable them to proceed to the University and the learned professions, though it was no longer the case that the middle and the upper classes mingled together in the schools. The current restriction of the work of many of the better grammar schools to the teaching of the classical subjects had the effect of partially excluding the majority of middle-class pupils, who looked forward to a commercial, rather than an academic, career. There was a corresponding inclination on the part of schoolmasters to discourage the attendance of "those whom their more wealthy patrons would wish to see excluded." In short, "it becomes the interest of every master to make his school select." The schools were under-used, and the Commissioners said that there were only 506 boarders and 1,091 day scholars, with only 161 free scholars. Since the annual value of the endowments was £12,360, the annual cost of providing free education in the grammar schools was £76 per pupil. The large endowments attached to the

Royal schools were principally spent upon "improving and cheapening the education of the boarders." The Commissioners did not, however, wish to banish pupils of a higher class from the schools, nor to discontinue efficient classical education. They wished only to extend education generally among the middle classes by means of the existing schools. They thought that some form of gratuitous education should remain, but only as "the reward of merit", a phrase which was later to reverberate through the work of the S.I.C. and the Endowed Schools Commissioners. They noted the case of the Incorporated Society, mentioned above,¹ and quoted the example of free scholarships of £20 which had been established at the Royal School, Enniskillen.²

The Report proposed a system of annual inspection for all the endowed schools, and a guarantee that all masters should be properly trained and adequately paid. Masters should not hold other appointments. Greater use should be made of small endowments, and close attention given to the financial management of the schools' estates. In addition, they recommended that there should be "a clear definition and public announcement of the qualifications and rights of pupils to free admission." The schools' courses of instruction should be organised so that they might be open to pupils of a variety of religious persuasions. This implied that day schools would be more useful than boarding institutions; therefore, trustees should be empowered to discontinue boarding departments. Ex officio trustees who were absent for long periods should appoint deputies to act for them.³

1. See this Chapter, 132.

2. Kildare Report, Vol.I, 1858, 256-259.

3. *ibid.*, 267-26

Since it has already been suggested that, in general terms, the endowed schools of England and Ireland had deficiencies in common, it is hardly surprising that the Kildare Commission should make recommendations which were to be repeated by the S.I.C. Nevertheless the references made earlier to Harriet Martineau's articles¹ have established one feature shared by the two Reports, and another point of difference. People who mattered in Ireland and England in the 1850s and 1860s, were concentrating particular attention upon a specific group within the middle classes : the sons of farmers, tradesmen and artisans. The children of the wealthier, professional middle class were of secondary importance in the current debate. Secondly, despite fears about social stability which were common to both communities - usually expressed in terms of the lower orders' educational advantages over the middle classes - in Ireland, before and after the Famine, there was a particular concern for the need to extend, even create parts of, a middle class, or to make sure that those who could be designated 'middle class' enjoyed a secure social position; and behind this idea lay the implicit need to strengthen that middle class economically by means of a kind of schooling more appropriate to their future careers, as well as to their social standing. In this latter sense there were gross differences between the concept of middle-class educational needs in Ireland and a parallel concept in England. But even here there were elements of similarity, since in England, too, particularly after Repeal, as has been suggested in the discussion of schooling for the agricultural community, the need to reinforce the rural middle class was felt

1. See this Chapter, 134 ff.

very strongly.¹

The epilogue to this discussion of Irish precedents for the reform of middle-class education in England contains a further connection between ideas and practice in the two countries. In 1861 the Social Science Association held its annual meeting in Dublin. The Presidential Address was delivered by Lord Brougham who praised the greatly improved quality of the products of Irish elementary schools, who were now able to take "the places of foremen in the manufactories." But he also drew attention to "the greater number of Irishmen educated at the Colleges being successful candidates for Indian Civil Service appointments"; indeed, it appeared that Irishmen had made severe inroads into the former virtual Scottish monopoly in this field.² But Shaw-Lefevre, in his address to the Education Department of the Association at Dublin, gave qualified praise to Ireland in this respect, while admitting that she had gained "more than her proportional share" of Indian Civil Service entrants. He pointed out that most of the successful candidates seemed to have come from Trinity College, Dublin, though in many cases they had already given proof of their ability "by obtaining scholarships, prizes and other honourable marks of university and college distinction". He also claimed for Ireland that London University external examinations had been based upon similar examinations at the University of Dublin.³

1. See above Chapter II.

2. National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Transactions of the Annual Meeting at Dublin, London, 1868, 11.

3. *ibid.*, 51, 59.

It might have been expected that Dr. Graves would have presented a paper of special significance in the field of middle-class education, not merely because of his membership of the Kildare Commission, but in the light of his earlier remarks upon the anticipated effects of the English Civil Service examinations in Ireland, delivered to the Government in 1856.¹ In fact he spoke on the subject of "whether the System of Competitive Examinations gives an undue Advantage to persons of an inferior Physical Development". Most of the evidence for his argument against this proposition hinged upon an examination of academic performance of members of the Trinity College first and second Cricket elevens; Lord Lyttleton would certainly have enjoyed his paper, but it is not clear whether anyone else would have paid much attention to it.²

The Rev. John Hall was the only speaker to contribute a paper on "Intermediate Education". He argued strongly in favour of Government aid for middle-class schooling, though "local effort should be stimulated, not superceded", and a middle-class system should be separate from that organised by the National Board.³ There was a lively discussion on his paper, in which the Rev. Mr. M'Ilwaine expressed the contrary view, saying that public funds were now "macadamizing the road to knowledge" in a most reprehensible way. M'Ilwaine thought no one had the right to require that the State should subsidise the education of his children. The higher branches of education were "marketable materials", and the poor man might as well ask to be set up in materials of trade as demand to be

1. See below, Chapter VII.

2. Social Science Association Transactions, Dublin, 1861, 264-266. Lord Lyttelton founded Worcestershire County Cricket Club, and was father to eleven children, by his first marriage.

3. Social Science Association Transactions, 1861, 268, 270.

supplied with education for his children. Hall replied, as Wyse had done much earlier, that the answer to the free trade principle in schooling was that it was not educating the people.¹

It is difficult to prove in what specific ways Irish experience of the discussion of middle-class schooling influenced the debate in England. But it is certainly possible to indicate points of contingency between suggestions for reform in the two countries; and it is true that Ireland, as an area for colonial experiments and proposals of various kinds, led the way, in the sense that Irishmen and Englishmen, driven to proposing remedies for more obviously desperate Irish problems, were less inhibited in their recommendations for Ireland; and that these remedial suggestions were postulated for a subject people, rather than for sturdy native Englishmen.

However, the fact that much was proposed for Ireland did not ensure that much was done. A further Royal Commission on education in Ireland in 1870 under the Earl of Powis put forward elaborate ideas for 'higher tops' in the National Schools, where Latin and French might be taught. The Commission repeated earlier proposals for scholarships by competitive examination, to be held at higher schools.² The long-awaited result of the Powis recommendations was the Irish Intermediate Education Act of 1878, which effectively introduced a system of payment by results for secondary education in Ireland. A Board of Commissioners for Intermediate Education was set up which controlled annual public examinations for secondary

1. *ibid.*, 366, 368.

2. See, P.J. Dowling, *op.cit.*, 131-133.

schools in subjects including Latin, Greek, modern languages, History and Mathematics. A limited number of scholarships were to be granted to pupils of exceptional ability. Before this, in 1860, the Queen's University had started a system of middle-class examinations based upon the model of the Oxford and Cambridge 'locals'. Since Irish schools continued to enjoy the fruits of grants from the Science and Art Department, and success in the Civil Service examinations, it can be argued that, until the passing of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act in 1889, no other part of the United Kingdom was as well blessed with stimulants to progress in secondary education.¹

The sequence of educational proposals and practices in Ireland between 1788 and 1858 comprise an important epoch in the history of middle-class education in Great Britain. Ireland was not so much a theatre for debate about middle-class education as an area for which remedies could be suggested without inhibition, since they applied to a social system whose governors were invariably on the brink of despair. In outline Irish middle-class education had problems and weaknesses in common with its neighbours in England : outmoded, often corrupt, endowments which nevertheless dominated thinking about a possible future framework of reform; sectarian strife and intolerance; an archaic curriculum; an unrepresentative system of local government; inexpedient and expensive laws of charitable uses. The dissimilarities were more deeply rooted in the different textures of the two communities.

1. *ibid.*, 133-134.

In Ireland, the need - or, rather, the need felt by Anglo-Irishmen who mattered - was to create, rather than reinforce, the middle-class structure of society. The economic inertia of southern Ireland had no parallel in England. The notion of the Two Nations had much more than a metaphorical meaning for Ireland. Proposals for reform were treated by the officers and supporters of a popular indigenous Church as alien impositions; and even the apparent deliverer, the Catholic apostle of tolerance and compromise, Wyse, was eventually driven into the wilderness. The visit of the Social Science Association in 1861 only served to disguise the dissimilarities.

Yet the parallels, such as they are, remain remarkable, as were the anticipations of English schemes. As early as 1788 a supervising authority specifically for endowed schools was being officially suggested for Ireland; by 1813 the country had a permanent statutory Commission for dealing with endowed school reform which, in a limited way, began to co-operate with 'local authorities' in the form of Grand Juries; a Select Committee in 1838 prepared a blueprint for a complete system of national education in Ireland, and, by the late 1840s the country had gained an elementary system and a series of middle-class institutions for higher education.

If only because of these achievements and experiments Ireland became a touchstone for the solution of English educational problems and was a source of promising ideas and of despair for those who were announcing propositions in the middle-class education debate. There was the continuing hope that Irish experiments might prove that a paternalist-collectivist alliance of aristocrats and intellectuals might succeed in promoting a system of education

suitable for and acceptable to those in the middle ranks of society in England.

Writing recently of early nineteenth-century Ireland, Oliver MacDonagh has asserted that, whereas after the 1707 Act of Union Scotland remained sui generis in many respects, Ireland was by then another England, legally and governmentally. This feature, reinforced by the 1801 Act, he says, is what makes Irish developments particularly relevant to the study of English government in the nineteenth century : they were readily transferrable to the parent system; "and where they were not so transferred, they raised challenging and penetrating questions."¹ He points to the collectivisation of the Irish health service - in the early nineteenth century probably the most advanced in Europe, - and to other collectivist features like fisheries, drainage and prison administration, as forerunners of similar, later developments in England.² Although he does not mention Irish education, the experiments and principles of reform which have been described in this Chapter suggest that the collectivist tendencies in Irish educational administration provided both models for possible imitation and serious points for discussion in England.

1. Oliver MacDonagh, *Early Victorian Government, 1830 to 1870*, London, 1977, 179.
2. *ibid.*, 184-187.

Chapter V

'What in the name of all that is wonderful, Mr. Bluenose,' said the Reverend Dr. Folliott, as he walked out of the inn, 'what in the name of all that is wonderful, can those fellows mean ? They have come here in a chaise and four, to make a fuss about a pound per annum, which, after all, they leave as it was. I wonder who pays them for their trouble, and how much ?'

Thomas Love Peacock, Crotchet Castle, 1891 edition.

Dr. Folliott's incredulous comment upon the visit of the first Charity Commissioners to his village was surely echoed across the country, in reality, by harassed trustees of charities large and small during the the 1820s and 1830s. It is remarkable that, during a period in which the Tory party largely dominated English political life, a temporary commission should have been allowed to spend £250,000 out of public funds upon a comprehensive investigation of another species of public funds.¹ The Brougham Inquiry, between 1818 and 1837, helped to create a climate of opinion about educational charities and their potential usefulness. Certainly it is difficult to accept Archer's judgement that the Commission is "important chiefly to those interested in educational law",² for the Commissioners were instrumental in creating public attitudes to educational endowments by revealing in great detail the extent and amount of public funds, thus indirectly fostering a number of important schemes which culminated in the S.I.C.'s concentration of attention upon the resources for middle-class education which were available from charitable trusts. Reinforced at various times by the support of such diverse Tory figures as Castlereagh and Peel, the Brougham inquiries established themselves as efficient means of finding detailed information, with some conventional exceptions.³

1. Statement of Expenses incurred by the Commissioners, Treasury Return, 1846, XXV, 279.

2. R.L.Archer, op. cit., 152, footnote.

3. The Commissioners were barred from the two Universities, and from Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Westminster, Rugby, Charterhouse, and, later, Shrewsbury; these exceptions prepared the ground for three of the mid-century Commissions on education.

Yet it is hardly surprising that, in an age when men who mattered were aware of the increasing erosion by government of the principle of laissez-faire, Daniel Whittle Harvey, M.P., newspaper proprietor and proponent of economy and efficiency, fearing that the Commission might become permanent, petitioned successfully for a Select Committee to examine its work up to 1835.¹ Harvey himself was chairman, and the committee was a powerful one, with Peel, Russell, and Joseph Hume among its members. They succeeded in promoting Harvey's original aim : to terminate as soon as possible the work of the Brougham Commissioners. But, aware perhaps of the efficiency of the new Poor Law Commission, and anticipating the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Commission, Harvey and his colleagues proposed the creation of a skeletal Charity Commission of three members to supervise the sale and financial management of charity property.² The fact that this proposal, hardly revolutionary in the context of the Whig administrations of the 1830s, and sponsored by a small group of such eminent politicians, had to wait twenty years for its enactment, is evidence of the tenacity with which the Dr. Folliotts of local vested interests and, more significantly, the monolithic Corporation and Companies of the City of London, fought against the introduction of permanent investigative powers by the Government.

There were precedents for the work of the Brougham Commissions. One of the earlier inquiries, which had produced the Gilbert Returns after 1787, had helped to arouse a more general interest

1. Report of the Select Committee on Public Charities, 1835.

2. *ibid.*, viii-ix.

in the investigation of charities, and had shown that there were often numerous anomalies in their local administration. The Gilbert Returns were not finally completed till 1803, and were reprinted in 1816, providing in that year the immediate stimulus for a new round of more accurate inquiries.¹ Only a little less pertinent to the promotion of inquiry was the sequence of events in Ireland between 1788 and 1813 which led to the creation of a permanent and powerful Charity Commission in that part of Britain in the latter year.² The chief aim of the promoters of the Gilbert and Brougham inquiries was limited in scope : it was to record some of the worst abuses of charity administration. In accordance with this aim the Charities Procedure Act and the Charitable Donations Act, which required the central registration of all existing charities, were passed in 1812; but neither Act was in any significant sense effectual, the first perpetuating the use of Chancery as the sole and cumbersome means of reform, the second doing nothing to enforce registration effectively.³

The Brougham Inquiry had been immediately preceded by the independent investigations of Nicholas Carlile, whose findings were published in 1818.⁴ His inquiry could hardly be called systematic; but despite its failings it provided some detailed descriptions of the subjects taught, and created the only broad context for the growing debate about the inadequacies of the ancient curriculum in a changing society. The Reports of the

1. David Owen, *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London, 1964, 85-86. See above, ch.IV, for the Irish model for this inquiry.

2. See above, ch.IV.

3. D.Owen, *op. cit.*, 182.

4. N.Carlile, *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales...* 2 volumes, London, 1818. Carlile later worked as a commissioner for the Brougham inquiry.

Brougham Commissioners, though they often supplied a wealth of interesting detail about what was being taught in the grammar schools, were principally concerned with describing the current financial condition of educational charities and the efficiency or inadequacy of the trustees. One of their earliest reports, on the town of Bedford, illustrates this point.¹ By far the greater part of the information presented related to the number and financial condition of the local charities, with tantalising morsels of description of what took place in the schools. Their histories of mismanagement were reinforced by the reports of the Commissioners upon the State of Municipal Corporations after 1835, which etched in a considerable amount of complementary evidence relating to the general condition of local government in corporate towns.

One of the effects of the Brougham inquiries was to reveal problems which affected all educational endowments in need of reform or modification. These were the interrelated problems of, firstly, cy pres, and secondly the slowness and expense of proceedings in the Court of Chancery. Both were dealt with by Brougham himself in an Edinburgh Review article of 1823.² His attack was concentrated on Lord Eldon, the notoriously reactionary judge in the Leeds Grammar School case of 1805. Brougham considered that Eldon, whose régime as Lord Chancellor lasted for more than a quarter of a century, was a great and learned lawyer;

1. Report from the Commissioners, Charities England and Wales, Volume IX, Counties of Bedford, Devon, etc., London, 1822, 5-30.

2. Edinburgh Review, ,XXXIX, October 1823, 'Observations on the Judges of the Court of Chancery and the Practices and Delays complained of in that Court', 247-254.

But it is difficult...to deny that he more frequently gives proof of caution than of boldness, of subtlety than of vigour in his reasoning...that he confines himself too rigidly to the decision of special matters that come before him, without aiming either at the establishment of general principles and the improvement of the Science he professes, or at the correction of those vices in the constitution and administration of his court, of which he daily sees and hears too much to make it conceivable that he should be ignorant...¹

He claimed that inheritances lost "half their value" passing through the Court, and referred to "the wearisomeness and irritation of a long-protracted suit."² Mr. Williams, M.P., in the last session, had brought forward the latest in a series of motions "to inquire into the delays in the proceedings of the Court of Chancery...and the cause of it," but there had been no satisfactory consequences in terms of reform.³

An earlier article, similarly drawing attention to Chancery proceedings, had begun with a quotation from Blackstone :

Our system of remedial law resembles an old Gothic castle erected in the days of chivalry, but fitted up for a modern inhabitant — the moated ramparts, the embattled towers, and the trophied halls, are magnificent and venerable, but useless, and therefore, neglected : the inferior apartments accommodated to daily use are cheerful and commodious, though their approaches may be winding and difficult.⁴

The Scottish-Whig-Utilitarian group which maintained interest in the reform of educational endowments between 1816 and 1830 was succeeded by two other Whig-Radical pressure-groups in the 1830s, though both these groups shared personnel in common with the earlier one. The Quarterly Journal of Education in 1831 contained an article complaining about the difficulty of

1. *ibid.*, 249.

2. *ibid.*, 252.

3. *ibid.*, 253-254.

4. Edinburgh Review, LXXVI, May 1823, 'Reports of Cases argued and decided in the High Court of Chancery', 281.

revising the curricula of endowed schools.¹ This theme was developed more fully in the same journal three years later, when it was admitted that "it is more easy to point out the causes of decay, than to suggest remedies which are likely to be speedily applied."² This later article, which had been occasioned by the publication of a digest of Brougham statistics in 1832, contained an expression of the hope that the State would intervene in the management of every endowed school, "without giving itself the trouble to answer all objections that may be raised." More especially the State should cut through all the wrangling over the interpretation of the precise terms of the donor's bequest. "It was always the donor's intention", the author said, "to diffuse what was then considered useful knowledge, and it is now the business of the State to see that this object is served in the way best suited to the present times."³ The implication behind this opinion, which was flavoured heavily with S.P.U.K. thinking, was that longeurs of Chancery could be removed at a stroke by the more positively constructive action of the State. The Chairman of the Quarterly Journal's committee of management was Brougham.⁴

The second pressure-group was the Central Society for Education which published three volumes of essays in the late 1830s, each dealing with a broad range of topics, from schools in America and Europe, to statistical inquiries relating to Britain.

1. Quarterly Journal of Education, I, April-June 1831, 'Charity Schools', 279-292.

2. *ibid.*, VIII, April-October 1834, XVI, 'The Old Schools of England', 237.

3. *ibid.*, 239.

4. *ibid.*, I, January-April 1831, ii.

By far the longest article in the second volume was by George Long, an inspector of Municipal Charities and formerly a member of the committee of the Quarterly Journal. His article, on Endowments, demonstrated his debt to the Brougham Returns and to detailed reporting of Chancery cases. He went further than the Quarterly Journal and demanded the appointment of a Minister of Education with a seat in the Cabinet. In addition he required a "central authority which shall exercise superintendence over all charities."¹ He wanted charities to be released from the shackles of obsolete purposes so that their wealth might be used to create the nucleus of a national system of education. Reforms undertaken by the central authority would "substantially fulfil the general purposes which the founders contemplated."²

In the early 1840s these Utopian schemes, either for cutting through the knot of ex pte or for by-passing Chancery by means of Government action, were superceded by legislative attempts to simplify equitable jurisdiction. But it is necessary to remember that, while England and Wales moved slowly towards a partial solution of the equity problem, Ireland already had its own Commission, statutorily constituted by the Imperial Parliament, for dealing more expeditiously with educational charities.³ Fuel for the Government's advance upon the problem in England had been provided not only by the Brougham investigations, but by the inquiries before the introduction of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1834 and 1835.⁴ A further encouragement for the

1. Central Society for Education, Second Publication, London, 1838, (reprinted 1968), George Long, 'On Endowments...in England for the Purposes of Education', 95-96.

2. *ibid.*, 2.

3. see above, ch.IV, 202 ff.

4. A Return of the Charitable Funds and other Property in the Possession, Order or Disposition of each Municipal Corporation in England and Wales...4 July 1834. The section on London charities is at 339-343.

development of new legislative policies was provided by the Poor Law Commission, whose 1834 Report had been signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The Commissioners had concluded,

...if the funds now destined to the purposes of education, many of which are applied in a manner unsuited to the present wants of society, were wisely and economically employed, they would be sufficient to give all the assistance which can be prudently afforded by the State.¹

The application of the principle of the reform of equitable jurisdiction to Government policy can be traced back to Daniel Whittle Harvey's Select Committee of 1835 which had recommended establishing a permanent board to supervise the nation's endowments.² Attempts at legislation were not confined to Whig Governments. In July 1840 Sir Eardley Wilmot's Bill, soon to become known as the Grammar Schools Act, was referred to a Select Committee which included the youthful Lord Lyttelton, Lord Lyndhurst, Brougham, and the Bishop of London. Much was expected of this Act which received the Royal Assent in August 1840. Wilmot declared that the only purpose of his Bill had been "to give a remedy to trustees of grammar schools for the better application of the funds" at a cost of £30 or £50, the current expense being much greater in Chancery.³ In the Lords the Bishop of Salisbury praised the Bill on its third reading and thought that it was extremely likely "to meet with a general concurrence" because of the moderate way in which its provisions had been shaped.⁴

1. Report of His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Administration and practical Operation of the Poor Laws, London, 1834, 362.

2. See above, this chapter, 249.

3. Hansard, III Series, LII, February-March 1840, 1117.

4. *ibid.*, LV, August 1840, 451.

A cursory examination of the terms of the Grammar Schools Act might suggest that it is a document of transparent simplicity and directness, and that it should have been able to reach the roots of the problems afflicting the endowed schools. It stated that a Court of Equity, when a question came before it, could henceforward make schemes for grammar schools, extending the course of study, changing rights of admission, and amending the application of revenues. The Court might suggest substituting "useful branches of literature and science" for Latin and Greek.¹ The Act seemed also to abolish the freehold right of the Master, and, on the other hand, provided machinery for superannuating aged or infirm masters. It seemed to permit that "where several schools are in one place, and the revenue of any are insufficient they may be united"; the sting in this particular tail, however, lay in the proviso that all interested parties had to agree to the amalgamation.² Most of the recent commentators upon the Grammar Schools Act have discussed it very briefly. George Griffith, whose interest in the grammar schools in the middle decades of the century amounted to an obsession, said that "unfortunately the provisos and exemptions of that Act rendered its good clauses almost nugatory."³ It is true that Eton, Winchester, and ten other named schools, along with collegiate and cathedral schools as a class, were exempted from the application of the Act.⁴ The fundamental weakness of the Act, however, lay in Clause III which was very brief but stated that the Court was

1. Grammar Schools Act, 3 and 4 Victoria, cap.77, clause I.

2. *ibid.*, clause IX.

3. George Griffith, *Going to Markets and Grammar Schools....*, London, 1870, II, v.

4. Grammar Schools Act, clause XXIV.

not to dispense with Latin and Greek, or with the qualifications of masters, "unless revenues are insufficient." In practice this would have meant that the only schools which could have hoped to benefit by the Act had to be direly impoverished and no longer able to maintain themselves above the level of elementary schools in any case. Soon after its publication, however, inhabitants of some towns which had grammar schools in need of reform or modification seem to have overlooked Clause III. In the case of Laxton's Oundle charity, in 1843, the Attorney-General filed an information on behalf of some of the inhabitants of Oundle against the Grocers' Company, the trustees of the local school. They wished the Company to apply the whole rent of Laxton's bequest to the charitable purposes stated in his will, namely, to the upkeep of a school for the inhabitants of Oundle. Giving judgement, Lord Langdale, Master of the Rolls, said that the Grammar Schools Act could have "no application to any case whatsoever", except "where there are certain revenues appropriated to the instruction there pointed out."¹

It is the opinion of David Owen that, although it was not a primary cause of the condition of the endowed schools discovered by the Brougham Commissions, "the Eldonian strait-jacket became more irksome as the century advanced."² The more extensive implications of this historic judgement will be examined later; but even before 1840 there were periods of remission from the constricting effects of Eldon's treatment. In the 1830s, particularly during Brougham's period of office as Lord Chancellor from 1830 to 1834, a variety of judgements, based on conflicting

1. The English Reports, XLIX, Rolls Court II, London, 1905, Attorney-General versus the Grocers' Company, 939.

2. D.Owen, op. cit., 249.

principles and precedents, were given in the courts of equity. In the case of Brentwood Grammar School in 1833, the Master of the Rolls, Sir John Leach, making judgement on the informants' petition that "there was no demand for the instruction in the learned languages", said that "the school must necessarily be confined to the character of a grammar school", and thought that any radical changes would have to be embodied in an Act of Parliament.¹ Yet six months' later, in the Market Bosworth case, Leach gave permission for the course of instruction to be extended "beyond the mere literally expressed intention of the testator." But he admitted he was taking account of an earlier scheme of 1825.² On this earlier occasion Eldon had produced a judgement remarkably different from the classical precedent of the Leeds case : his remarks almost amount to an extraordinary example of Tory democracy in action. He said in 1825 that the Master should inquire how far any provision for instructing the children of the parishes of Bosworth and Cadeby would be consistent with the proper execution of the charity, as founded by the testator; and that the Master, in settling upon a scheme, should have "due regard to the result of the inquiry."³ Three years' later Eldon reverted to the classical principle in the Highgate School case which was before the courts for two years.⁴ Giving judgement in the Rugby School case in 1839 Lord Langdale demonstrated that "the principle laid down by Lord Eldon was departed from in some

1. The English Reports, XXXIX, Chancery XIX, London, 1904, 727, 731.

2. *ibid.*, 974.

3. *ibid.*, XXXVIII, Chancery XVIII, London, 1904, 678.

4. *ibid.*, 423.

recent cases " — he quoted three; but he said that it was "doubtful whether, in those cases, the Court had not extended its jurisdiction." Reinforcing Brougham's earlier point, he judged the question to be "not so much one of authority, as of jurisdiction."¹

As a pendant to the Grammar Schools Act, in 1841 Sir George Grey, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced a Bill "to afford further facilities for the Conveyance and Endowment of sites for Schools." This would have enabled educational endowments of £30 a year to have been applied more usefully to existing schools by means of schemes laid before the Privy Council. The Bill failed, but Kay-Shuttleworth thought later that, had it passed, a great number of small endowments "would have been most usefully applied to raise the standard of education."²

In the years 1844 to 1846 Lord Lyndhurst put forward three legislative proposals in the Lords. In the second of his measures, based upon the recommendations of the 1835 Select Committee, he introduced the notion of a 1% tax on charities as a means of financing the supervisory board,³ a proposition which anticipated by nearly twenty years Gladstone's Budget scheme of 1863.⁴ The 1845 Bill was defeated in the Commons. More promisingly his 1846 attempt, which would have passed the Lords, was borne down by the gale of Corn Law controversy.

1. *ibid.*, XLVIII, Rolls Court I, London, 1904, 736.

2. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education*, London, 1862, 176-177.

3. D.Owen, *op. cit.*, 199.

4. See below, this chapter, 290.

Lyndhurst's Bills were attempts to circumvent speedily the painful and expensive passage of a suit through Chancery. In the Edinburgh Review of 1846 Nassau Senior said, "The Court can give no relief. The purpose is lawful — the trust is explicit, It must be performed whatever the consequences."¹ Every matter referred to the Court had to be heard in London; all cases therefore involved the employment of four sets of expenses. If the witnesses could not travel to and stay in London, the whole evidence had to be written. What could have been the work of four or five days often lasted for as many years. These indirect negotiations encouraged the characteristic langour of Chancery proceedings.² The costs were often crippling to smaller charities. "As a general rule it may be laid down, that the instant a charity not exceeding £30 a year becomes the subject of a suit, it is gone."³ So the "prudent friends" of such a charity were often willing to countenance its continued mismanagement, rather than risk its utter annihilation by Chancery. Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst had corroborated Senior's description when he said, in presenting the 1846 Charitable Trusts Bill,

My Lords, no man of intellect, or of tolerable experience, would recommend an application to the Court of Chancery in the case of small charities. The consequence is an absolute denial of justice.⁴

Explaining the failure of each of Lyndhurst's Bills, George Griffith spoke generally of "opposition from various interested quarters" in the Commons, and particularly of the power of the

1. Edinburgh Review, 83, April 1846, N.W.Senior, 'Administration of Charitable Trusts', 475.

2. *ibid.*; see also Charles Dickens, *Bleak House*, beginning of Chapter I, for a typically atmospheric description of the Court in session.

3. Edinburgh Review, 83, April 1846, *loc. cit.*

4. Hansard, III Series, LXXXVI, 736.

City Companies.¹ In fact, on 14 May ten of the leading Livery Companies presented petitions against Lyndhurst's 1845 Bill "praying that the Charitable Trusts confided to their administration may be exempted from the operation of the Bill."² A week later three more Companies petitioned, along with the governors of St. Olave's Grammar School, Southwark.³ On 26 May there were petitions from, among others, the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London, from the Brewers' Company, and from the Merchant Venturers of Bristol.⁴ The Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen of the City of London petitioned on 5 June.

The massed battalions of the Companies and the City Corporation repelled further attempts to push forward reform in the 1840s. But in September 1849 the Queen appointed a temporary Commission "to inquire into those cases which were investigated and reported upon by the Charity Commissioners, but not certified by the Attorney-General, and to report what proceedings, if any, should be taken thereupon..."⁵ Among the Commissioners of 1849 were Earl Ducie and Lord Wharncliffe. Early in their proceedings the Commissioners decided to report upon a number of selected cases which seemed to require "immediate interference or regulation." They published a remarkable statistic: the Brougham Commissioners had reported upon 28,840 charities; of these about 400 had been certified by the Attorney-General; and about the same number had been the subjects of proceedings

1. See G. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, v.

2. Hansard, III Series, XXXVII, 245. The Companies were Goldsmiths', Mercers', Cordwainers', Tallow Chandlers', Vintners', Armorers' and Braziers', Merchant Taylors', Clothworkers', Coopers', and Haberdashers'.

3. *ibid.*, 1170-1171. Cooks', Fishmongers' and Ironmongers'. St. Olave's was later one of the eight large endowments selected for special investigation by the S.I.C.

4. *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

5. Commission on Charities, Reports of Commissioners, XX, 17.

in Chancery on the instance of relators or petitioners since 1838. Conflagration seems to have played an important role in the history of charity trusteeship : the 1849 Commissioners had a necessarily imperfect knowledge of case law between 1819 and 1838 "owing to the destruction by fire of the papers."¹ A similar misfortune was to inhibit Charity Commission proceedings over the Grocers' Laxton School in the 1880s. The knowledge received by the 1849 Commissioners confirmed the view that the abuses and evils revealed between 1819 and 1838 still existed "to a very wide extent", and that "no sufficient remedy" had yet been provided for them.² Many of the abuses were attributable to nothing more than the ignorance of trustees. A remedy might be obtained by creating "some public and permanent authority" charged with the duty of supervising the administration of all charitable trusts. They suggested that all trusts be compelled to keep accounts, and that these should be audited "by some local authority."³ The permanent central authority should have the power to institute proceedings in cases in such a way as Parliament should think fit. There might be also local courts to deal summarily with minor abuses. Their local-central, two-tier system was hardly a new suggestion, but it did anticipate the kind of proposal made by the S.I.C. in 1867. They also foreshadowed Gladstone's 1863 plans for taxing charities by indicating that a penny in the pound levy on charities with incomes of £10 a year or less would produce an annual income of £5,000,

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. *ibid.*, 18.

3. cf. George Griffith's proposals for the supervision of endowments : see below, ch.VIII, 389. There are marked similarities.

out of which a central board might be maintained.¹ According to Kay-Shuttleworth there were 17,972 charities with endowments producing less than £10 a year.² In their Second Report, for 1851, the Commissioners further proposed that changes in the law might facilitate exchanges of charity property and the consolidation of small trusts.³ In all, the charities they selected for investigation numbered less than seventy. Only one of these merits detailed comment : they found that, in the case of Holgate's Free School at York, the Master no longer taught grammar and godly learning gratuitously, but charged between £3 and £5 "depending on the circumstances of the parents" for teaching English, geography, writing and accounts.⁴ The Charitable Trusts Acts of 1853, 1855 and 1860⁵ have been considered in some detail by David Owen.⁶ The Board created under the 1853 Act consisted of three paid Commissioners — two barristers, Peter Erle and James Hill, and a clergyman, Richard Jones, who had been professor of Political Economy at King's College, London, and an academic collaborator with Karl Marx, — an unpaid Commissioner, Sir George Grey; and two paid Inspectors, one of whom was the gifted and original Thomas Hare. But the Charity Commission as it was constituted under these three Acts was a muted instrument. The 1860 Act did extend its powers beyond those of mere inquiry; but Lord Lyndhurst, moving the second reading of the 1853 Bill,

1. Commission on Charities, Reports of Commissioners(1849), XX, 19.

2. Kay-Shuttleworth, op. cit., 171.

3. Reports of the Commissioners, XXII, Second Report, February to August 1851, 322.

4. Reports of the Commissioners, XX, 1849, 26. See below, Ch.III, 165 ff., for other schools of this type with a sliding scale of fees.

5. 16 and 17 Victoria c.137; 18 and 19 Victoria c.124; 23 and 24 Victoria c.136.

6. D.Owen, op. cit., 202-208.

set the permanent tone of the new institution when he said that the new Commissioners would have power

...not to inquire into the administration of the charity ...but merely to call for an account; because I am satisfied of this, that if any charity has from year to year to render an account of its receipts...that will be the best and greatest security against abuse.¹

It is quite evident that Lyndhurst was putting forward a moderate, even a conservative, Bill, in order to avoid a repetition of the opposition aroused in the City of London and other similar areas of privilege by previous measures. The most extraordinary feature of his speech, however, was the open attack he mounted upon the City Companies who were, he said, "by far the greatest opponents of this measure."² He directed special attention to the abuses and perversions of which the Mercers' Company was alleged to be guilty. Lord Cottenham, speaking from the opposite side of the Chamber, expressed surprise at this anomaly in Lyndhurst's performance :

The greater part of the speech of my noble and learned friend went to show that some of the great London Companies had been guilty of very great malversation; that that fact had been duly established by the inquiries of the Commission (of 1849-1851)...My noble and learned friend does not now ask us to include, because they have abused their trusts, the Mercers' Company, or the other companies he particularised; the Bill is not to operate upon them!³

Cottenham's ironic challenge was to echo through the next sixteen years of the Charity Commission's career until, in 1869, the newly-created Endowed Schools Commission, with much sharper tools, was to make deep incisions in the plumper educational charities administered by the Livery Companies and the City of London Corporation.⁴

1. Hansard, III Series, XXXVI, 743.

2. *ibid.*, 745.

3. *ibid.*, 754.

4. See below, ch.XII.

The most succinct account of the work of the Charity Commissioners after 1853 is to be found in Chapter IV of the Report of the S.I.C.¹ This Chapter covers only thirty-six pages, a very brief span both in the context of the massive Report as a whole and in relation to the long, stumbling and contentious history of the laws relating to charitable trusts. But the comparative brevity of treatment is partly accounted for by the impressive technical advice given to the S.I.C. by its legal witnesses,² who were unanimous in their measured condemnation of the working of the existing system.

The most powerful and extraordinary evidence submitted to the S.I.C. by a legal witness took the form of an extended affidavit by Lord Westbury, who had been variously Attorney-General and Lord Chancellor.³ Westbury began by seizing the initiative, asking Lord Taunton, "Is the principal object of your inquiry the improvement of the jurisdiction over the administration of school charities, or the internal condition and administration of the grammar schools?"⁴ On receiving the reply that both of these were objects of the inquiry, he said that the subject in general was one on which he had felt much anxiety, and he proceeded to enumerate some "radical errors" in the administration of the grammar schools. Firstly he wished to see removed by statute that "erroneous conception" that the Church of England was the inheritor of all those foundations: Masters, he considered,

1. For the authorship of this chapter in the S.I.C. Report, see below, Ch.X, 549.

2. For the sequence of legal evidence, see below, ch.X, 499.

3. S.I.C., V, 797-817.

4. *ibid.*, 797.

need not be in holy orders.¹ Secondly, he wanted to re-establish the principle that almost all the grammar schools had been founded for the benefit of particular localities, and to this end he wanted to eradicate the recently introduced boarding element in many local schools.² Thirdly, he wished to see the removal by statute of Eldon's doctrine which he said confined many schools to teaching the dead languages.³ And finally he proposed that "useless" local charities should be converted to provide scholarships at local schools and at the Universities for deserving, able boys.⁴ At the end of this extensive exposition Westbury said that he was available for questioning by the Commissioners. His evidence constituted the most remarkably radical set of opinions offered to the S.I.C.

The unanimity of the legal witnesses in condemning the existing system helped the S.I.C. to formulate very briefly its criticisms of the two main agencies of charity reform. The Court of Chancery was chiefly reprehensible for its expense, which encouraged the postponement of litigation for as long as possible.⁵ Ostensibly the Court had four main powers : changing the founder's rules; specifying particular uses for a charity where only a general gift had been made; substituting a practicable use when the founder's intention had become impossible to fulfil; and redistributing charitable income which had become enormously disproportionate to the founder's original purpose.⁶ But all these matters were not simple; they involved "very nice law";

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. *ibid.*, 798.

3. *ibid.*, 798-799.

4. *ibid.*, 800.

5. S.I.C., I, 444.

6. *ibid.*, 448.

and so the tendency of the judges had been "rather to restrict than to amplify their powers in these matters."¹ With particular reference to Eldon's judgement the S.I.C. thought that it would be very difficult to suggest any means of improving the present system if those means had to conform to Eldon's principle.² The chief limitation upon the Court's jurisdiction, as the S.I.C. saw it, was that, in addition to having to wait until its powers were called into use, it considered, not the needs of the locality, or what useful purpose a school might serve, but solely what the founder had intended.³ Furthermore, the Court asked for, and was entitled to, no educational advice; and since it dealt separately with individual cases, it could not produce a homogeneous set of schemes for schools within a prescribed locality.⁴

The charity Commission, while it was "an amicable tribunal of reconciliation rather than of litigation",⁵ and while it could see and hear other than by means of written evidence, was hampered in similar ways. Like Chancery, it needed an application before it could begin to work. In the cases of charities worth more than £50 a year it could act only with the consent of a majority of the trustees; and even then a case could be sent upon appeal to Chancery, which might still involve the charity in considerable expense. The Charity Commission had no means of examining the educational work of the schools, and only very inadequate powers for commanding audits of charity accounts.⁶

1. *ibid.*, 449.

2. *ibid.*, 453.

3. *ibid.*, 463.

4. *ibid.*, 465.

5. *ibid.*, 466, quoting from the evidence of Sir W. Page Wood, S.I.C., V, 392.

6. *ibid.*, 468.

Chapter IV, despite its brevity, amounts to a very potent attack upon the existing legal machinery for the maintenance and reform of endowed grammar schools, and its conclusions constitute one of the most apparently radical elements in the S.I.C. Report. Yet the opinions expressed were by no means new, since they were repetitions of notions which had been mooted officially and unofficially during the previous half-century. More particularly in the final section of the Chapter, the Commissioners openly acknowledged a heavy debt to their predecessors on the Newcastle Commission; all their main conclusions are precise echoes of statements formerly made in the 1861 Report.¹

First of all the S.I.C. wanted, in any equity board, "the power and habit of looking with a trained eye at the schools in relation to one another."² Secondly they recommended that the requirement of an Act of Parliament for reconstituting a trust should be removed. In its place should be put an administrative rather than a legal authority : a board "capable of deciding such questions on a large view of general expediency."³ In addition the S.I.C. considered that there should be Provincial Boards, based upon the Registrar-General's divisions, and that to each of these Boards there should be attached "an officer of high ability and attainments", appointed by the Charity Commission, who would be the District Commissioner. It would be his duty to inspect all the charities for secondary education in the area, and he would be an ex officio trustee for each of the separate trusts for education above elementary. The District Commissioner should be

1. The final paragraph of Chapter IV is in fact an extensive quotation from the Report of the Newcastle Commission, I, 471.

2. S.I.C., I, 469.

3. *ibid.*, 639.

empowered to prepare general schemes for the management of all the schools in his district, and to submit these to the Charity Commission.¹

The Taunton Commissioners admitted that, on the subject of the law of charities, they could not "sum up the general argument better than in the words of the Popular Education Commissioners," particularly re-emphasising the Newcastle view that "the power of posthumous legislation exercised by a founder in framing statutes to be observed after his death is one which must in reason be limited to that period over which human foresight may be expected to extend." But there were closer similarities between the two Reports, in relation to the management of charities, than are suggested by the S.I.C.'s quotation of this earlier judgement on the 'dead hand' of the founder. The S.I.C.'s recommendation for the creation of new machinery for charity reform relied strongly upon the equally controversial but much less notorious proposals made by the Newcastle Commission on the same subject. The earlier Commission, it could be claimed, should have confined its inquiries to elementary education, considering only those charity schools which contributed to elementary provision; yet once the Newcastle Commissioners entered the field of endowments they found a trail of inquiry which led inexorably into exploring the relationship between elementary and secondary schooling.

Bearing in mind the fundamental criterion of economy, the 1861 Commissioners expressed the opinion,

that the Educational Charities possess powers of promoting education among all classes of the people which are at present undeveloped, and which better organisation, more active supervision, and greater freedom of progressive

1. *ibid.*, 639

improvement and adaptation to the changing exigencies of the times would call into action.¹

The Newcastle Commissioners, embracing cy pres and the interests of the poor in one flourish, noted that the changing circumstances of society had divorced the literary object of the founders from the charitable object, and thus had made it impossible to confine the larger charities — colleges and schools — to the indigent. But fortunately the loss of many of these charities to the poor had been counteracted by "the public and private liberality which has created and supported a great system of popular education." "Middle-class education", they thought, seemed to require special arrangements "in the interest, not only of the middle classes themselves, but of those with whom they are brought into immediate relation"; in particular, foundations originally intended to benefit the poor might be made to promote a system "whereby the most promising youths of those classes may from time to time be drafted into them." Such a system would be "an approximation to the founder's will."²

As to the Court of Chancery the 1861 Commissioners quoted Thomas Hare's remark that it was a tribunal "quite unfitted for the administration of charities."³ The Charity Commission, it was acknowledged, had done useful work during its brief existence, but they thought that the Privy Council was a more authoritative and respected body, particularly because of its association with elementary education through the H.M.I.s and because it already ratified, by Royal authority, the statutes affecting

1. Popular Education Commission, 1861, I, 456-457.

2. *ibid.*, 460.

3. *ibid.*, 477.

the great endowments of the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. The Charity Commission ought therefore to be amalgamated with the Privy Council, since, acting independently, it was "an authority less recognised and looked up to by the nation", and less powerful in dealing with local interests, than the Privy Council. Also, unlike the Education Department of the Privy Council, it was not constituted as a body specially equipped to deal with educational questions. Such an amalgamation of the two departments would also produce "a saving of expense"; and the Privy Council already possessed experienced Inspectors whose action "might easily be made to embrace...the endowed schools."¹

In the matter of small, currently useless endowments the Newcastle Commissioners thought that the extended Privy Council department ought to have the power to consolidate two or more of these endowments, or to annex them for the use of a National or other public school. It might also be desirable that they should have the power to change the sites of schools, where necessary, and to reorganise the boards of trustees.² They proceeded to the conclusion that the new department's suggested powers would make possible the creation of "a graduated system" of endowed schools connected with "other places of popular education."³ This graduated system would become possible on a large scale only if a new expanded central authority were to be instituted. The Commissioners mentioned that isolated experiments in the integration of various grades of schooling had proved successful, as at King Edward's, Birmingham, and Loughborough, each of which

1. *ibid.*, 475.

2. *ibid.*, 511.

3. *ibid.*, 475.

possessed a series of classical, English and elementary schools.¹ But such a system would become general only by the action of a powerful central authority.

The complement to this new central authority would be a system of local county and borough boards. They admitted that the vision of local administrators was usually limited to their own school, and that it did not extend to "any comprehensive scheme of improvement for endowed schools throughout the country." Even less did it extend "to anything like a graduated connection of school with school for the purpose of drafting promising pupils from a lower place of education to a higher."² The local authorities they proposed were therefore expected to take over the administration of endowed schools only after the initial work of reform had been accomplished by the central authority, that is, by the Privy Council. This qualification of the principle of local boards was a remarkable anticipation, not of the S.I.C. recommendations, but of the more cautious creation in 1869 of the triumvirate of the Endowed Schools Commission working in the absence of the Provincial Authorities which the S.I.C. had wished to bring into being as local agencies of reform.

Historians have identified the Taunton Commission as a uniquely radical body in mid-nineteenth century Britain.³ Radical it certainly was; but hardly unique. Many of its most radical proposals — root-and-branch reform of charity law, and the creation of central and local authorities for education

1. *ibid.*, 488.

2. *ibid.*, 480-481.

3. See below, ch.X, for W.L.Burn's comments on the radical character of the S.I.C.

— had been foreshadowed, not merely in public discussion, but in the recommendations of the Newcastle Commission whose reputation for innovation has become buried under the opprobrium stimulated by the subsequent policy of Payment by Results. The emphasis placed upon educational charities by Newcastle has been understated by historians of education; yet despite the startling novelty of their proposals in this area of inquiry, their emphasis had a very pragmatic base, since a more efficient use of money bequeathed by individuals to education would produce valuable economies in the public sector.

An interesting feature of the Newcastle judgement upon the ineffectiveness of the Charity Commission is that the Commissioners received and relied heavily upon evidence from two officials of the Charity Commission, Peter Erle and Thomas Hare, who were openly critical of the limits upon their powers.¹ The Popular Education Commissioners were also able to read the strictures which the Charity Commissioners had been including in their annual reports since 1854. In their Second Report for 1855 they regretted that the Act applied no specific penalty for failing to make returns to the questionnaires which they sent to about 15,000 groups of trustees.² In the same Report they suggested that greater local co-operation might be expected if they could obtain "the services of local inspectors or agents" for acquiring more accurate information.³

1. Popular Education Commission, VI, 436-503.

2. Second Report of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales...London, 1855, 5.

3. *ibid.*, 6. See also Fifth Report...1858, 4.

Kay-Shuttleworth gave extensive evidence to Newcastle, but, strangely, hardly any of it related to the administration of charities.¹ Nevertheless the Commissioners made it clear in their Report that they were indebted to his published work on the subject, if only for the statistical information which it contained.² His suggestions for the creation of machinery for charity reform mark an important stage on the path leading up to Newcastle's more comprehensive scheme. He had proposed in 1852 that a Board of Public Charities should be created which, according to the precedent of the Education Committee, would be a department of the Privy Council. Although it would act separately from the Education Committee, the harmonious co-operation of the two would be ensured by the Lord President's general authority over them, and by his representation of them in Parliament. This new Board should have power to act without waiting upon applications from the localities concerned.³ Lyttelton in his evidence to Newcastle also favoured the acquisition by the Charity Commission of "executive powers, much larger than they now have."⁴

While the Newcastle Commissioners were interviewing their witnesses, Vice-Chancellor Page Wood gave an address to the 1859 Conference of the Social Science Association on the subject of Charitable Trusts,⁵ and suggested that this was a field in which "a general revision of the law of property is required."⁵

1. Popular Education Commission, VI, 299-325; 368-390.

2. *ibid.*, I, 509.

3. Kay-Shuttleworth, *op. cit.*, 205; 208-209.

4. Popular Education Commission, V, 284.

5. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, London, 1859, 184-192.

On the subject of cy pres he said that "it is impossible that any human sagacity can foresee the best mode of promoting, through all time, the welfare of the nation, or any less extensive section of the community."¹ He believed that all posthumous charity should be "very strictly regulated" and that "a less expensive machinery than the Court of Chancery" was desirable. Any new regulating power should ensure that endowments were made generally available "to the exigencies of the time."² It is clear, both from this proclamation of view in a public assembly, and from the evidence which Page Wood and his colleagues gave to the S.I.C. later, that there was a considerable homogeneity of professional opinion relating to the need for wholesale equity reform, especially among the officers of the courts in which the system was administered.

At the same 1859 meeting of the S.S.A., Canon Edward Girdlestone of Bristol delivered a paper on the Charity Commission which, on his initiative, had revitalised moribund charities in that City.³ Judicious consultation, he said, had helped to remove "old habits and prejudices" which "gradually gave way to a courteous representation of the solid advantages to be obtained by a different administration."⁴ Girdlestone had provided similar information at the 1856 Conference on Education, in London,⁵ and his successful enterprise was also acknowledged by the Newcastle Commissioners.⁶ In a letter to the Daily News in July

1. *ibid.*, 184.

2. *ibid.*, 189.

3. *ibid.*, 257-261. See below, ch. VI, for this paper in another context.

4. *ibid.*, 259.

5. A. Hill (ed.), *Essays on Educational Subjects*, 1857.

6. Popular Education Commission, I, 533-534.

1858 Girdlestone mentioned that his work in Bristol had been inspired by what Kay-Shuttleworth had written on the reform of charities, and suggested that "the scheme which we...have successfully carried through" might prove useful to the Newcastle Commissioners in their inquiry.¹

Despite criticisms of the ineffectiveness of the Charity Commission, its advent seems to have coincided with the beginning of a period in which trustees and other interested parties showed greater readiness to proceed with reform of local schools. Tables I to IV in the following pages demonstrate the increasing incidence of reform in six counties. The evidence is taken from the Reports of the Assistant Commissioners working for the S.I.C. It can be seen that, while a multiplicity of local factors may have come into play, there was a marked rise in the pace of reform after 1850, a fact that should be partly accounted for by the availability of the Charity Commission from 1853 onwards, and the publicisation of the possibility of reform which was associated with it. The evidence varies from county to county, and there is no uniform pattern; but Worcestershire, with seventeen grammar schools, and Staffordshire with twenty-one, each provide five instances of Charity Commission schemes after 1860. However, proof of increased activity does not mitigate the criticisms which were being made of the Commissioners in the 1860s; nor does it imply that the schemes represented any coherent attempt to bring about systematic relationships between schools in each of the counties.

1. PRO ED 27/1274, Colston's Hospital (Bristol) File, letter from Edward Girdlestone to the Daily News, 10 July 1858.

TABLES I to VI representing the incidence of reform of secondary schools in 6 counties, 1800-1867.

I. GLOUCESTERSHIRE : 26 schools were classified as being above elementary in 1866.

	1. <u>Statute</u>	2. <u>Chancery</u>	3. <u>Trustees' Rules</u>	4. <u>County Court</u>	5. <u>Ch. Comms.</u>
<u>Before 1800</u>	-	1 (Henbury)	-	-	-
<u>1800-1809</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1810-1819</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1820-1829</u>	-	1 (Tetbury)	-	-	-
<u>1830-1839</u>	-	2 (Wickwar, Chipping Sodbury)	-	-	-
<u>1840-1849</u>	-	1 (Bristol Grammar School)	-	-	-
<u>1850-1859</u>	-	3 (Cheltenham, Tewkes'y, Colston's)	-	-	-
<u>1860-1867</u>	-	1 (Bristol - amendment)	-	-	2 (Woodchester, Chipping Sodbury)

SOURCE : S.I.C., XV, West Midland Division, 19-130. C.H.Stanton's reports.

II. STAFFORDSHIRE : 26 schools were classified as being above elementary in 1866.

	1. <u>Statute</u>	2. <u>Chancery</u>	3. <u>Trustees' Rules</u>	4. <u>County Court</u>	5. <u>Charity Commissioners</u>
<u>Before 1800</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1800-1809</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1810-1819</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1820-1829</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1830-1839</u>	-	1 (Bradley)	-	-	-
<u>1840-1849</u>	-	2 (Newcastle, Kinver)	-	-	-
<u>1850-1859</u>	-	5 (Handsworth, Dillhorne, Burton, Audley, Stafford)	2 (Uttoxeter, Stone)	-	1 (Aldridge)
<u>1860-1867</u>	-	-	-	-	5 (Abbots Bromley, Kinver - revision, Tamworth - 2, Wolverhampton)

SOURCE : S.I.C., XV, West Midland Division, 365-485. T.H.Green's reports.

III. WORCESTERSHIRE : 19 schools were classified as being above elementary in 1866.

	<u>1. Statute</u>	<u>2. Chancery</u>	<u>3. Trustees' Rules</u>	<u>4. County Court</u>	<u>5. Charity Commissioners</u>
<u>Before 1800</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1800-1809</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1810-1819</u>	-	-	1 (Hanley)	-	-
<u>1820-1829</u>	-	-	1 (Martley)	-	-
<u>1830-1839</u>	-	1 (Evesham)	-	-	-
<u>1840-1849</u>	-	4 (Dudley, Hartlebury, Worcester Gr Sch Old Swinford)	-	-	-
<u>1850-1859</u>	-	4 (Bewdley, Feckenham, Hartlebury - amendment, Kidderminster.	-	-	-
<u>1860-1867</u>	-	-	1 (Stourbridge)	-	5 (Bromsgrove, Bewdley - revision, Halesowen, Hanley, King's Norton.

SOURCE : S.I.C., XV, West Midland Division, 537-628. James Bryce's reports.

IV. CHESHIRE : 25 schools were classified as being above elementary in 1866.

	<u>1. Statute</u>	<u>2. Chancery</u>	<u>3. Trustees' Rules</u>	<u>4. County Court</u>	<u>5. Charity Commissioners</u>
<u>Before 1800</u>	1 (Macclesfield)	-	-	-	-
<u>1800-1809</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1810-1819</u>	-	1 (Hargrave)	-	-	-
<u>1820-1829</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1830-1839</u>	1 (Macclesfield)	-	1 (Stockport)	-	-
<u>1840-1849</u>	1 (Sandbach)	1 (Congleton)	-	-	-
<u>1850-1859</u>	-	4 (Motttram, Macclesfield, Wallasey, Witton)	1 (Bunbury)	1 (Knutsford)	1 (Lymm)
<u>1860-1867</u>	-	-	-	1 (Stockport)	3 (Nantwich, Caldey Grange, Darnall)

SOURCE : S.I.C., XVII, North-west Division, 15-107. Mr. Wright's reports.

V. LANCASHIRE : 73 schools were classified as being above elementary in 1866.

	1. Statute	2. Chancery	3. Trustees' Rules	4. County Court	5. Charity Commissioners
<u>Before 1800</u>	1(Bolton-le-Moors)	-	-	-	-
<u>1800-1809</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1810-1819</u>	1 (Wigan)	-	-	-	-
<u>1820-1829</u>	-	3(Bretherton, Penwortham, Warrington)	1(Ashton-in-Makerfield)	-	-
<u>1830-1839</u>	-	3(Hawkshead, Manchester, Warton)	1(Clitheroe)	-	-
<u>1840-1849</u>	1(Warrington)	3(Great Crosby, Kirkham, Manchester)	-	-	-
<u>1850-1859</u>	-	3(Pilling, Warrington Over Myersdale)	2(Bolton-le-Moors, Lancaster)	-	1 (Tunstall)
<u>1860-1867</u>	-	4(Bury, Manchester, Great Marton, Standish)	1(Clitheroe)	-	2 (Hawkshead, Great Eccleston)

SOURCE : S.I.C., XVII, North-west Division, 157-456. Bryce's reports.

VI. WEST RIDING : 69 schools were classified as being above elementary in 1866.

	<u>1. Statutes</u>	<u>2. Chancery</u>	<u>3. Trustees' Rules</u>	<u>4. County Court</u>	<u>5. Charity Commissioners</u>
<u>Before 1800</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1800-1809</u>	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1810-1819</u>	-	2 (Drax, Rishworth)	1 (Ripon)	-	-
<u>1820-1829</u>	-	1 (Rishworth)	1 (Almondsbury)	-	-
<u>1830-1839</u>	-	-	2 (Barnsley, Ripon)	-	-
<u>1840-1849</u>	1 (Leeds)	5 (Bingley, Drax, Giggleswick, Roystone, Skipton)	2 (Bradford, Halifax)	-	-
<u>1850-1859</u>	1 (Bingley)	2 (Leeds, Rishworth)	2 (Almondsbury, Batley)	-	1 (Fishlake)
<u>1860-1867</u>	1 (Skipton)	5 (Fockerby, Hemsworth, Otley, Sherburn, Thorne)	3 (Batley, Doncaster, Wakefield)	-	7 (Mirfield, Saddleworth, Slaidburn, Thornhill, Worsburgh, Giggleswick - 2)

SOURCE : S.I.C., XVIII, 17-306. Fitch's reports.

Another issue which affected the status and character of the endowed schools at law was raised during the years 1859 and 1860. This was the question of conscience clauses and general eligibility for trusteeships. Lewis Dillwyn, Liberal M.P. for Swansea and, by his own estimate "a Low Churchman", first introduced a Bill dealing with the religious issue in the endowed schools in 1859. He had hardly endeared himself to Anglicans in Parliament by his promotion of a Bill to abolish Church Rates in the same year.¹ His Endowed Schools Bill was so mutilated in Committee that Dillwyn refused to own it; though the main objection to it would seem to have been that its mover was an opponent of the High Church Establishment.² Sir Hugh Cairns and C.B. Adderley proposed in February 1860 to introduce Dillwyn's amended Bill in the Commons.³ This procedure was complicated by the introduction of a similar Bill in the Lords by Lord Cranworth. The latter Bill had two objects: to enable the children of Dissenters to attend endowed schools, or, at least, those "commonly called King Edward's Schools"; and to permit Dissenters to become trustees of such schools.⁴ Cranworth described Dillwyn's original Bill as being "of a very startling character", since it proposed that no school established before the reign of Elizabeth I should be treated as an Anglican school, and that no such school should be deemed to have been founded for religious instruction, unless that object was expressly stated in the deed. It was in order to modify these propositions that he introduced his own Bill; Cairns' and Adderley's Bill was quietly dropped.⁵

1. Times, 13 July 1859.

2. Hansard, III Series, CLVI, 1860, 503.

3. *ibid.*, 686-687.

4. *ibid.*, 689.

5. *ibid.*, 699.

Cranworth's moderate Bill was designed to stabilise judgements upon a topic which had been treated in various confusing ways in the equity courts. Several "King Edward" schools had been awarded conscience clauses in recent Chancery schemes. But in the case of Chelmsford School in 1855, Vice-Chancellor Page Wood had doubted his authority to grant the Attorney-General's request for a conscience clause. The matter had been left open; but the result was "that the children of Dissenters were practically excluded from the benefits of the Endowed Schools."¹ The case of Ilminster School in 1858 had provided the immediate prompting for Dillwyn's measure. Romilly in Chancery had decided that, since the Ilminster trust dealt also with roads and bridges, Dissenters should be appointed; but objections had been raised, and the Lords Justices on appeal reversed the first decision, while expressing the hope that the children of Dissenters would continue to enjoy the benefits of the School.² Cranworth's Bill was an attempt to provide equity judges with a firm law on which to base their decisions in future.

Speaking against the Bill, Lord Chelmsford noted that on that very evening the Archbishop of Canterbury had presented a petition from the National Society expressing great apprehension. The petition pleaded that their schools should be expressly excluded from the operation of the Bill. Chelmsford said that the term "Charitable endowment" was not clearly defined in the Bill, and that it might later be construed to include the Society's schools aided by voluntary subscriptions.³ Bishop

1. *ibid.*, 692.

2. *ibid.*, 692, 698.

3. *ibid.*, 701.

Wilberforce of Oxford hedged on the question : while he admitted that he would accept the second reading of a Bill which sought to relieve "an acknowledged grievance", he wished to see the National Schools excluded. And he quoted Miall's recent declaration before the Liberation Society, that Dissenters were making a "deadly thrust" against the Established Church "in what we are endeavouring to gain for the endowed schools."¹

At the Committee stage the Archbishop of Canterbury showed considerable liberality in accepting unreservedly the principle of the conscience clause for endowed schools; though he could not bring himself to accept the admission of Dissenters to boards of trustees.² Brougham expressed his pleasure at the course of the debate. He was particularly chivalrous about the "extremely liberal" proposition of the Archbishop. But he desired that all endowed schools should be thrown open. The subject, he said, was not a small one : there were over 4,000 endowed schools of various kinds, and the numbers of pupils had risen from 180,000 to 360,000 since 1833. He believed that "the peace of the country and of the Church" would be aided by the course which they were being recommended to take.³

The tolerant, conciliatory character of the debate was expressed most clearly in the remarks of Lord Stanley who thought that if Dissenters came into the schools, many of them might become Anglicans. In any case, he said, they were unlikely to turn into "bitter antagonists" of the Established Church.⁴ Newcastle was anxious that "no party spirit" should be shown over the Bill.

1. *ibid.*, 712.

2. *ibid.*, 1210 (17 February 1860).

3. *ibid.*, 1215.

4. *ibid.*, 1218.

In the light of earlier comments in this Chapter on the Popular Education Commission, his remarks are worth quoting, especially as they represent the views expressed before that Commission by Frederick Temple. Newcastle said

He felt the more strongly on this point, as he had been acting for the last two years as the chairman of a Commission on the subject of education, and he could assure their Lordships that if there was one thing more than another which struck him in the course of the investigation, it was, that with the great bulk of the population attending schools in this country what was called the religious difficulty did not exist; and he had come to the conclusion — and, he believed, he might say for his colleagues, though they had come to no formal resolution on the subject — that if the sectarian differences of clergymen and ministers of religious denominations could be kept out of the question of schools the religious harmony would be almost co-extensive with the attendance in schools.¹

Cranworth was evidently embarrassed by the dropping of the clauses which would have admitted Dissenters to trusteeships, for he had been induced to present the Bill "by a number of most respectable gentlemen who were Dissenters."² But he admitted that great concessions had been made in the earlier clauses.

Speaking in the Commons in the following month, Dillwyn attacked the compromises which had been made during the passage of Cranworth's Bill. He found a rather unlikely ally in Robert Lowe who regretted that the exclusion of Dissenters in the Ilminster case should be "regarded as a badge of social inferiority" : this was "not in consonance with the liberal notions of modern society."³ Dillwyn accepted that his measure had been interpreted as an attack upon the property of the Established Church; but he took pains to distinguish between general Church property, and

1. *ibid.*, 1223-1224. For Temple's remark, see below, ch.X.

2. *ibid.*, 1226.

3. Hansard, III Series, 1860, CLVII, 975.

property handed to the Church for certain purposes. Only the latter would have been touched by his Bill. Cranworth's blander measure, with the amendments conceded in Committee, proceeded through its later stages, receiving the Royal Assent on 31 March 1860.¹ Dillwyn continued to press for acceptance of a more comprehensive measure until 1863²; but what he wished to achieve was effectively granted by the passing of the Endowed Schools Act in 1869.

Cranworth's Act was a conciliatory measure. Nevertheless it formed an important bridge between the inconsistencies of equitable jurisdiction in cases involving religious difficulties before 1860, and the much more lucid principles of religious toleration in relation to the endowed schools which the S.I.C. was to enunciate. Typically, the Times did not see the measure in quite this light. A leader of 22 March 1860 commented that, if Cranworth's or Dillwyn's original Bills had become law, the effect would have been to create a struggle in every endowment and locality in the country; the present state of affairs, with all its uncertainties, suited much better the condition of feeling on religious issues.³ The Times, then, wished to let sleeping dogs lie. And the progress of the debates on the 1860 Bills in the Commons reinforced an opinion that was becoming more widely held: that the religious difficulty depended for its sustenance as a public issue, not so much upon public opinion, as upon the continuing factional strife of the clergy. A Times letter-writer in 1861 suggested that "a very unfair degree of importance" had

1. *ibid.*, 16, 23, 31 March 1860.

2. For comment on his later efforts, see the Nonconformist, leader, 14 January 1863.

3. Times, 22 March 1860.

been attached to the benefactors of popular education, and especially "to their religious views," and "too little to those of the people themselves", according to the English principle that those who pay should rule. The writer, who signed himself 'Assistant Commissioner', regretted that the recent Newcastle Commission had not inquired thoroughly into the religious profession of parents of pupils.¹ But the failure to investigate searchingly the varied religious opinions of the middle classes, let alone those of the labouring classes, was perpetuated through the 1860s by the S.I.C. which, like its predecessor the Newcastle Commission, relied on impressionistic information about popular religious feeling in relation to schooling.

There is very little hard evidence which can be used to determine whether the religious difficulty was abating around 1860. Nevertheless public opinion had been mobilised on a considerable scale in response to Dillwyn's Endowed Schools Bill of 1859. It is difficult to decide whose opinions were represented in the petitions presented to Parliament over the Bill. In July 1859 Mr. Steuart presented a petition to the Commons from "the inhabitants of Lyminster" against the Bill; Adderley presented another from "St. Margaret's congregation" in Birmingham; Sir M.S. Stewart another "from certain members of congregations in Cheshire and Lancashire" in favour of the Bill.² It is not clear who the "inhabitants" or "congregations" represented, beyond the conventional signing of a document after divine service. More firmly-held opinions were probably expressed in

1. *ibid.*, 11 October 1861.

2. *ibid.*, 22 July 1859.

petitions from "the clergy" of rural deanery of Whitchurch, Salop, or from "the rural dean and clergy resident within the deanery of Doncaster."¹ It is certain that the petitions against the Bill far outnumbered those in favour of it. And the petitions were very numerous : on the day when a petition was received from the directors of the Edinburgh Magdalen Asylum "against the use of nude figures in Government Schools of Design", 19 petitions were delivered to the Commons against Dillwyn's Bill, and only three in favour of it.² Two days before there had been 10 against and two in favour.³ However small the local minorities represented in these petitions were, they do throw into impressive relief the tolerance shown by the Bishops in accepting some of the innovative principles embodied in Cranworth's later Act.

The London Livery Companies' interest in preserving their privileges has been noticed already.⁴ The Companies must have become particularly anxious about the activities of the new Charity Commissioners since, limited as were their investigative powers, they seem to have had a predilection for investigating hospitals and their associated schools, with many of which the City Companies and the Corporation had close connections; and they were particularly interested in the City Parochial Charities. In London, too, a proper start had been made in the reformation of local government with the establishment of the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1855.⁵ A Select Committee had reported in favour

1. *ibid.*, 20, 21, July 1859.

2. *ibid.*, 13 July 1859.

3. *ibid.*, 11 July 1859.

4. See above, this Chapter, 261.

5. *Metropolis Management Act*, 18 and 19 Victoria, c.120. See also, *First Report from the Select Committee on Metropolitan Local Government*...16 April 1866, iii; and Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement*, London, 1959, 442.

of a Bill for the Reform of the City of London Corporation in 1859; but in July 1859 the Bill had been abandoned in the face of strong opposition from the City itself.¹

Gladstone's attack upon large charities in May 1863 was part of his programme of economy, but it was also a Liberal proposal designed to re-awaken interest in the moribund character of many wealthy trusts.² His threat was not merely fiscal : he intended to alert charities to the reforming intention of the Government when he declared that he was offering a compromise before the attention of Parliament was invoked "probably for a purpose in many respects much more stringent than any to which the assent of Parliament is now invited." He reminded the House that his old master, Peel, had promoted an unsuccessful Bill in 1845 which would have taxed charities at 6d in the pound — a proportion which came within one penny of the rate of income tax currently applied in 1863.³ Gladstone identified as being in special need of attention the schools of Christ's Hospital, Tonbridge, Charterhouse, and Monmouth.

For the moment the Government shelved the taxation proposal. But despite opposition from vested interests, it elicited from Disraeli an acknowledgement of the disreputable condition of many charities. Making a very striking concession to a natural opponent, the Nonconformist commented, two days after the Commons' debate on Gladstone's proposal, that "there is much force in

1. Times, Parliamentary Intelligence, 19 July, 1859.

2. A. Tilney Bassett (ed.) Gladstone's Speeches, Descriptive Index and Bibliography, London, 1916, 'Taxation of Charities', House of Commons, 4 May 1863, 312-341.

3. *ibid.*, 314-315. See also, this Chapter, 259, for Lyndhurst's 1844 Bill, which had had a similar purpose.

Mr. Disraeli's suggestion, that the bad charities ought to be directly dealt with by the Legislature." The report concluded with the remark that it was a scandal "both to Parliament and the Executive" that, in spite of repeated condemnations by successive Commissions, charities had been allowed to escape. "After this ominous display of the omnipotence of local interests, we fear our statesmen will be less than ever inclined to grapple with this crying evil."¹ For the moment Gladstone had been halted by cries of 'confiscation' and 'robbery of the poor and sick' from the defenders of powerful vested interests.

But although the Government was forced to retire, Treasury officials continued to burrow beneath the ramparts of the trustees of hospitals and schools. A Treasury Minute of July 1863, three months after the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech, initiated an investigation of six London institutions by the Charity Commission. These were Christ's Hospital, which had already been examined with some thoroughness by the Newcastle Commission, thus providing some of Gladstone's ammunition²; St. Thomas's Hospital; the London Hospital at Whitechapel; Bethlehem Hospital; Morden College, Blackheath; and Magdalen Hospital, Blackfriars' Road.³ The Minute initiating these inquiries had ironically referred to the "defence" of the trustees, which had turned on the claim that, if the income tax were applied to certain charities, then large numbers of boys would be dismissed from the schools, and patients

1. Nonconformist, 6 May 1863, 'The Charities in Arms'. (An instance of a Puritan pun?)

2. See particularly, Popular Education Commission report, I, 496-503.

3. Charities. Return to an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, 19 June 1865...Correspondence between the Treasury and the Board of Inland Revenue, in August and September, 1863, respecting the Exemption from Income Tax of Rents and Dividends applied to Charitable Purposes, London 1865. Letter of Under-Secretary, Home Office, to Charity Commission, 7 October 1863.

ejected from the medical departments of hospitals. Gladstone had said in his speech that when the managers of St. Bartholomew's Hospital told him that £820 income tax would compel them to dismiss 500 patients, "I am entitled to ask, 'Why, then, do you spend £220 in a feast; what right have you to eat up in an hour 150 cases?'"¹ The Treasury officials noted that, although it was, of course, "the fiscal view of the subject" which attracted their attention chiefly, the question involved "matters of wider interest" than simple taxation. The Government wished to discover whether, on account of their "good husbandry", the trustees of charities should be treated any differently from the guardians of unendowed institutions.² Thomas Hare was given the task of inspecting Christ's Hospital in February 1864, and the final reports on all six institutions were published in June 1865, at the same time as the Taunton Assistant Commissioners were beginning their task of inspection.³

Efforts of this kind were part of the mid-century Liberal offensive against patronage. Other flanks of this attack have been identified elsewhere in this thesis, particularly in the section on Examinations.⁴ Charities for the poor were easy targets for Liberal reformers, and the hospitals and their schools were particularly vulnerable. A coherent philosophy had been constructed which could be used to justify the

1. A. Tilney Bassett, *op. cit.*, 337.

2. Charities. Returns...*op. cit.*, Treasury Minute, 25 July 1863.

3. See below, Ch. X, 472.

4. See below, ch. VII. 'Examinations.'

diversion of many charitable benefits from the poor; and this philosophy had been practically applied long before it became a guiding principle for the S.I.C. and the Endowed Schools Commissioners. Charitable benevolence was a general activity in Victorian society. The motives which prompted it were of various kinds : simple compassion, subconscious guilt, the dictates of religious feeling, anxiety about social stability, and even fashionable imitation. But while benevolence was common, it was certainly not without its fervent critics. Many were of the opinion that charity pauperised the receivers of it, and caused in the poor a dependence upon others. Bagehot summed up this kind of opinion thus :

Great good, no doubt, philanthropy does, but then it also does great evil. It augments so much vice, it multiplies so much suffering, it brings to life such great populations to suffer and be vicious, that it is open to argument whether it be or be not an evil to the world.¹

Doubts like these were commonly expressed about the effects of benevolence; but exposure of the corruption and abuses associated with ancient endowments was even more widespread. There were local critics in abundance. For instance, in 1864, as part of his defence of the conversion of Monmouth School (one of the charities attacked by Gladstone) into a boarding institution 'open to the world', a local solicitor, J.E.Powles, published a pamphlet in which he pointed to the Monmouthshire village of Gaerleon as a disgrace to the county because of the crowds of beggars who resorted there in order to benefit from the massive doles dispensed by the eighteenth-

1. Mrs. Russell Brington(ed.), Walter Bagehot, Works, VIII, London, 1915, 'Physics and Politics', 122; quoted in D.Owen, op. cit., 167.

century Williams charity.¹ In the next county, Hereford, the Revd. James Fraser, inspecting schools on behalf of the Newcastle Commission, had been told by "a gentleman of extensive local knowledge" that the greatest benefactor to Herefordshire would be the man who swept away all its endowments and apple-trees : "the one pauperise, the other brutalise the population!"² Dean Close told the same Commission that endowments, "at least in connection with the schools of the working classes", were generally speaking "unmitigated evils."³ A friend of Henry Moseley, the Revd. John Guthrie of Calne, Wiltshire, considered that a large amount of charitable endowment was "frittered away in useless or mischievous doles to the poor", which ought to be converted to educational purposes. He thought it possible that an Act might be passed for this purpose; but he considered that a merely permissive measure could lead to a local agent of reform being accused of robbing the poor.⁴ 'Robbery of the poor' was, of course, the chief rallying cry of that extraordinary campaigner, George Griffith, whose work will be dealt with elsewhere.⁵

The parallel between the Irish and English experience of the reform of endowments has been stressed at some length.⁶ Little, however, has been said of Scotland which enjoyed its own separate and idiosyncratic legal system. Speaking of cy pres, the Scottish Lord Justice General said, in 1875, that the

1. 'J.E.P.' (John Endell Powles), *The Free Grammar School of William Jones at Monmouth : Statement and Suggestions*, Newport 1864, 2.

2. Popular Education Commission, I, 461.

3. *ibid.*, V, 280.

4. *ibid.*, 214-215.

5. See below, ch. VIII, 386 ff.

6. See above, ch. IV.

doctrine was "carried a good deal further" in England than in Scotland, and that the trustees of Scottish charities were allowed a latitude in their administration which had no parallel in England.¹

The Education Commissioners for Scotland, 1864, taking their cue from the recent work of the Newcastle Commissioners and the Lords of the Treasury, directed their chief attention to the more important hospitals in their Third Report, published in 1868. In that year the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, who were governors of four of the largest hospitals — George Watson's and Daniel Stewart's among them — requested S.S.Laurie (destined to become one of the first great Professors of Education) to report on the hospitals and to submit the results of his inquiry into the hospital system as a whole. Laurie reported in detail, also, on Heriot's and Donaldson's. These Reports, in the words of the Royal Commissioners on Scottish Endowed Schools, "contributed to the movement for reform", and in 1869 the Merchant Company promoted a Bill "to make Provision for the better Government and Administration of Hospitals and other Endowed Institutions in Scotland." But although the Merchant Company used the subsequent Act immediately for converting hospital endowments for the poor into endowments for secondary education, few other trustees followed them. The comparative failure of the 1869 Act led directly to the creation of the Scottish Royal Commission on Endowments.²

1. Third Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland)... Edinburgh, 1875, 209-210.

2. *ibid.*, 22-23.

It is interesting that D.R.Fearon, examining Scottish middle-class schools for the S.I.C., where his brief was to compare the quality of education provided in the two countries, did not even mention the hospital schools in the main body of his Report.¹ However, he did devote part of Appendix X, attached to the Report, to "Educational Hospitals". He found that such schools were not so numerous as in England, but that their general character was "much the same"; their scholars were chiefly of the third grade, and were admitted by patronage, not competition. He was able to compare the schools directly with the hospital institutions he had examined for the S.I.C. in the City of London.²

The limited achievement of the Scottish Endowed Schools Act attracted the attention of at least one English city in which the reform of hospital schools became a controversial issue. In a Bristol newspaper in 1871 a leader was devoted to reviewing a paper presented at the British Association meeting in Edinburgh by T.F.Boyd, on educational hospital reform, the details having "an interest for Bristol and every other city in which there are similar schools."³ This thrust, by a Liberal newspaper, was delivered at the conservative Merchant Venturers of Bristol who, as governors of Colston's Hospital, were parrying the schemes of the Endowed Schools Commission.⁴ Quite evidently the operation of the 'democratic intellect' in Scotland, even among the mercantile aristocracy, far outshone the opulent conservatism of their counterparts in English cities like London and Bristol.

1. S.I.C., VI, 1-61.

2. *ibid.*, 177. For his comments on London Hospitals, see S.I.C., VII, 193-198.

3. Western Daily Press, 17 May 1871.

4. See below, ch.XI, 592.

In Scotland there seems to have been in the 1860s a closer affinity between traditional business enterprise and the promotion of academic excellence than in England.

Charitable endowments were the basic materials with which the S.I.C. had to deal : if the Commission had been denied the practical possibility of moulding endowments into a system of middle-class education, then their work would have lacked a substantial pattern. In this respect the Charitable Trusts Act, 1853, and the suggestions made by the Newcastle Commissioners provided powerful presuppositions for the recommendations of the S.I.C. But there were other elements among the antecedents of the Taunton Commission's work which were more closely related to the general question of how endowments might be made more useful, and among these the two which had the most direct bearing upon the eventual progress of reform were, firstly, the traditional resistance of the great City Companies to state interference and inquiry; and, secondly, the associated problem of the largely inefficient hospital schools. The patronage system which operated in many of these schools was often in the hands of livery companies and, in particular of the City of London Corporation. Thus, the specific problem of the reform of charitable endowments merged with successive attempts of Liberal politicians and interested intellectuals to break down the last bastions of municipal privilege in local government.

The fusion of these elements in the 1860s is most precisely summed up in the career and opinions of Arthur Hobhouse, who was to play such a controversial rôle in the process of educational reform after 1869. Hobhouse, the son of a Somerset squire, was part of that West Country group which seemed to dominate so

emphatically the debate on middle-class education. He admired the honesty and the diligence upon which the best examples of county government were based, and, as his biographers noted, he respected his own father for his high conception of the duties of landowners : "He was of the type which for many generations has made the government of England by the 'country gentleman' possible."¹ The young Hobhouse had been at Eton and Balliol around 1840 with among others Stafford Northcote, Jowett and William Rogers, and with all three he maintained a life-long friendship; Northcote became his wife's brother-in-law.² He practised at the Chancery bar, becoming a Q.C. in 1862, working particularly in the Rolls Court under Romilly. After a prolonged illness he decided to lay aside his profitable career as an advocate and accepted Russell's offer of appointment to the Charity Commission in 1866.³ This might have marked the end of a less ambitious man's career; but for Hobhouse it was the beginning of much greater enterprises.

Before 1866 Hobhouse had already begun to understand the corrupt privilege system of London City government and of the Livery Companies, largely through his association with the Metropolitan education work of William Rogers.⁴ He might also have appreciated the interest of his namesake, John Cam Hobhouse, who had successfully promoted a Bill which became the Metropolitan Vestry Act of 1831 and signalled the beginning of Whig reform of local government; this Bill has been described by a recent historian as "a doctrinaire radical measure" repres-

1. L.T.Hobhouse and J.L.Hammond, Lord Hobhouse, A Memoir, London, 1905, 1.

2. *ibid.*, 19.

3. *ibid.*, 18-19.

4. See below, ch.X, 514 ff.

enting a clear enunciation of the elective principle in parish government.¹

Some of Hobhouse's friends sought to console him for his apparent loss of a promising career in 1866 by outlining the possibilities implicit in his new appointment. Northcote in particular hoped that it would not be long before the Charity Commission was "advanced to the rank of a judicial tribunal of first-rate importance." He was tempted to think that, if such were the case, Hobhouse would confer more lasting benefits upon the country than he might have done as an equity judge. Northcote admitted that all this was at present "in the dim future", and regretted that he could not tell him too much of "what I think will be the result of our (Schools Inquiry) Commission...I will only say that cum talis sis, gaudeo noster es."²

As a new Charity Commissioners Hobhouse was probably impressed by the searching inquiries being undertaken by Thomas Hare into the City Parochial Charities. It is suggested elsewhere in this thesis that Hobhouse's influence was partly responsible for City Charity being made available for Rogers's scheme for middle-class education in London.³ This early aspect of his work would have closely identified him, in the minds of City trustees, with Government schemes for dismantling their privileges and patronage. It was not long before this view was substantiated by more cogent evidence.

1. 1 and 2 William IV, c.60. See Oliver Macdonagh, *Early Victorian Government*, London, 1977, 125.

2. Hobhouse and Hammond, *op. cit.*, 20. Letter from Northcote 14 March 1866.

3. See below, ch.X, 522-523.

Hobhouse was not content to remain a supine servant of what he considered to be bad charity law. In March 1868, and in May and June 1869, he gave three lectures in London on the subject of endowments and settlement of property.¹ They were described as "the most lucid, the most searching, and the most profound statement that exists of the case for drastic reform."² His first lecture, an historical survey, was delivered at Sion College, immediately before the publication of the S.I.C. Report.³ Of the S.I.C. Report in relation to this lecture Hobhouse was later to say that "it insists on the same necessity for radical reforms which I venture to advocate."⁴ The second lecture, 'On the Authority Accorded to Founders of Endowments', dealt with the question, "What is our present standpoint?" and was delivered at a meeting of members of the Social Science Association.⁵ It consisted of a reasoned attack upon J.S. Mill's more optimistic vision of the present usefulness of endowments. But Hobhouse ended with a passage which, uttered by a lawyer, was remarkable for its stridency, political colour and candour.

There never perhaps was an epoch when old beliefs were so extensively undermined by doubts, or when the minds of a larger number of men were empty, swept and garnished. At such epochs there happen what appear to be very sudden changes, but what are only the effects of a bold stroke of leadership, acting on minds thoroughly unsettled. It may turn out that what seems to be a solid wall of resistance will fall at the blowing of the horns. The resistance to democracy so fell on Lord Palmerston's death, and the Irish Church on the first sounding of Mr. Gladstone's trumpet-note.⁶

1. These were published under the title 'The Dead Hand', London, 1880.

2. Hobhouse and Hammond, op. cit., 27.

3. Arthur Hobhouse, *The Dead Hand*, London, 1880, 'Lecture on Charitable Foundations', 1-48.

4. *ibid.*, 48, footnote.

5. *ibid.*, 51-85.

6. *ibid.*, 85.

His final words were an exhortation to the Social Science Association, which he considered had done so much, "to force important but uninviting subjects on public attention", to help in overthrowing "a popular idol" and thus open one more avenue to improvement.

Such a declaration of intent could only encourage the promise of wide opposition to any scheme of legislative or executive reform with which Hobhouse might later be associated. That Jowett agreed with these views is evident in a letter he addressed to Hobhouse after the second lecture. He said that he hoped these lectures were only a beginning, and that opportunities for action should be made if the course of events did not cast them in his way. "Judging by appearances", wrote Jowett, "there could be no better time than the present, on the eve of a Reform Parliament, and after the report of the Schools' Commission."¹ Jowett thought that endowments were often productive of evil; but that when they promoted "self-help" they were good. He was glad that Hobhouse was thoroughly versed in the law, and in experience of cases, and that he had a liberal mind not enslaved by long legal practice: "these meet in very few persons." But he revealed some anxiety by recommending that his friend should bring out some larger and more general work before the subject was really discussed in Parliament.² Here he touched upon a crucial point, for it is certainly true that the political ground for a public debate on endowments was insufficiently prepared in advance for the

1. Quoted in Hobhouse and Hammond, op. cit., 31.

2. *ibid.*, 32.

introduction of the Endowed Schools Bill. It was to be not only Hobhouse's misfortune that the counsel of Jowett went unheeded.

With unmitigated fervour Hobhouse proceeded, in his third lecture, to castigate the ineptitude of particular benefactors, and rail against the principle of the sanctity of founders' intentions. He repeated the charge "that donors to public uses are less under the guidance of reason and conscience, and more under the sway of baser passions, than other people."¹ His central simple maxim was that "property is not the property of the dead but of the living", and that "the law should be altered to admit this maxim." He did not enter upon a discussion of the intricacies of legal reform because he found his general principles "simply ignored by the bulk of men." Though, paradoxically, he claimed that in any town possessed of a charity, many men would be found who complained of the abuses associated with it.² By this time Hobhouse was aware that he had been chosen, along with Lyttelton, who took part in the subsequent discussion, to be a member of the triumvirate of the Endowed Schools Commission.

Hobhouse chose to attack the opinions of Robert Lowe in his third lecture, and in particular those opinions expressed in Lowe's speech at Liverpool in January 1868.³ Lowe's views had been organised more coherently in his pamphlet, 'Middle Class Education : Endowment or Free Trade', printed later in the same

1. Journal of the Society of Arts, 16 July 1869, Meeting in the Society's Room; paper by Arthur Hobhouse, 'On the Limits to be placed upon Posthumous Dispositions to Public Uses', read to members of the Social Science Association, 679. Lord Stanley, recently a member of the S.I.C., was in the chair on this occasion.

2. *ibid.*, 683.

3. See Times, 24 January 1868, for a transcript of Lowe's lecture.

year. These works embodied the same opinions as he had transmitted to the S.I.C. in 1865¹, which have been discussed comprehensively by David Sylvester in his study of Lowe.² Like Adam Smith whom he admired, Lowe favoured a free market in education. Endowments interfered with this free market and, ideally, ought to be swept away. But he accepted that this was impracticable, and that a compromise, based upon a blend of endowments, capitation fees, and a kind of 'payment by results' would have to serve.³

Hobhouse also attacked J.S. Mill for an article he had written in 1869.⁴ But allowing for the fact that Mill had expressed his views moderately, it is hard to see how the two men differed in principle, except for Mill's assertion that a testator's will should be respected for perhaps fifty to one hundred years, after which the trust should "come under the control of the state, to be modified, or changed in its direction."⁵

It seems, therefore, that Hobhouse was rather intemperately establishing in public a radical case by a false process of abreaction from the the views of others, views with which in principle he privately agreed. The manifest absurdity of his attacks is highlighted by a letter he received from Lowe in 1868, congratulating him on his first lecture, which Lowe said he had read "with great pleasure". He admitted that in principle he went further than Hobhouse, wishing that certain kinds of

1. S.I.C., IV, 625 ff.

2. David Sylvester, Robert Lowe and Education, Cambridge, 1974, 146 ff.

3. S.I.C., IV, 633.

4. Fortnightly Review, New Series, II, April 1869, 377-390.

5. *ibid.*, 380.

might be abolished altogether; but he concluded by agreeing that all charities should be "subject to the most absolute revision without the least reference to the will of the founder after the expiration of twenty-one years."¹

The political judgement which led to the appointment of Hobhouse as an Endowed Schools Commissioner in 1869 will be treated briefly later. At this juncture it is sufficient to say that his intemperance was a consummation of fifty years of frustration which had been endured by liberal reformers and enlightened equity lawyers and judges. He differed from these colleagues and predecessors in the injudicious timing of some of his remarks; in the fact of his being put into a position to act upon the assumptions in relation to educational endowments, and in his strong attitude to privileged corporations. But more striking than this was the way in which he openly associated his new office as Endowed Schools Commissioner with such politically delicate notions as the advance of democracy and the disestablishment of the Irish Church. George Jessel, later Solicitor-General and Master of the Rolls, told Hobhouse that he admired the sentiment, style and erudition of his first lecture; "but I do not feel at all confident that your audience admired it as much as I do."² Perhaps the most interesting feature of the attack upon the archaic laws relating to charitable trusts during the first seven decades of the nineteenth century was that, from Brougham, through the Central Society, Lords Lyndhurst and Westbury, the Social Science Association, down to Arthur Hobhouse,

1. Hobhouse and Hammond, op. cit., 35, letter from Lowe to Hobhouse, 7 April 1868 (i.e., before the last two lectures).

2. ibid., 34, letter from Jessel to Hobhouse, 15 April 1868.

its most consistent advocates had been the legal practitioners who operated the system. It was perhaps unfortunate for the subsequent history of secondary education in England that authority for charitable reform was first placed in the hands of an agent in whom professional conviction often obscured political discretion.

Chapter VI.

A Forum for Discussion, 1857 to 1864.

In the Education Department, two points may be especially noticed. The interest shown in middle-class schools afforded one of the many recent proofs that the public mind is awaking to the necessity for improving the intellectual training of all degrees of men among us; and no less striking were the facts, though almost incidentally elicited, that the religious difficulties supposed to encompass the question of an extended national education have been in some instances satisfactorily solved.

G.W.Hastings, Secretary of the Social Science Association, writing in the first Report, 1857.

Three main lines of ideological development have been identified in the general passage of discussion and experiment towards the establishment of the Taunton Commission : the Anglican strand, through the resurgent National Society with its diocesan boards, and other less official agencies; the agricultural developments in the rural counties, more particularly in the West Country; and the attempts to reform equitable jurisdiction in relation to educational endowments. Significantly, in the first two cases, the question of endowments was largely avoided because of its legal complexity. But with the establishment of a new reforming agency, the Charity Commission, in 1853, a new approach became possible which might embrace both proprietary and endowed schools in a unified system. This is not to say that the advent of the Charity Commission reduced the question of endowed schools' reform to a state of absolute simplicity; but, by the mid-1850s, it had become possible to conceive of the reform of the older elements in middle-class education, in conjunction with the creation of new educational agencies. In addition, the elaboration of schemes for examining schools and their pupils, the development of Civil Service examinations, and the first wave of reform at the old Universities, provided encouragement for reformers.

In the 1850s, therefore, the middle-class debate began to develop for the first time within a broad framework. No longer were schemes merely Utopian fragments, or the unilateral experiments of individual groups of trustees, or of distinct Anglican groups. Ideas were thrown into a common arena of debate. The

criterion was practicability, with the important qualification of the implied need for creating an organisational structure for middle-class education, in relation to the 'system' of elementary education below, and the public schools and the greater proprietary schools above.

In the writings of Thomas Arnold it is possible to see the early appearance of the broad concept of a 'national' system, which was to embrace the Universities and the public schools at the highest level, and the schools for the poor at the lowest. It is in the 1850s that this concept begins to crystallise into a genuine attempt to deal with the problem of bringing separate and independent systems of education in England into some sort of harmonious relationship. The suggestion that Arnold's analysis provided the ground-bass for ideological developments in the middle of the century does not diminish the impact of foreign comparisons, and the importance of foreign models in the minds of English educationists. The prime example, in fact, of the potency of foreign influence is in the work of Matthew Arnold, in which the visionary quality of his father's ideas was transfigured by his own closer observation of foreign systems.

However, in the late-1850s Matthew Arnold was not alone in his desire to graft on to English institutions the more symmetrical cuttings which might be culled from the Continent. Among H.M.I.s, J.D. Morell was, apart from Arnold, the most fully equipped for proposing the transplantation of foreign practices and forms into England. A product of Homerton College, Glasgow University, and Bonn, where he studied under Fichte,¹ he began

1. Boase, op. cit. D.M.B.

to introduce notions of educational reform into his annual reports to the Committee of Council in the 1840s. His Report for 1857 was largely an essay in comparative education, based upon his knowledge of the Prussian system; and it expressed his desire for the evolution of a complete system of national education in England and Wales. He said that there was no reasonable doubt but

that our future position as a nation, whether progressive or declining, must really depend upon the extent to which a healthy activity and a sound moral tone is kept among the people at large...The question of education accordingly must come to be more and more regarded as one in which the whole future history of our country is really involved.

But before proceeding to make comparisons with other countries, Morell said that an outstanding contemporary evil in English society was "the misapprehension of social relations." Society was now formed upon a "politico-economic basis; and labour and capital were the two great wheels upon which it turned; and it was therefore of the highest moment that every individual should understand the relations of the one to the other. For want of this, he thought, "the commerce of the country is at this moment hampered and perplexed by the so-called 'trade unions', which dictate often the most unreasonable terms to the capitalist, and subject the labourer not unfrequently to a kind of social slavery, at once detrimental to his own interests, and to the general well-being of the community...Education, then, should teach the fundamental principles of social science, and thus enable the country to retain and develop its industry without struggles between the classes who are equally necessary to each other's prosperity."¹

1. Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1858-1859, 513.

The discussion of 'national education', in the sense of middle-class and upper-class education, as well as elementary schooling, was a comparatively new feature in the 1850s. Lyttelton, for example, in 1855, could still devote the whole of his essay on 'National Education' to the consideration of schooling for the poor.¹ Morell's definition was a broad one, and he considered 'national education' within the framework of his statement of national needs. He said that the first great requisite for any country was that the means of mental enlightenment and moral training should be placed easily in the hands of every individual in the community; and that professional training should likewise be available to all who needed it. For the lower strata of society there should be in every country a complete system of "primary schools", taking culture into each village and hamlet. Next to these, "commercial schools" were required for the larger towns, in which the arts and sciences, the elements of mathematics, and the study of modern languages would be introduced. These schools might be termed 'professional' in relation to the trading community and its specific needs. Next to these would be the high schools, in which a complete classical and scientific education should be afforded, more particularly as a preparation for the advanced studies of the universities. Such schools were required and ought to exist in all the larger towns. And since he was a Congregationalist, it is hardly surprising that he suggested the operation of a conscience clause in all these 'national schools'. He concluded,

With the whole of the country divided into educational districts, the wants of each district thoroughly investig-

¹ Lord Lyttelton, *Ephemeris*, London, 1864, 100-119. N.B. the essay 'National Education' had been written in 1855.

ated and supplied, the proper gradations of schools established, and the whole under such management and inspection as gives no room for indolence, neglect, or inefficiency, we should come at length to something approaching the ideal we might form of what a practical system of national education, in its main provisions, ought to be.¹

But Morell's excursion into the foothills of German philosophy did not completely separate him from the flatlands of English pragmatism, and he had a constitutional excuse for England's apparent lassitude : English institutions differed essentially from those of most other countries. In countries like France and Prussia, where the political institutions were of recent construction, it was "a comparatively easy matter to attach a new piece of legislation to the scheme of government." But in England

we have institutions which are the growth of ages, which have developed themselves gradually, and which have been moulded by the spirit of the people...Here it is no easy matter to introduce new elements into our social life, for the new does not readily combine with the old; and if laws are prematurely enforced, a clashing of interests is the result, which impedes the working of any experiment, which has not time to² grow up so as to form part and parcel of the national habits.

Twelve years before the passing of the Endowed Schools Act. Morell was anticipating the kind of opposition such a measure might encounter. He, much more than Matthew Arnold, had reservations about what he called "state carpentry", though he was acutely aware of the need for reform. All educational change, he thought, should be part of our national growth : "...zeal for the rapid cure of our evils should not outrun the national remedies."

Morell was by no means a pygmy among the educationists of his generation : apart from his Inspector's reports, the influence he exerted upon the contemporary schoolmaster in the field of English grammar can be measured by the rapid re-printing of the school

1. Minutes, 1858-1859, 515.

2. *ibid.*, 516.

text-books he compiled.¹ In 1858, with Sir J.T. Coleridge in the chair, he read a paper, 'On the Progress of Society in England', to an audience of schoolmasters at the Society of Arts in London.² The views he expressed then constituted both a perceptive diagnosis of the education fever which was raging, and a pertinent philosophical analysis of the transitional and controversial quality of the current education debate. He revealed his hand quite soon, when he asked, "Has not every man within him the germ of boundless faculties, of vast moral happiness?" The future of the nation depended on the discovery and cultivation of these faculties in the individual.

He perceived two different ideas, distinctly held in England, respecting the framework of society; these were "the middle age or feudal idea", and "The modern or philosophic idea." The notion running through the feudal system was "the clear separation of classes one from another, and the Divine Right of maintaining their separation for ever." This notion, he thought, still persisted. But out of it, over the centuries, had developed the belief that, while each class had its limits, it also had its rights. Despite the social horrors associated with it, the French Revolution was "the ERA from which the greatest social improvements in modern Europe have taken their start."³ So in England there existed two distinct and antagonistic views of society. The one affirmed that there was "a natural, an inevitable, nay, a providential separation between different classes in the community, and that no

1. See, British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books.

2. J.D. Morell, On the Progress of Society in England as Affected by the Advancement of National Education, Read before the United Association of Schoolmasters of Great Britain, in the House of the Society of Arts, 27 December 1858, Edinburgh and London, 1859.

3. *ibid.*, 6-7.

class can step out of its proper place without deranging and spoiling the social fabric." The other affirmed that "all men are equal in the sight of God and of RIGHT, and that no difference of privilege should be allowed to sever one class from another in the struggle of human life." He did not suggest that these notions were consciously held by many, but he was sure that tacitly and practically they shaped the opinions of thousands upon the question of education.¹

Morell believed, not only that all classes of the community should be educated, but that they should be educated "as highly as possible."² But what of the suggestion that it was useless to try to teach Latin and Greek, and the sciences to all children? He agreed that, in attempting such a programme, "we should stand a good chance of teaching a good deal less...than we do at present." Those who could stay only a year or two at school, "and whose circumstances in life early drive them forth to earn their bread," had to have a system of instruction adapted to this state of things. For them it would be possible only to furnish the elements of self-culture, "hoping that in some future time they may take up the thread where they had been obliged to break it off." But he was idealistic enough to return to one of the themes of his report: popular education would never be truly national until a graduated series of schools existed, one rising above the other, which might form "a regular avenue" for the diligent and gifted of all classes to rise from the very lowest form of the primary school up to the highest culture which the country could afford, as in parts of Germany and some American states.³

1. *ibid.*, 10.

2. *ibid.*, 11.

3. *ibid.*, 12. This graduated series was also recommended by the Newcastle Commissioners. Coleridge was a member of that Commission.

He thought that all popular objections to education were based upon the presupposition, and perhaps the wish, that society might remain always as it was, and that the lower classes should never rise to a higher position. He flatly disagreed with this, recounting his own experience of witnessing the degradation of agricultural labourers, and the squalor of the courts and cellars of Manchester and Liverpool : "I cannot believe that this is what Providence intended to be the normal and lasting state of Christian society...the march of education is destined to remove the great mass of these evils", which were in themselves unnecessary.¹

The progress of machinery in industry, he thought, would soon necessitate all labour becoming skilled labour. "Man thus relieved of the worst load of brute toil, we may confidently hope, will then have more leisure, as well as disposition, for reading, for thought, and for mental culture generally." And as popular education made progress, so improvements would have to "propagate themselves upwards into the middle classes of society... the primary school will have to be succeeded by schools of a higher character that will open up to all classes an avenue by which the choicest minds may rise to the highest summit of human culture." As a result, social distinctions would tend more and more to wear away, "the antagonisms of classes must cease...and the English people as a consolidated whole...must present a solid phalanx to the world."²

Morell was more of a visionary, and certainly more optimistic, than Matthew Arnold. Yet both, in grandly different ways, expressed distinctively the aspirations for education of the enlightened members of the generation who reached maturity in the mid-Victorian era. Morell's vision of what the class-system might become hardly

1. *ibid.*, 17.

2. *ibid.*, 19-20.

accorded with the views of most of his contemporaries in the field of educational reform. Yet in his delineation of the feudal and modern-philosophical notions of social structure, he set out the twin poles between which the compromise of recommendations of the Taunton Commission was to be arranged. The aristocratic, rural model, and the Benthamite intellectual models of society in its educational features were represented in his analysis; and his notion of the need for change was moderated by his acceptance of the principle of gradualism. He enunciated clearly the idea of an educational ladder of social preferment¹ — the career open to talent — , and the graduated system of schools, which were fundamental concepts of the Taunton Report.

His work is of some significance, too, in that he is almost the sole Nonconformist voice amid the clamour of the middle-class debate in the 1850s. Nevertheless, his opinions were widely read by Anglicans; and they were in fact re-transmitted later, by the Anglican E.M.I., Sandford, who quoted from them extensively in his report for 1868 on the Church schools in Worcestershire and Staffordshire. Sandford referred also to the advanced instruction already being offered in elementary schools in Wolverhampton and West Bromwich; he mentioned schools with 'higher tops', and this kind of school was not new.¹ Mr Kennedy, in his report for 1855, wrote, "Our voluntary system, by connecting the whole course of elementary instruction with an ecclesiastical district, prevents our having three or four series of graduated schools, and chains the schools down to a uniform dead level. There is not sufficient scope, there is not a sufficiently high style of school, for boys ranging from ten to fourteen years of

1. Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1868-1869, 201. See also above, Ch.III, 164, ff.

age. We want at least three grades of schools, an infant, a first school, a second school and a third school." Norris made a similar suggestion in his report for 1857.¹ By comparison with Morell and this small group of H.M.I.s Matthew Arnold's views are now well known. His ideas about the condition of secondary education, and the possibility of its systematic improvement, were set out in detail in a series of articles he published in the year when the Taunton Commissioners were appointed. His opinions were a typical blend of anxiety, irony and optimism. 'A French Eton' stands in a distinct historical context : its roots lay in the views he developed when investigating French primary education on behalf of the Newcastle Commission. He equated the term 'secondary education' with 'middle-class education' far more clearly than had Morell. He wanted "that large class which wants improvement of secondary education in England" not to imagine that the appointment of the Clarendon Commission would seriously help it to achieve what it wanted. He moved quickly towards his French comparison : to see secondary education treated as a matter of national concern, "to see any serious attempt to make it commensurate with the numbers needing it and of good quality, we must cross the Channel."² He said of his 1859 visit to France that, since the "higher functionaries" in charge of primary instruction were in charge of secondary education also, he had been able occasionally to see something of the secondary schools. So he had made his first point about the unity of administrative functions in France.

1. Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1855-1856, 359.

2. G. Sutherland (ed.), Arnold on Education, London, 1973, 117. In this, 'A French Eton' is re-printed in full.

Arnold saw as the question of the hour, "Why cannot we have throughout England — as the French have throughout France... — schools where the children of our middle classes and professional classes may obtain," at a reasonable cost, "an education of as good quality, with as good guarantee, social character, and the advantages for a future career in the world, as the education which French children of the corresponding class can obtain... ?" He quoted the extravagant claims in the newspaper advertisements for English private schools, commenting ironically, "All this is provided by the simple, natural operation of the laws of supply and demand, without, as the Times beautifully says, 'The fetters of endowment and the interference of the executive.' Happy country ! Happy middle class !"¹ Supply and demand were all very well when applied to butter, but the mass of mankind, though it knew good butter from bad, could not distinguish good teaching from bad. Securities were needed.

He was sceptical about the possible success of a system based upon public subscriptions, like the Woodard schools, and not upon public grants. He considered the stream of endowment to be failing and scanty; the same situation existed in Europe, because the community had turned to the state for aid. "It is most important to give to the establishment (of our secondary education) a wider, truly public character, and...only the State can do this."² He outlined the plan of Sir John Coleridge, the chairman at Morell's meeting in 1858, expressed in his two letters to the Guardian in 1863. The suggestions in these foreshadowed a number of the Taunton recommendations, and

1. *ibid.*, 130.

2. *ibid.*, 140-141.

reflected Coleridge's experience on the Newcastle Commission and his connection with the activities of the West Country group. Coleridge proposed the amalgamation of endowments, the most efficient schools being encouraged, the worst suppressed; he wished the schools to be treated as a whole, "destined harmoniously to co-operate towards one end"; and he suggested that every county should have at least one effective secondary school, with low fees, and subject to inspection. The schools should derive their financial support mainly from fees, but also from endowments, and partly from scholarships provided by public grants. Finally Coleridge wanted local and central authorities, with clearly defined powers. The latter proposition had been suggested by the Newcastle Commission.¹

But though Arnold sympathised wholeheartedly with the broad intentions of Coleridge's scheme, he was aware of the resistance which awaited any government wishing to extend the range of its interference in social and educational matters. He suggested that the catch-phrase of the English middle classes in the 1860s was still, "the State had better leave things alone." Any assistance given by the state to education was widely thought to contain elements that were "eleemosynary, pauperising, degrading."²

Anglican, pragmatic opinions about middle-class education, were represented most authoritatively by Frederick Temple who, writing in 1856, could rely upon his first-hand knowledge of the working of the Privy Council Department, the training of teachers, and University reform; his experience as a great

1. *ibid.*, 141.

2. *ibid.*, 144.

headmaster lay in the future, and was to provide an additional dimension for his contribution to the deliberations of the S.I.C. Temple's association with the genesis of the 'Locals' will be described later.¹ A year before that, he was a contributor to 'Oxford Essays', on the subject of 'National Education'.² The chief general interest of his article lay in its delineation of the denominational controversy over elementary education. But he made important remarks also about the current condition and future development of secondary schooling. Clearly, he spoke as a moderate, and thought that Voluntaryism had failed to meet the educational needs of the lower orders. But he was doubtful about the current acceptability of the 'Comprehensive Plan' for providing elementary education. He showed both his own brand of tolerance and his scepticism about its acceptability, when he said :

If it were possible to find in every district men belonging to each denomination, sufficiently interested in religious movements to be leaders in their respective denominations, yet sufficiently large-minded to be superior to all prejudices — men who were tolerant according to Coleridge's definition of tolerance, tolerant without being cold or indifferent, — it is conceivable that managing committees...might everywhere be found. But religious leaders are generally quite as much attached to their own special dogma as to the religious spirit which they clothe in that dogma. It is possible sometimes to bring the representatives of two or three denominations into harmonious action. But everywhere to unite the officers of every denomination that might happen to be in a district, would be a hopeless undertaking. Above all, it is peculiarly difficult to unite in one bond the clergy of the Church with the preachers or ministers of Dissenting communities.³

In 1856 Temple was acutely aware of the difficulties attending the creation of the kind of comprehensive provincial organisation which he was to endorse ten years' later as leader of the S.I.C.

1. See below, ch.VII.

2. F. Temple, 'National Education', in Oxford Essays contributed by Members of the University, London, 1856, 218-270.

3. *ibid.*, 223.

He was also sceptical about the current usefulness of the endowed schools. Founded by men of ostensible religious zeal, 700 of them still existed; but "if 500 were abolished tomorrow, not the slightest ill effect would be produced on the education of the country." The grammar schools did not serve the upper classes : the great school did that; nor did they educate the middle classes : "the teaching which they have to offer has prevented that." The endowed schools were mere encumbrances. Why ? "For want of organisation; for want of that organisation which the State, or some equivalent centre, alone could have supplied." Each grammar school worked independently of the rest, shut off from "the influence of public opinion, with no power to adapt their statutes to the changing requirements of the time." Most of them, tied to Latin and Greek teaching, had almost perished for want of something to do. They were looking to the interference of the state as their only chance of survival.¹

Temple emphasised the necessity, mainly in connection with elementary education, of making some use of endowments. A beginning had already been made by establishing the Charity Commission under the 1853 Act. But he thought that this Commission was too limited in judicial, and too weak in administrative power : cy près still held the pass. The Charity Commission should therefore be modified. But this did not mean that there should not also be a section in a future education bill which introduced very definite relations between local authorities for elementary education and the endowed schools within the district of each. It would be most reasonable for committees of rate-payers to have the power of summoning the assistance of the reformed Charity Commission, for

1. *ibid.*, 233.

dealing with endowments.¹ He anticipated a Taunton recommendation when he further suggested that endowments founded within the last fifty years should be exempted from inspection. In any case the endowed schools should be drawn into any future rate-aided system. What he recommended in relation to central and local authorities, and the remodelling of the Charity Commission was later taken up by the Newcastle Commissioners.

He justified his inclusion of the middle classes within his notion of national education by suggesting that the burden of educating the labourers' children fell very largely upon the middle classes. "And the middle classes will not undertake the work with any heartiness while they feel that justice is not done to themselves..."

"The middle classes do not ask for money. They are both able and willing to bear the burden of educating their own families. And, in fact, they would not gain much by shifting the weight on the nation, since little of the weight would thereby be shifted from themselves. It might, perhaps, be expedient to provide school-buildings for middle-class education out of the rates. But the maintenance of the schools as institutions should fall upon the parents of the scholars. The one thing that the middle classes want, and which they cannot get without help, is organisation. Let the schools remain self-supporting, but let the systematic action introduced by the Government into the working of the Elementary Schools be extended to theirs. Let inspectors visit and examine, let exhibitions and scholarships be founded, let first-rate teachers be distinguished, let the nation give so much money as will organise their schools into a system — and £50,000

1. *ibid.*, 260-261.

a year would completely do it, — and the middle classes can do the rest for themselves."¹ It is difficult to miss how broad and various were the requirements listed by Temple in 1856; and, by contrast, how narrow was the range of elements to be contributed by the members of the middle classes themselves. Four years before Matthew Arnold, and without exclamation marks, he was exhorting the state to organise secondary education.

Temple was the first to introduce the endowed schools as an important factor in the whole strategy of middle-class reform : "The beginning ought to be made by remodelling the grammar schools."² He assumed that these had been intended for the education of "the whole community," but "especially for that of the middle classes." His definition of the group for whom he considered the schools to have been founded is classic, in the context of Victorian society and its broader assumptions; and it anticipated the ground over which the battle of grammar school reform was to be fought after 1869 : the founders had not intended their schools to serve the gentry, "but rather looked to poverty as a special qualification for admission. The middle classes are thus marked out as the chief objects of the founders."³ This rather surprising leap from 'poverty' to 'middle class' implies that Temple's definition of poverty, in this relation, might have taken the form of "the incapacity of parents to pay the market-value of the kind of education which would permit their children to maintain or improve their status in society." Temple was using 'poverty' as a term relative to that section of society which, by the 1850s,

1. *ibid.*, 263-264.

2. *ibid.*, 264.

3. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

was collectively demanding or requiring education for their children; it did not relate to society as a whole.

Like Thomas Arnold, Temple was not convinced that classics should be retained as the core of the middle-class curriculum; though it would ever remain "the peculiar discipline for those who are to govern others, and do not happen to possess such genius as to dispense with all discipline."¹ The Tudor founders had chosen the classics "because there was nothing else to choose." But the advance of English and foreign literatures and "a whole army of sciences" had changed the situation. The boy who left school early with some Latin might have gained a part of discipline; "but the other studies are a whole workshop of tools for the business of life." The old grammar schools were mere encumbrances as long as they continued to teach only Latin and Greek; if they were reorganised they would soon be filled : "...in far the majority... the study of the classics is a mere mistake."²

Temple went on to suggest a model for the general organisation of the endowed schools which foreshadowed, in some of its main items, the kind of scheme later proposed by the S.I.C. Power should be given to every district committee of rate-payers, to prescribe what subjects should be taught in the local grammar schools.³ This power would be exercised subject to the approval of the Committee of Council, and would not extend to those schools in the district which were linked to the Universities by scholarships and exhibitions. The district committee should have further power to call in inspectors from the Committee of Council

1. *ibid.*, 264-265.

2. *ibid.*, 266.

3. *cf.* the proposals of George Griffiths : see below, ch.VIII, 389.

to report upon the schools' efficiency, and inspectors from the Charity Commission to report on the working of the statutes. He was perhaps too optimistic when he said, "the probability is, that the trustees would be found in all cases most willing co-operators in all improvements."¹

If this were achieved, a sound beginning would have been made. But the task could be completed only by the creation and construction of new schools. Such schools would be financed, ideally, partly from the rates, and partly by voluntary subscriptions. In all cases, however, they ought to be self-supporting, and the chief share of their management should lie with the parents of the pupils. This suggestion clearly prefigured the section on rate-aid in the S.I.C. Report.² "There might be numerous free exhibitions at these middle schools, open to a competition of all the scholars in the Elementary Schools."³ Temple considered that it would be a boon to such a new system if institutions like Christ's Hospital could be drawn into it.

Such a school, made into a central school for the middle classes, filled with boys elected by open competition up to the age of eighteen, giving them the most thorough education possible in English literature, the French and German languages, practical mathematics, and the physical sciences, would rapidly become the Oxford and Cambridge of the class for which it was intended. Nor would it really, though it might apparently, be diverted from its object of giving a superior education to the poor.⁴

This 'central school' proposal was very similar to that later presented to the S.I.C. by Temple's colleague at Rugby, Charles Evans.⁵ Temple went on to suggest that the only proper method of

1. 'National Education', 267.

2. S.I.C., I, 656-657. Temple is known to have written this section.

3. 'National Education', 267.

4. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

5. S.I.C., IV, 563, and Appendix to Evans's evidence, 565. See also above, ch. II, 95.

giving a superior education to the poor would be to open many avenues for those who had superior talents. He produced an assumption which was to remain a ground-bass for the S.I.C. :

It is a mistaken charity to take a boy from the class to which he belongs, and to give him an education which very much separates him in thought and feeling from all his kindred, when he has nothing within himself to justify the separation.¹

He was willing to admit that everything he said was speculative; and there was still opportunity for further reflection upon the subject. But for public men the time had now come for action. It was essential that some Bill should be passed to localise the resources and management of education. "An indifferent Bill that can be carried is far better than an excellent Bill that cannot."² But in the early stages of discussion about education any proposed legislation should set out "to impress the mind of the nation with the right view."

The "right view", evidently, was Temple's own. Despite his plea for "further reflection", his plan for localisation and for the general reorganisation of middle-class schooling hardly altered between 1856 and the formulation of the S.I.C.'s recommendations in 1866-67. It can be argued that ultimately the 1869 Act was based on "an indifferent Bill"; and that the Act, according to the Endowed Schools Commissioners in their 1872 Report, did little in the way of educating the mind of the nation. It was almost as if, in 1856, Temple was preparing himself for assuming the responsibility of mapping out the future structure of secondary education, a task which in fact fell to him in 1864.

1. 'National Education', 268.

2. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

in his 1856 essay Temple was able to gather together the main items in the discussion of middle-class education, in a form which provided the framework for the further progress of the public debate. He did so in a manner which clearly related middle-class schooling to the wider context of national education. If he had chosen to make his survey a year later he would certainly have included consideration of the Universities' Local Examinations experiment with which he became closely associated. 'National Education', with this omission, prefigured the subsequent decade of debate about middle-class education and laid down the agenda for discussion. Temple had proposed, as a result of the recent creation of the Charity Commission, the revitalisation of the endowed schools, making them the nucleus of a system of secondary schooling; the development of local authorities which would act on advice from a modified and extended central authority; the construction of a 'capacity-catching machine' comprising scholarships for boys of talent in the elementary schools; the grading of schools into at least two categories: those which served the local needs of the bulk of middle-class parents, and those which had close links with the Universities; the possibility of central schools for the most talented members of the middle class; the modification of curricula to suit the expressed needs of the middle classes; and the creation of new schools, supported by rates and voluntary subscriptions, which would 'fill the gaps' in the old system of endowed schools.

It is not argued here that the notions put forward by Temple were taken up fervently by all liberal Churchmen after 1856. But Mr. Kitson Clark suggested that, from the time of Thomas Arnold onwards, there was a numerically increasing group of influential Churchmen whose attitudes to the promotion of

educational change were characterised firstly by tolerance towards members of other denominations, and secondly by acceptance, grudging in some cases, of the growing need to enlarge the responsibilities and duties of the State, in order to solve the problems of educational inadequacy in England and Wales.¹ The work of liberal-minded H.M.I.s, like Henry Moseley, the efforts of W.F.Hook at Leeds in the 1840s, of Richard Dawes, and a growing willingness to open formerly exclusive schools to the children of Dissenters, — all these factors demonstrated that a climate of opinion was being created in which members of the Established Church might develop flexible policies of reform in education. The activity of Temple and his colleagues at Oxford in the 1850s provided further clear evidence of a desire to propose or accept moderate reforming plans.

A former ally of Temple in the Oxford controversies, Dr. Jeune, in one of his first public utterances as Bishop of Peterborough, expressed liberal reforming opinions on middle-class education when he went to Loughborough to present the prizes at the Grammar School in October 1864. He was speaking just as Granville was deliberating upon the composition of the S.I.C. Jeune said he was pleased to visit for the first time an institution which seemed to combine nearly all that was wanted educationally "in the present state of the country": the Loughborough foundation had a high school preparing young men for the Universities; it also had an education "which appealed to the middle classes"; and there were schools for the poor; so that "all classes" in the town might partake of the liberality of their

1. G.Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England*, London, 1973, 62 ff.

forefathers. He praised the Oxford and Cambridge 'Locals' : saying that he had been a promoter of the original scheme in 1857. He evidently accepted the notion of individual mobility within society : incentives, he thought, should be held out so that men of talent would rise to the highest positions in Church and State. He believed that patronage and influence were now of little value : "If the man had not the power within, no amount of influence could raise him." A man was now "the artificer of his own fortune", and if he struggled and could not get on, "it might fairly be said that it was his own fault." It was hardly remarkable, therefore, that education, since it was thought to hold the key to social advancement, was the great topic of the hour, occupying so much time in Parliament and elsewhere. Jeune welcomed the issuing of the "Middle-class Commission" : "whether the expectations which had been raised respecting it would be fully realised it was at present impossible to tell; but... if expectation was raised too high, disappointment was sure to follow." Yet he believed that a great deal could be done to improve middle-class education. He welcomed inspection of old grammar schools, many of which were in a deplorable condition; and the publishing of information about how large amounts of public money were being misspent could only be for the public good.¹

A rather more humbly placed clergyman, F.V. Thornton, exemplified the operation of tolerant, liberal ideas at a lower level in the Established Church. In a lecture he gave in 1861,² he expressed

1. Times, 7 October 1864.

2. For a further discussion of Thornton's contribution, see above, Ch.III, 170.

his anxiety about the relatively declining educational position of the middle class. In defining this class, however, he was almost as vague as Lord Derby¹; but, at least, the imagery of Thornton's definition was more appealing :

But as the pure white light is made up of various coloured rays which must, for certain purposes, be examined and dealt with separately; so the whole English nation is composed of different classes, and cannot always be dealt with as a whole. It is true also, that the edges of these coloured rays are not sharply defined, for the colours are there blended together; moreover, if we examine the rays themselves, we find that the greater number are not pure, but mixed in colour, and that they separate from one another the three which alone are primitive, and by the union of which they themselves are made. Just so in society around us we see clearly an upper, a middle, and a lower class, whose broad features make it easy to keep them separate, while between each of these lie classes which cannot be so clearly distinguished; and they contain the mingled elements of the classes above them and below them.²

So, in dealing with the 'middle classes' one had to take into account those who could afford to partake of the education designed for the upper classes; and, on the other hand, those who might have to content themselves with "the improved elementary schools." But there remained "a much larger number" who required more for their children than was taught in the latter schools, but whose lack of resources prevented their sons ever attaining a university education : this group, for Thornton, was "the true middle class." The political influence of this class, he thought, was already very strong; and their moral influence, as employers, over employees, was potentially very great.

He was concerned to show that, in the past, the old foundation schools had thrown up men of ability from the middle classes into positions of the highest trust in the State. He provided a list of

1. See above, ch.I.

2. F.V.Thornton, *The Education of the Middle Classes in England*, a Lecture... December 20th, 1861, London, 1862, 5-6.

historic names which might have shamed Samuel Smiles; then he asked, "Could we match this list with another for the present time?" We could not. Had the middle classes lost their energy, or their intellectual powers? No: they made great fortunes; mingled with the gentry in fashionable watering-places; and if they were intellectually indolent, then who read "the three thousand copies of a work subscribed for by Mudie"? Thornton's answer was that the middle classes first raised themselves, and then sought to educate their children, instead of educating their children so that some at least of those children might rise. A man in the upper reaches of society felt that education was in itself a portion for his child: "A man in the middle classes shrinks from the education, unless he can leave a money portion wherewith to maintain it. So that intellectual culture is now generally a consequence, and not a cause of, the social rise."¹ The middle classes had kept their social position in practical things; but they had lost ground in all that depended upon the cultivation of the intellect. Some of the middle classes were aware of this deficiency. "Ask the successful politician, who is seeking to attain over the larger world the influence which he has in his native province, what hinders his success: he will tell you that his chief hindrance is the want in himself of a thorough liberal education"² ... The crying need, he thought, was for an early liberal education for the children of the middle classes; and this would naturally include the teaching of the fundamentals of Latin grammar.³

1. *ibid.*, 13.

2. cf. Rowland Hill's sense of inferiority, ch. VIII, below; and Lowe's scathing remarks about Forster, ch. IX, below, 442.

3. cf. Green's notion of a 'liberal education' appropriate to the middle classes of the Midlands, Ch. X, below, 540.

Thornton traced the decline of good local grammar schools through the eighteenth century, and pointed to Thomas Arnold's single-handed work in resurrecting the true principles of a liberal education, at Rugby. The "six or eight" great schools had saved themselves; but "the crowd of grammar schools" had had "no Arnold to renew and vivify them." They remained largely in the hands of local trustees, men of limited vision. The old village charity schools, too, had been lost to the middle classes. Men had recently sought to take education to the masses : "But instead of working downwards — spreading education among the lower middle classes — and so reaching by degrees the very poor, they founded schools, and have continued for fifty years to found them, for the very poor alone." The classes immediately above these were either excluded deliberately, or "repelled by vexatious regulations."¹ Now that children were beginning to come from the lower middle classes into the inspected elementary schools, they would not receive what they needed — a truly liberal education — because of the constraints on the curriculum brought in by the recent Revised Code. Under the new Code there was little doubt but that "all but the most elementary scholars have practically received 'notice to quit'."²

Thus had the middle classes, by Thornton's definition, fallen between two stools : the highest education was still available to them, but they had insufficient early preparation for it; the teaching of the elementary schools was inadequate for middle-class needs under the Revised Code. A primary system of education was needed, specifically for the middle class (and on the model,

1. 'The Education of the Middle Classes...', 14.

2. *Ibid.*, 19-21.

for instance, of the schools of New England), which would provide the rudiments of a liberal education — a preparation for the grammar schools.

The typically liberal tone of Thornton's ideas, however, was revealed in his castigation — similar to that of Acland — of the current tendency to devise an education system according to separate castes. From this kind of separation, he said, had come the notion that the education required for each class was different in kind, as well as degree:

...if we could forget what we are as Englishmen, and what we should be as Christians, so far as to stamp by its early education the child of each class, and so to stereotype the separation, which is caused partly by the necessary distinction of classes and partly by pride; we should create a system of caste more fixed than that of ancient Egypt, and more degrading, because more minute, than that of modern Hindoos.¹

He quoted at length from Arnold's 1832 letters; and briefly from Sydney Smith on girls' education. But he rejected Arnold's suggestion of state intervention; England needed less "uniformity" — a system that was "more flexible and more independent."

Thornton's solution to the problem was a general one: it lay in the united action of the middle classes themselves, with the qualification that the actual running of the schools should be left to professionally trained (i.e., certificated) masters.

He ended his essay by quoting Matthew Arnold's warning to the Newcastle Commission; though he admitted that he himself would not have used such strong language.² We should supply, thought Thornton, the "missing link" in the system, so that Englishmen might avoid the reproach "that free England has given a large, if not the largest share of political power to those citizens, for whom alone she had provided no sound or systematic education."

1. *ibid.*, 33-34.

2. *ibid.*, 47-48.

It might seem possible to criticise this extensive selection from the opinions of private individuals and public men, in the late 1850s and early 1860s, as being too catholic and heterogeneous. But, in the first place, despite some important differences in detail, they share an optimism that something could be done on a considerable scale to solve the problem of middle-class education; and this, it is argued, was a new feature in the mid-1850s. Its novelty is accounted for mainly by the urgent need, increasingly felt, to use a broad range of educational institutions for the purpose of creating or maintaining social stability in a society where political and economic balances were constantly shifting, against a background of massive upheaval in Europe and in Ireland. The Corn Law crisis at home, and the failure of aristocratic management in the Crimea provided a domestic context for the debate. But a novel feature in the specific field of educational reform was the possibility, after the recent creation of the Charity Commission, that something useful might be constructed out of the chaos of endowed grammar schools throughout the country: previously the 'public' sector of secondary education — the endowments — had been left out of account because of the complicated legal problems associated with its reform. The Charity Commission, limited as were its powers, had pointed the way towards simple legal solutions, so that it was now possible to conceive of a mixed system — epitomised chiefly in Temple's essay — wherein the old grammar schools, private and proprietary schools, and new schools financed initially from the local rates, could come together to form a system serving those parents whose children, for a variety of reasons, were currently excluded from the elementary system below and the great schools above.

Secondly these contributions were characterised by a reluctance (shared later by the S.I.C.) to deal with middle-class education, and the whole concept of the middle class, in a statistically accurate way. Though this self-conscious lack of scientific or sociological evidence may seem surprising in the era of the British Association and statistical societies, it was related to the next feature : social engineering, or, more accurately, manipulation and maintenance of the social machine. Despite the superficial vagueness of their definitions of the middle class, these writers shared an anticipation of the Taunton Commissioners' special preoccupation with the lower middle class. Though they differed widely in their estimation of what might be an appropriate curriculum for middle-class schools, they concentrated their attention explicitly and implicitly on the needs of the sons of artisans, tradesmen, clerks and small farmers. This was the crucial middle group which had to be won over to gentility, social responsibility, and awareness of a set of higher cultural values in mid-Victorian society. Related to this concentration upon the lower middle class was a liberal acceptance by each writer of the revitalising energy supplied by a controlled measure of social mobility : all of them accepted in some degree the notion of the career open to talent : their concept of the social hierarchy was neither monolithic nor caste-ridden.

Thirdly, and most significantly, the renewed optimism evident in each of these contributions was modified by the underlying consciousness that the problem was an immensely difficult one, still buried in a thicket of practical problems and prejudices. English provincial conservatism and resistance to centralisation was a counterpoint to the new possibility of general plans of national reform.

Lastly, by no stretch of the sociological imagination could any of the contributors to the debate be called 'middle-class' themselves. They were members of what one recent social historian has called "the forgotten middle class"¹: not aristocrats, gentry, entrepreneurs, manufacturers; but intellectuals, professionals, and clergymen. This common feature reveals another, which typifies and dominates the whole middle-class issue in mid-century: the ideology of middle-class education in all its variety, emerged, not from the middle classes themselves, but from those who, above or apart from them in mid-Victorian society, could influence the course of events at national level; who had access to the makers of national policy, and who transcended the petty issues of provincial middle-class politics. It remains now to examine how, in the same period, these individuals came together to discuss in a truly public forum — in Associations, conferences, on Select Committees and Royal Commissions — the middle-class problem.

The impetus for revitalised discussion of the general problem of education in the 1850s was provided by individuals like Temple, Morell, Sandford, and Arnold. The new force of ideas rebounded from a firm base which comprised University reform, new administrative and bureaucratic procedures, legal reform — in particular, the creation of the Charity Commission, — and, in the special field of middle-class education, the scheme of University Local examinations. But, in addition, as has been suggested in Chapter I, political and economic factors were brought into play in the mid-1850s: the Administrative Reform Association, an amalgam of urban

1. H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*, London, 1969, 252 ff.

middle-class and professional interests set up during the Crimean War, was a short-lived attempt to construct a coherent critique of supposed aristocratic mismanagement of national affairs.¹ The radical fervour which briefly sustained the Administrative Reform Association had burnt itself out by the election of 1857, and despite the encouragement given to middle-class enterprise by the Local Government Act of 1858, the implementation of radical proposals covering the whole range of social problems was delayed until the passing of the 1867 Reform Act.²

The period immediately after the demise of the Administrative Reform Association, in fact, witnessed the rise to pre-eminence of another kind of forum for the discussion of current problems : the Social Science Association³ had its genesis in a meeting called at Brougham's London house in 1856. The Association was, in the words of the only historian to have studied it in detail, "an attempt to bring together an inchoate body of social reformers, social workers and reformers, lawyers, educationalists, economists, doctors and businessmen into an annual congress something like that of the British Association."⁴ But it was something more than this : its work can be interpreted as an attempt to construct an harmonious triangle of interests, whose two main apexes were the intellectual heirs of the first Utilitarians — men like Chadwick and Senior — and the more enlightened members of the aristocracy and gentry; the third, more amorphous group, comprised the leaders of the urban middle classes. While it was

1. Olive Anderson, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War*, London and New York, 1967, e.g. 83-86; 104-108; 122. See also, Olive Anderson, 'The Janus-Face of mid-Nineteenth century English Radicalism...', *Victorian Studies*, March 1965, VIII, No. 3, 231-242.

2. Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement*, London, 1959, 435.

3. Full title: The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

4. Brian Rodgers, 'The Social Science Association', *The Manchester School*, XX, 1952, 283.

a positive attempt to form a consensus over social policy, the Social Science Association was a mid-Victorian holding operation : it was a general act of strategy performed as a means of controlling the heterogeneous radicalism of the urban middle classes.

The most obvious precedent for the S.S.A., its organisation and the form of its meetings was the British Association. Like the B.A., it held annual congresses in the larger cities, and its meetings were ostensibly great civic social occasions. Also, in a similar way, despite the high proportion of professionals among those who contributed papers to its meetings, the various departments were more often than not led by enlightened amateurs of social and political eminence — often members of the aristocracy — rather than professionals who were pre-eminently qualified to lead and initiate discussion. In this respect, however, the S.S.A. reflected the pragmatic strand in mid-Victorian politics : its leading members collectively appreciated that, in the context of current political possibilities, progress would be made only by the building of bridges between interests, rather than by the mounting of isolated campaigns. The scientific preoccupations of the B.A. did not preclude the annual offering of a handful of papers on educational topics in the Statistics Department.

For instance, at the Hull meeting of the B.A.(1835) and at Liverpool (1854), the Revd. Dr. Abraham Hume contributed two well documented papers on the inadequacy of schooling for the poor in Liverpool, particularly in the areas nearest the River.¹ At the Cheltenham meeting (1856), T.B.Lloyd Baker of Cheltenham, and Mary Carpenter gave papers on reformatory education.

1. Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, (i) Hull, 1853, 103-107; (ii) Liverpool, 1854, 138-140.

At the Dublin meeting (1857) Edwin Chadwick commented on 'The Economical, Educational and Social Importance of open and public Competitive Examinations'¹; at Leeds (1858) where Baines was President of the Statistical Department, Chadwick gave a paper on Examinations.² Tantalisingly, neither of these papers was printed in the reports. James Heywood also contributed a paper on Examinations at Leeds.³ The majority of the educational papers in the Department were devoted to the schooling of the poor; but despite what seems to have been a very arbitrary process of selecting what should be printed in the annual reports, the topics covered a wide spectrum of educational controversy in the 1850s and 1860s, with some firm, though not consistent, emphasis upon subjects relating to middle-class education. For instance, at the Manchester meeting (1861), Heywood, on the occasion of the printing of the Newcastle Commission's Report, gave a paper on 'The Inspection of Endowed Educational Institutions'.⁴ So the E.A. provided a mature model, not only for the overall structure of the S.S.A., but also for the comprehensive selection of topics covered by the newer Association after 1857. Moreover, there was a not inconsiderable overlap between the two Associations in respect of the national and provincial figures who offered papers on educational topics.

There was one ad hoc meeting, however, which probably had an even more direct influence on the structure of the S.S.A.'s Education Department, and on the kind of contributions expected from its personnel. Early in 1857, at the suggestion of Canon

1. *ibid.*, Dublin, 1857, 158.

2. *ibid.*, Leeds, 1858, 175.

3. *ibid.*, 176.

4. *ibid.*, Manchester, 1861, 222-223.

Moseley of Bristol, an Educational Conference was proposed for the purpose of discussing the insufficient attendance of the children of the poor at elementary schools. The form of the conference was to comprise a public meeting, followed by a day's reading and discussion of papers in sections, "on the plan of the British Association." The Prince Consort kindly consented to stand as President, and he inaugurated the proceedings with an address in June 1857.¹ The Committee was a powerful one, including many of those who later lent consistent support to the S.S.A. Among its 23 members were Lansdowne, Lyttelton, Stanley, Kay-Shuttleworth, Dean Stanley, Wilberforce of Oxford, Moseley, Edward Baines, Harry Chester of the Society of Arts, Joseph Kay, Samuel Morley, the Revd. William Rogers, and Frederick Temple. The immediate inspiration of the 1857 Conference had been the proceedings at the "eminently successful" initial Bristol meeting of the National Reformatory Union, which had been the result of the labours of Stafford Northcote, Mary Carpenter, and the Revd. Sydney Turner,² with the help of others active in the field, like T.B.Lloyd Baker.³

Section A of the 1857 Conference, with Wilberforce as Chairman, dealt with the problems of early removal of children from school in the Agricultural, Manufacturing and Mining Districts of England, Wales and Scotland; Section B, under the Rt. Hon. William Cowper, M.P., inquired into the same problem in foreign countries — this was the year of Morell's 'foreign' report to the Committee of Council; and Section C, under Kay-Shuttleworth, examined

1. A.Hill(ed.), Essays on Educational Subjects read at the Educational Conference of June 1857, London, 1857, vi-ix.

2. Andrew Lang, The Life, Letters and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote, 1st Earl of Iddesleigh, London, 1899, 83.

3. For Lloyd Baker in another context, see below, ch.XI, 614.

current proposals for keeping working-class children longer at school.

The list of those who contributed papers is a roll-call of many of those who were most prominent in the general educational debate of the 1850s and 1860s. On the subject of non-attendance, papers were read by Baines, Mr. Mitchell, H.M.I., and J.D. Goodman of Birmingham Educational Association.¹ The four contributors on the subject of prize and certificate schemes were the Revd. Nash Stephenson, also of Birmingham, the Revd. H.G. Robinson, later to be an Endowed Schools Commissioner, Seymour Tremenheere, and J.P. Norris. Among the miscellaneous papers of the conference were those of Thomas Hare, Inspector of Charities, W.L. Sargent of Birmingham², and Canon Girdlestone of Bristol. The chosen theme of the Conference did not prevent a number of contributors discussing the educational needs of that most important section of the community, the lower middle class. This concern anticipated one of the important themes discussed later, by the Newcastle Commission — a graduated system of schooling, and the utilisation of existing, often decadent, educational charities. Another important area of comparison was emphasised by J.C. Symons — the Irish experiments in agricultural and workhouse education.³

The Secretary of the S.S.A., George Hastings, wrote that in the autumn of 1856 it was suggested to Lord Brougham that he

1. For this local Association, see below, ch. XII.
2. For Sargent, see below, ch. VII, 375; ch. X, 530.
3. Essays, 1857, 297-319.

should take the lead in founding

an association for affording to those engaged in all the various efforts now happily begun for the improvement of the people an opportunity of considering social economics as a great whole. For the ultimate success of such an undertaking, as much reliance was placed on the actual experience of social reformers as on that of a priori reasoning which would probably strike any thinker on the subject.¹

In principle and in practice, therefore, the Association was conceived as a broader extension of the Statistics and Economics Section of the B.A. The creation of the S.S.A. constituted a conscious effort to establish a middle ground on which politicians of various opinions, professional men, public servants, educationists and social reformers could discuss the wide range of problems confronting the leaders of mid-Victorian society. It was a paternalistic Association, in the same sense that its discussions were stage-managed so that leading contributors were found to be those who already mattered in the community; even though there were specially arranged sessions for artisans and working men in the cities where the annual conferences were held, the Association never seems to have acted as a forcing-house for lower-class opinion. The Committee, or rather Hastings as permanent Secretary, published a general invitation to submit papers, and then rigorously selected those which should be presented in each Department. But despite these characteristics, which make the S.S.A. typical of its era, from the beginning its leading members had two clear aims : that it should act as a high-powered pressure-group for social improvement, in a period of relative political inertia; and that it should attempt to bridge the gulf between the aristocratic leadership of Liberal politics at the

1. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Birmingham, 1857, London, 1858, Hastings's Preface, xxi.

national level, and the various shades of political opinion in the growing provincial towns and cities where the annual meetings took place, and in which, already, there were many instances of local initiatives towards social improvement. Hastings said that it was the aim of the Association "to obtain aid from all those interested in social improvement, without reference to classes or opinions"; sincere help was welcomed from any quarter : it was clearly stated by the Association "that its object was to elicit truth, not to propound dogmas." Any argument "temperately and fairly urged" would be listened to with respect.¹

The liberal, reforming posture of the Association was exemplified in the Jurisprudence Department, which gave ample support to the general notion of the reform of the Law of Property. Here it followed the line pursued by the sequence of movements for land reform in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1857 Hastings was concerned to establish that the difficulty of transferring property extended beyond the context of rural, agricultural society :

Density of population, as is proved by figures, is coincident with prevalence of crime; yet the vices which come within the grasp of the law are perhaps the least evils resulting. It has been shown that the guiltiest city is also the most unhealthy.²

But he went on to say,

The agricultural labourer, rarely permitted to till an inheritance of his own, is but slightly attached to the place of his birth, and drifts continually into town localities; while the inhabitants of our cities often find extreme difficulty in providing themselves with urban residences; and thus it follows that many thousands who might otherwise live in pure air, and surrounded by those incitements to manly self-denial and provident forethought which the possession of land peculiarly supplies, are packed into

1. *ibid.*, xxvii.

2. *ibid.*, xxii.

the close streets and courts of a town, where every available inch is devoted to building...¹

Therefore, those who were appalled by the moral degradation of a large mass of the people might effect radical and truly beneficial improvements by the reform of the real property law.

The first formal step towards the establishment of the Association took place in the form of a meeting at Brougham's house in Grafton Street. Among the 43 people present, including a number of ladies, the participants in the education debate were prominently, if not numerously, represented : Ebrington, C.B. Adderley, the Revd. Sydney Turner and J.P.Gassiot were there; and Canon Girdlestone was among those who sent an apology. At the request of the "Mayor and inhabitants", the first full-scale meeting was arranged to be held in Birmingham. "Education" was to be one of the five Departments : the others were Law Amendment, Prevention and Repression of Crime, Public Health and Social Economy.²

The General Committee, as it was constituted in 1857, can be divided into three groups of members. Among the politicians were Brougham, Adderley, Ebrington, Ewart, Gladstone, Goderich, Harrowby, Cowper, Monckton Milnes, Lyttelton, Northcote, Pakington, Russell, Scholefield, Shaftesbury, Stanley, Granville, Samuel Whitbread, and Samuel Courtauld. The 'professionals' included Dr. Acland, Chadwick, Booth, Sir James Clark, J.P. Gassiot, J.S.Mill, Professor Pillans, Playfair, Ruskin, Kay-Shuttleworth. Sir John Simon, Sir Benjamin Brodie, Harry Chester, Horace Mann, and Matthew Davenport Hill, who, as Recorder of Birmingham, was one of the Vice-Presidents at the first meeting.

1. *ibid.*, xxiii.

2. *ibid.*, xxvi.

The leading Churchmen were Richard Dawes, H.J.Barton of the Northants Education Society, Girdlestone, Kingsley, Turner, Maurice, Grantham Yorke and Dr. Miller, both the latter from Birmingham. While these men made up a heterogeneous group, they held in common the desire to see the operation of a collective conscience in the solution of current social problems and, with one or two exceptions, displayed a basic tolerance in their approach to 'the religious difficulty.'

The first annual President for the Education Department was Pakington. Other leading members of the Education Committee were Nash Stephenson (one of its two Secretaries), Barton, T.H.Bastard,¹ Booth, the Revd. J.D.Collis (headmaster of Bromsgrove, a school with which Lyttelton was closely connected), Cowper, the Revd. E.H.Giffard (headmaster of King Edward's, Birmingham, and later Principal of Cheltenham College), Girdlestone, Dawes, W.B.Hodgson, E.R.Humphreys of Cheltenham Grammar School, George Melly, M.P., an old Rugbeian, Dr. Miller (one of the trustees of King Edward's), Norris, Symons, Sturge, a leading Birmingham Quaker, and Yorke. In other words, one might suppose that the policy of the Department would be shaped largely by Broad Churchmen and educational practitioners, the latter being either H.M.I.s or headmasters. More important, perhaps, was the fact that most of these men had already been active in promoting educational schemes, either unilaterally, or within the structures of the Committee of Council or diocesan boards.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the relevant papers presented to the Education Department in the period 1857 to 1863,

1. Thomas Horlock Bastard was a remarkable Dorset philanthropist who established an endowed school for girls near his house in Blandford in the early 1860s. He died in 1892 at the age of 102. Information in Dorset County Record Office, Dorchester.

it is worth drawing attention to Hasting's anticipation of one of its main themes. He wrote, in 1857, that two points deserved special notice in the proceedings of the Department at its first meetings.

The interest shown in the middle-class schools afforded one of the many recent proofs that the public mind is awaking to the necessity for improving the intellectual training of all degrees of men among us; and no less striking were the facts, though almost incidentally elicited, that the religious difficulties supposed to encompass the question of an extended national education had been in some instances satisfactorily solved.¹

In fact, not counting Pakington's presidential address, seven papers were devoted to middle-class education at Birmingham : four on educational endowments; three on examinations.

Pakington's address was a comprehensive review of general educational problems. But he devoted considerable attention to middle-class education, confining his remarks rather vaguely to the lower portion of the middle classes. He thought that the Mechanics' Institutes had done much to improve the quality of that education in various places, but that, at best, the advantage was a local one. The improvement of middle-class education "must be carried on as a whole."² He pointed to the new availability of the Charity Commissioners for reorganising small endowments. He evidently shared the opinions of Acland, Dawes, Thornton, Yorke and others in the rural community, since he believed "there is no greater error than that of supposing that it is impossible to get the middle classes to associate with the working classes for the purpose of education." He thought that endowments could be reorganised in order to bridge the gulf in

1. Transactions, 1857, xxx.

2. *ibid.*, 40.

the education of the classes. There should be local organisations which might co-operate with the "Central Board", the Committee of Council.¹

In the first of the papers on middle-class education, the Revd. J.D.Collis suggested some means for reforming endowed schools.² He pointed to their inherent vitality, proved by the recent examples of revival at Birmingham and Cheltenham. He thought that, besides the great schools, there should be from 2 to 6 good grammar schools in each county, placing a classical education within the reach of all who required it. In addition the smaller endowed schools should be improved, "so as to afford a good practical middle-class education for the majority who do not go to the Universities." Even in these schools the head master might teach classics to a select group of boys. History, geography and modern languages should everywhere be combined with classics, "as Dr. Arnold had the boldness to originate at Rugby." The need for a modern department had grown recently, he thought, with the rise of competitive examinations for the Army and the public service. Also, the powers of the Charity Commissioners ought to be considerably extended to enable them to deal peremptorily with ancient foundations; and scholarships and exhibitions ought to be founded for the encouraging of diligence among able pupils. Too much endowment, however, without competition, made pupils lazy and content with a minimum of study.³ Collis's paper can thus be seen to contain a rough outline of S.I.C. conclusions on the grading of schools, the curriculum, and the use of endowments in a reformed system.

1. *ibid.*, 41.

2. *ibid.*, 'A Few Remarks on the Foundation Schools of England, by the Rev. John Day Collis, M.A.....', 122-130.

3. *ibid.*, 127.

The Revd. E.H.Giffard, headmaster of King Edward's, Birmingham, gave a brief paper of statistics relating to the School, drawing conclusions about the solution of the religious difficulty which were reinforced by a similar paper of the Revd. J.S.Howson at the 1858 meeting.¹ Giffard used his tables to show that of the two schools — the classical and the commercial — the professional classes and merchants preferred the classical department, in which their sons constituted one-third of the pupils. The sons of manufacturers, "a class which, in Birmingham, includes persons of very different degrees of education and influence", were about equally divided between the two schools. The latter class, with the sons of tradesmen and clerks, made up nearly half of the classical school, and about six-sevenths of the commercial school. Those who kept their sons longest at school were professional men and parents not engaged in business. He hoped that the new University examinations would provide a much needed stimulus to the studies of those middle-class boys who were not destined for the Universities. The Birmingham elementary schools of the foundation were frequented chiefly by the children of "small tradesmen and artisans." The 'religious difficulty' had been largely solved, since the children of Anglicans accounted for "only" 364 of the 459 places in the two upper schools. In the lower schools the proportion was 2 to 1.

E.R.Humphreys who, as headmaster of Pate's Grammar School, Cheltenham, had first-hand knowledge of the tortuous process of charitable reform, contributed three papers to the Birmingham

1. *ibid.*, 'Statistics of King Edward's Grammar School, Birmingham, by the Rev. E.H.Giffard, H.M.', 130-134. Howson's paper (he was Principal of the Liverpool Institution) at Liverpool is in the Transactions, 1858, 241-249.

conference. He thought that in order to create a large, useful fund for the education of the "middle and humbler classes", a piece of sensible, comprehensive legislation was needed, "removing the cumbrous and antiquated restrictions of the old foundations."¹ Trustees should be free to redeploy the revenues; but they should no longer have absolute powers.

Either let some great central board be organised, or let the powers of the Committee of Council and the Minister of Education be extended, so that in all cases they might have the power to inquire into the expenditure of foundation funds, and to enforce reform and correction of abuses wherever there might be the necessity for doing so."²

He also suggested the creation of a board of examiners, analogous to H.M.I.s for elementary schools, to ascertain the progress of school studies, and to inquire into the teaching and administration of the endowed schools, making periodical reports to "some central authority in immediate communication with the Government." He was sure that such a plan might appear to be "a startling and arbitrary measure of centralisation." He therefore proposed that such a board should have no control over the powers vested in local trustees : they should merely publish records.³ In his third paper Humphreys revealed his preference for the College of Preceptors as the central tribunal for inspection of middle-class schools. Under its authority, "Teachers would obtain value and an influence that would put an end to the system of empiricism and quackery which has so long been a blot upon our middle-class schools."⁴ His remarks should be compared with the recommendations of the

1. Transactions, 1857, 'Educational Endowments, ...', 134.

2. *ibid.*, 136.

3. Transactions, 1857, 'Examination of Endowed Schools, by E.R.Humphreys...', 136-137.

4. Transactions, 1857, 'The Plan and Objects of the Royal College of Preceptors calculated to promote Middle-class Education, by E.R.Humphreys...', 143-145.

Newcastle Commission of 1861.¹

Humphreys's three papers, and Giffard's report, formed the core of the 1857 contributions on the subject of middle-class education. In addition to the relationship between Humphreys's opinions and the Newcastle recommendations, his papers provided a clear anticipation of not only the initial assumptions of the Taunton Commissioners, but some of their important conclusions.

James Booth's paper to the 1857 conference of the S.S.A. dealt particularly with the effect upon the Mechanics' Institutes of the Society of Arts examinations. He too seemed to be thinking largely in terms of the lower middle class, and more especially of the 'aristocracy of labour', when he said of the Institutes that they "obtain the confidence and secure the sympathies of large masses of the people, and these, be it remembered, the most intelligent and influential of their class." He additionally mentioned eight proposals for the general improvement of middle-class education, which he had included in a circular letter addressed to great employers of labour throughout the country. These proposals included the improvement of endowed grammar schools by courses better suited to the middle classes, and "industrial instruction"; the conversion of some Mechanics' Institutes into "industrial colleges"; public examinations in central localities, and degrees of merit for candidates.³

A discussion on middle-class education followed the final paper, in which "the necessity for some authoritative supervision

1. See below, this chapter, 362; and above, ch.V, 273 ff.

2. Transactions, 1857, 'On the Examination of the Society of Arts, by the Rev. James Booth. LL.D., F.R.S.', 147.

3. *ibid.*, 148.

over the endowed schools, and for some combined action in furtherance of an improved education for the middle classes" were emphasised.¹ Some doubt was cast upon the expediency of calling in the aid of either the State or the Universities for these objects; and the merits of the Society of Arts and the College of Preceptors were stressed. But there was fairly general agreement (so far as can be judged in the absence of a verbatim account of the discussion) over the proposal of uniting, as far as possible, the various efforts then being made in the field of middle-class education. Pakington reverted to his earlier point, in summing up, when he said, "the preliminary step was good elementary instruction, and his idea was that a national system of elementary education ought to be devised which should be so excellent of its kind that no boy of any class of society should be unable to participate in its advantages."

At the 1858 meeting in Liverpool, papers on subjects relating to middle-class education were read by Horace Mann, J.S. Smith of Balliol, J.G. Fitch, by Dr. W. Ihne on middle schools in Germany, W. Knighton, Principal of Ewell College in Surrey, and by Howson. In the Elementary Education Section, Canon Girdlestone delivered a paper on the Charity Commissioners' scheme for charities in his two parishes in Bristol.² Smith was sanguine in his anticipation of the beneficial effects of the new Oxford examinations: until their inception, the Universities had influenced the lives of comparatively few. "It cannot therefore lose, while it may gain, by bringing its influence to bear, in however transitory a

1. Transactions, 1857, 'Survey of Middle-class Education Papers', 150.

2. Transactions, 1858, 'The Improved Administration of existing Charitable Funds, by their application to the Endowment of Parochial Schools, as illustrated in the case of St. Nicholas with St. Leonard, Bristol, by the Rev. Edward Girdlestone, Canon of Bristol', 250.

manner, upon large classes of the community with which it has at present no contact." The effect would be reciprocal, too : the University could gain more detailed knowledge of the educational wants of the country, thus contributing to its own improvement.¹ Fitch seems to have had a premonition of the possible cramping effect of more extensive examination upon the work of the elementary schools; and he concluded by saying that the temptation to cram rather than educate, under the pressure of external examinations, might affect the middle-class teacher also.²

Dr. Ihne, while drawing a detailed picture of the German system, perceived a growing disposition in England to place confidence in public and rational authority, rather than consigning middle-class education to "the multifarious, self-controlled, irresponsible, interested, and capricious agencies which in too many ways had been found unequal to their tasks." If the new University examinations failed, the nation would have to step in, providing by legislation suitable machinery for the improvement, "through examinations or otherwise", of the middle schools.³

1. Transactions, 1858, 'On the new Oxford Examinations, by Harry J.S. Smith, M.A.', 220.

2. *ibid.*, 'Examination Schemes, and their incidental effects on Public Education, by J.G. Fitch', 225-226.

3. Transactions, 1858, 'Organisation of Middle Schools in Germany, by Dr. W. Ihne', 227, 233.

Of the seven papers on middle-class education read to the 1859 meeting, the most extensive, and potentially influential, was Thomas Acland's. He had not been one of the original members of the S.S.A.; nor was he ever to be considered "a Social Science man". But in 1859 he seems to have been willing to emerge from his temporary provincial back-water to bask in the broader success attendant upon his initiation of the Local Examinations.

Acland's paper derived much of its material from his earlier essay in the Bath and West Journal¹; and it was also an elaboration of some of Pakington's remarks at the 1857 meeting. Acland took issue with the division of the programme of the Education Department of the S.S.A. into three sub-sections — upper, middle and lower class. The object of education, he thought, was the same for all classes : "to call out and develop the capabilities of the growing mind and heart, and, let me add, of the growing body; so as to prepare the individual for his future existence." Therefore he wished once and for all "to repudiate the term 'middle-class Education', and be allowed to assume that in essential principles the education of the labourer and craftsman, of the accumulator of wealth, and of the possessor of wealth, should be the same..."² Nevertheless it was necessary to arrive at some of the real facts represented by the term 'middle class'.

Acland's definition of the middle class was almost as vague as Lord Derby's was to be. He divided men into two broad categories : mechanical labourers; and the rest. The rest fell into two further groups : those who dealt with "men as men" — educators, clergy,

1. See above, ch.II, 74 ; Transactions, 1859, 'On the Education of the Middle Classes, by T.D.Acland', 299 ff.

2. Transactions, 1859, 299-300.

politicians; and those "who deal with things directly" — businessmen, supervisors of labour. Those who dealt with things were further sub-divided into those who were in business on a large scale, or who devoted themselves to scientific investigation; and those who were concerned with detail, or "the application of science to marketable use." Acland concluded that those who dealt with men as men required the longest mental training — a staple diet of classical literature, philosophy, and mathematics; and physical science "to enlarge their sphere of interest in the work of other men." Great manufacturers and merchants should have the same education as the former, with increased attention being devoted to abstract questions. Those who were to deal with detail required training in habits of calculation, with, additionally, literature "in so far as it tends to extend their human sympathies." He was concerned to reiterate the principles laid down nearly thirty years' earlier by Thomas Arnold, since he considered that, however closely a middle-class parent desired his son to be trained for business, his education would be grossly incomplete were his political judgement not developed to meet the requirements of the role he might play in local affairs. Education, he thought, should be "general and practical", so that when the boy entered upon the practical business of life, he should retain "freshness of interest in mental improvement", and also "a living and hearty sympathy with human nature". No training for the middle classes could be too high, given "the advancing power of the working classes." And "no accumulation of capital can atone for the deficiency of a liberal education."¹

1. *ibid.*, 303.

Despite the confused nature of his overall argument, Acland was being consistent with his previously stated opinions. While the tone of his statements was liberal, he clearly accepted the social status quo, and expressed the traditional fear of the collapse of the social hierarchy as the lower orders crept up on the educational superiority of their betters. Yet these apprehensions were cloaked by the sentiment that, by improvements in middle-class education, "we may augur a deeper sympathy with the feelings, and a more extended acquaintance with the wants, of the working classes, and thus look hopefully for the solution of social problems in which the welfare of England is deeply involved."¹ There can be little doubt but that, partly due to his veneration of Arnold and respect for Thring, he would have treated the public school and University education of the upper orders in a way clearly different from those immediately below them : he shared Temple's opinions about education for leadership.

Two of the other papers made similar points. The Revd. Barham Zincke, of Ipswich, admitted that there had been a great deal of discussion recently about the middle-class question : "but all the while, the great middle class, on whose behalf all this has been done, has made little response, or rather, none at all."² Similarly, at the same meeting, the Revd. H.G. Robinson, after vigorously criticising the quality of the education provided in the middle-class private schools, and doubting the appropriateness of the new 'Locals' for improving them, thought that an effort

1. *ibid.*, 308.

2. Transactions, 1859, 'On some Bearings that existing Circumstances, and particularly the period of time available for Education respectively in Different Classes, ought to have on Educational Aims, by the Rev. Barham Zincke, Vicar of Wherstead, near Ipswich, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen', 288.

should be made "by the middle classes themselves": wherever they lacked a good school they should associate together to form one.¹ These were two of the most telling comments in the whole of the debate on middle-class schooling: the complacency of the middle classes, in the towns as well as the countryside, was one of the chief features of the transactions relating to middle-class education up to 1869.²

At the close of the 1859 meeting, perhaps stimulated by the presence of Acland, James Heywood, seconded by the Revd. J.P. Fearon,³ made the only substantial practical proposal uttered so far at S.S.A. meetings on education: he moved that the Committee of the Association should summon a meeting of the secretaries and representatives of the local committees for dealing with the administration of the Oxford and Cambridge examinations, the meeting to be held in London, during the next Christmas vacation.⁴

Quite predictably few of the papers given at the Glasgow meeting in 1860 were relevant to English and Welsh concerns. But the address of the President of the Education Department, Kay-Shuttleworth, was an epitome of the principle of moderate action for the achievement of social harmony, an idea which lay at the heart of the deliberations of the S.S.A. After referring to the Newport Chartist insurrection of 1838 as the kind of "servile war" liable to endanger a highly complex state, he suggested, in terms with which Acland might have agreed, that it was necessary to educate the people so as "to raise them above the traditional or accidental and transient domination of a class." He agreed

1. *ibid.*, 438-439. Robinson's contribution was included under 'Summary Proceedings'.

2. See below, Ch.VIII, for a more detailed discussion of this issue.

3. For Fearon and Loughborough, see below, ch.XI, 621.

4. Transactions, 1859, 439.

with Matthew Arnold that it was important to cherish among the masses a sense of the rational and equitable in the relations of classes to each other, to the law, and to religion; to exclude from the national sentiment narrow pedantry, self-conceit and bigotry, and to encourage the highest cultivation. No dominion, he thought, could last which was not in harmony with "those primeval moral forces which operate by religion and mind — by faith and knowledge — by intelligence and virtue, on the happiness of men and the strength of states."¹ Kay-Shuttleworth's address might have been taken as a most useful agenda for the S.I.C.'s discussion of its social presuppositions, particularly in relation to the central problem, that of lower middle-class education. He anticipated their emphasis upon the moral aspect of social engineering, and their comparatively nonchalant treatment of statistics in the definitions of social groupings.

In his paper at the London meeting in 1862 James Heywood provided his characteristic barrage of densely presented facts, but found space for the assertion that all endowed schools, whether elementary or 'middle', should be inspected by H.M.I.s.² The Revd. Dr. G.A. Jacob, in the tradition of Thomas Arnold, pointed out that the great schools were taught by University men, and the elementary schools by certificated teachers under inspection: "Thus at both ends of our educational system some tangible securities are found for the efficient discharge of the instructor's duties." Later in his paper he revealed himself as a supporter

1. Transactions, 1860, 89, 109.

2. Transactions, 1862, 'College Fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge, by James Heywood, M.A., F.R.S.', 231-235.

of the claims of the College of Preceptors to act as the certifying agency for middle-class schoolmasters.¹ On the other hand, Ernest Noel at the same meeting argued that Oxford and Cambridge should be authorised to hold examinations for schoolmasters' certificates.²

The most weighty presidential address to the Education Department in this period was given by Nassau Senior at the 1863 Edinburgh meeting.³ He said little that was new; but he reinforced two assumptions which were fundamental concepts in the middle-class debate. Firstly, he described what he considered to be the constant, gradual adjustment of the English class system, by means of discreet social mobility. The middle classes played a crucial role here, as the employers and guides of the lower orders, and as a pool for recruitment to the aristocracy and upper orders. "The general character of the higher classes must depend on that of the new element constantly infused into them." It was therefore essential that the quality of recruits from the middle classes should be as good as possible. But unfortunately little was known about the manner in which the greater part of the middle classes was educated: they had been utterly neglected. His second point was based on the notion that the middle classes, who carried the largest part of the national fiscal burden, would not tolerate this situation for much longer if they received no obvious benefit from the money they contributed particularly to the support of national education. It is interesting that, in this connection,

1. Transaction, 1862, 'The Professional Training and Certification of Middle-class Teachers, by the Rev. G.A. Jacob, D.D.', 235-236. As "upper grammar master" at Christ's Hospital, Jacob gave evidence in S.I.C., IV, 765-775.

2. Transactions, 1862, 'University Examinations and Certificates for Middle-class Schoolmasters, by Ernest Noel,' 245.

3. Transactions, 1863, 46-72.

Senior took his model of the concerned member of the middle class, not from the industrial towns, but from the rural community. He asked, "Will the English farmer contentedly see his landlord's son educated at a richly-endowed school and university, and his labourer's son educated, perhaps, still better, in a national school, to the expense of which the labourer contributes only one-third, while the farmer himself must put up with a far inferior school, and pay it twenty times as much?"¹

Senior's rhetorical question was a metaphysical speculation: the negative answer implied by it was not supported by empirical evidence. The two main assumptions in his paper were characteristic of the contributions to the middle-class debate which were made by the intellectual and professional men of 'the forgotten middle class' in the mid-Victorian period. Senior's long career in public administration gave to these remarks a gravity and solidity which belied the fact that they were not grounded in direct experience of actual middle-class opinions or statistical certitude. Yet despite their intuitive character, they provided an essential element of reinforcement for the social and educational assumptions held by enlightened natural leaders of the community, like Acland and his West Country peers. The actual demands of the middle class, whether rural or urban, had not been canvassed, and the question of middle-class schooling was being treated in a grossly simplistic way, according to the broad, paternalistic schemes proposed by a social and intellectual élite. It is one of the central arguments of this thesis that, even when an apparently thorough investigation of the actual condition of a large part of middle-class school-

1. *ibid.*, 57.

ing was made after 1864, the general principles which the S.I.C. embodied in its Report were still substantially those which had been proposed in a speculative way before the Royal Commission was issued. The chief significance of Senior's paper in this context was that it was taken, by contemporaries in the S.S.A. to have been the stimulus leading to the presentation of the petition on middle-class education to Palmerston's government in 1864.

By contrast with Senior's contribution, a paper based upon a much more closely studied awareness of the needs of the lower middle classes was given by Thomas Hare to the Jurisprudence Department. He presented the draft of a Bill having as its aims : the facilitation of the obtaining of sites for the erection of more capacious buildings for the lower middle and poorer classes; the provision of cheap tenements for those classes, especially for the poorer; making available a cheap system of registration of titles so that tenements might be transferred more easily. Hare's Bill was an attempt to bring about the creation of a social environment in which moderate principles of reform and improvement, in relation to the crucial social group lying athwart the division between the lower and middle classes, might be implemented. There can be little doubt but that his experience as a Charity Commission Inspector dealing with a variety of charitable foundations had quickened his concern for the special problem of the lower middle classes : his evidence to the S.I.C. further revealed the breadth of his interest in educational and social reform.¹

1. Transactions, 1863, 266. See also, S.I.C., V, 399-418.

The discussion session on middle-class education at the 1863 Conference was remarkable chiefly for James Heywood moving "That the Education Department recommend the Council to consider the expediency of petitioning the Crown to issue a Commission to inquire into the Present State of the Education of the Middle Classes in the British Islands, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound education to these classes."¹ This was seconded by Ernest Noel. Professor Blackie was delighted by the resolution, remarking that he had been vainly urging the question for thirty years; he was glad to find it mooted "in a great national arena". Lyon Playfair believed the resolution was "concurrent in by all who had given their attention to this important subject." It seems also that Playfair had been in communication with Temple on this subject²; thus far the headmaster of Rugby had made no direct contribution to the S.S.A. discussions. Heywood had thus completed a significant 'double': he had been the chief proponent of a Commission to inquire into Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the early 1850s; now, under the aegis of Nassau Senior, he was one of the initiators of the movement which led directly to the issuing of a Royal Commission in 1864. However, there can be little doubt but that Heywood, far from being a central figure in the middle-class debate, was merely the immediate catalyst for a process which had been started by a wide range of even more committed figures. He had been contributing to the debate sporadically, but his action in 1863 was based on judicious timing, rather than continuous and central commitment to the solution of the middle-class problem.

1. Transactions, 1863, 'Discussion on Middle-class Education', 361.

2. *ibid.*, 363.

The Social Science Petition of 1864 will be dealt with later, along with the papers presented at the influential 1864 Congress in York.¹ Ultimately it cannot be said that the Association was much more than a platform for a variety of liberal opinions in this period. It was also a useful means of bringing together a diverse selection of people who mattered. Among the professional element and the educationists in the Association there was a sufficiently common sense of purpose to give the impression of consensus of view over middle-class education : in fact, this consensus was based upon anxiety, rather than on ideological harmony and certitude about the course of policy to be adopted. Nevertheless, despite the absence from its meetings of some of the leading protagonists of strong ideas, like Lowe, Temple, and Matthew Arnold, the Association had, through the annual publication of its Transactions, brought together collections of diverse opinions from a large and influential group of men with thoughts about middle-class education; it can be said that the Transactions were, until 1867, the only attempt to present anthologies of opinion on the subject. This public influence was most important; so, too, was the political effect of the Association. It played a major role in producing an antidote to the inertia of policy which had infected a succession of governments up to 1867, helping to create the impression that there was a substantial measure of agreement on formerly controversial topics among people who mattered. In this sense, the establishment of the Taunton Commission was the greatest achievement of the S.S.A.

1. See below, Ch.IX,

Two further contributions to the deliberations of this 'forum' in the decade up to 1864 have tended to be overlooked whenever middle-class education in England and Wales has been considered. The first of these — in significance rather than in time — is the Newcastle Commission, whose recommendations about the law of charitable trusts have been considered in an earlier chapter.¹ It has already been established that the Newcastle Commission and the Taunton Commission, in their concern for the reform of charitable trusts, stand in the mainstream of a movement which extends from the charity inquiries of the 1780s, through Brougham, to the Livery Companies Commission of the 1880s, and beyond. The notion of the 'grading' of middle-class schools was hardly new in the 1850s; nor was there any novelty in the idea of linking the elementary schools with the schools directly above them, by means of scholarships and free places awarded on merit. Suggestions like these, however, were given the stamp of official approval in the recommendations of the Newcastle Commission.

This Commission, apart from its comments on endowments in general, made two important official contributions to the ideology of middle-class education in the 1860s. First of all, largely in response to the evidence presented by Peter Erle, the Chief Charity Commissioner, it made an administrative proposal: that the general supervision of charities should rest, not with non-educational bodies, like the Charity Commission and the Court of Chancery, but with the Education Committee of the Privy Council.

1. See above, ch.V,

There would be an obvious convenience in thus placing "our whole system of public education, so far as it is connected with the Government, in the same official hands." The Privy Council already had inspectors who "might easily be made to embrace the endowed schools."¹

The second suggestion related to local structural reform, which would bring the work of each school into harmony with the efforts of others. This was a clear anticipation of Taunton recommendations. Newcastle suggested that "considerable advantages may be gained by connecting some of the endowed schools, in a graduated system with other places of popular education."² They thought, in this connection, that the vision of local administrators was limited to their own school ; it did not extend to any comprehensive scheme of improvement for endowed schools throughout the country, "to any reciprocal advantages which under such a scheme might be purchased by mutual concessions," or to "anything like a graduated connection of school with school for the purpose of drafting pupils from a lower place of education to a higher." Here the Newcastle Report provides reinforcement for a judgement which has been outlined in several places during this thesis : that, in the opinion of those who mattered, middle-class education was a problem too complicated and important to be left to the middle classes themselves for solution. Having already commented on the too limited vision of local trustees, the Report suggested that once "a good system" had been instituted by central government,

1. Popular Education Commission, I, 475.

2. *ibid.*, loc. cit., (emphasis added).

"it may be found possible and desirable to transfer to some local authority a portion of the powers which, until a good system shall have been instituted, we think it necessary to vest in the Privy Council."¹ These proposals might well have owed much to the experience of general educational administration already possessed by a number of unofficial provincial and county authorities who bore responsibility for the administration for more than merely Church elementary education in their areas.² There is little need to underline the point that these proposals cast their shadow forward to Taunton and helped to shape and confirm attitudes on that Commission. But after that has been admitted, it must be said that the former Commission, since its brief had been to examine elementary education, could afford to make rather irresponsible remarks about subjects which strictly speaking lay outside its terms of reference. The members of the S.I.C. were to find out that the bland implementation of such proposals was politically impossible, even a decade later. The kind of reorganisation suggested by Newcastle, and attempted by the Endowed Schools Commission under the 1869 Act, foundered on the very rocks of local jealousy and short-sightedness which had been charted in the 1861 Report.

The second contribution to the 'forum' which historians have tended to overlook has close connections, not merely with the evolving concept of middle-class education in England, but more especially with the rural side of the problem : this is the

1. *ibid.*, 481.

2. See above, Ch. III.

attempt in the 1850s to provide Ireland with a system of intermediate schools for the middle classes. There are certain common or related features here. Irish rural society suffered even more miserably than did some of the English counties in the immediate post-Repeal era : and there was in Ireland an even greater need to provide, not only new economic energy, but a stable social structure. There was, too, a common awareness of the need to get rid of the corruption associated with charitable trusts and endowments for education. In particular, the failure of the new Queen's Colleges to attract a sufficient number of students was causing anxiety.

In the House of Lords in 1859 the Earl of Cork, reviewing the recent history of Irish education, pointed out that there were over 2,300 educational endowments in Ireland. The Queen's Colleges had been instituted by Peel in 1845 "with a view to the education of all classes of the people", each college receiving from the Consolidated Funds a grant of £7,000 a year. But in spite of the undoubted quality of the education which they could provide, since 1845 only 1,686 students had passed through them; and the number of matriculated students for 1858 was less than in any previous year, except 1852. Cork attributed this to "the inefficiency of the intermediate schools in Ireland."¹ Although he wished the Government to bring in legislation, he said he was conscious of the great difficulties which beset the question; and the problem of religion in Ireland, in relation to the intermediate schools, was even more intense than those which beset the would-be reformers of English endowed schools. In the

1. Hansard, III Series, CLIV, May-July 1859, 951.

same debate the Earl of Donoughmore suggested that the reason for the comparative failure of the Colleges was that all efforts of the Catholic clergy in Ireland "had been and would be directed to prevent the middle classes from making use of these colleges in the form in which they at present existed."¹ In other words, he considered that the mixing of religious sects in Irish intermediate schools and colleges was not a feasible solution to the problem of middle-class education in Ireland.

The attempted solutions to a whole range of social and economic problems provided a set of models which were hardly overlooked by contemporary Englishmen during the 19th century. Mr. Kitson Clark has written :

Since the cause of Ireland's trouble was its poverty, its condition was such that no class was likely to supply those services which local enterprise and charity might be expected to supply in England, and there did not seem to be enough native capital to supply the equipment which was necessary for economic growth. It thus seemed necessary for the State to step in and provide what no one else could provide. The result was a remarkable anticipation of what was to come elsewhere.²

This anticipation was certainly valid, as we have seen, in the fields of state intervention in elementary education, and in agricultural education. The Kildare Commission on Irish Endowed Schools was a further example of such anticipation.

By an Act of Parliament of 13 July 1855, a six-man Commission was appointed under the Marquis of Kildare to inquire into the funds, condition and curricula of the Irish endowed schools. Its period of active inquiry was extended to February 1858, and it reported in that year. The conclusions of the

1. *ibid.*, 962.

2. G. Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England*, London, 1973, xviii-xix.

Kildare Inquiry may well have touched off some familiar responses among those contemporary Englishmen who read it or were acquainted with it. Some of the abuses to which the Report called attention were, the lack of authoritative inspection; the want of adequately trained, properly paid masters, and the absence of promotion prospects and superannuation; the smallness of many of the endowments; the poor keeping of accounts, and "the want of a clear definition and public announcement of the qualifications and rights of pupils to free admission." They also suggested a distinct separation between the secular and religious instruction, "so far as to enable scholars of different religious denominations to receive instruction of the former kind in the same school, without compromise of opinions, or risk of offence." For this reason the Report favoured day, rather than boarding, schools.

It is quite clear, too, that the Kildare Commissioners were most anxious about one specific group within the broad middle class. They were not worried about the wealthier members who sent their sons to boarding schools, often in England. It was the education of the sons of farmers, artisans, and shopkeepers that they were most concerned to improve. They desired most of all to revitalise the provision of free education for these kinds of lower middle-class pupils, which had been steadily eroded in the previous century. They mentioned, too, the beneficially stimulating effect, even at this early stage, of the Civil Service and other competitive national examinations.

One of the leading members of the Kildare Commission was Charles Graves, Professor of Mathematics at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1854 he had been among the select group of educationists, clergy and civil servants who had been asked by Northcote and Trevelyan to volunteer opinions on the prospects of the proposed scheme of competitive entry to the British Civil Service. Graves had then thought that "It is in Ireland that we may hope to see the best fruits produced by an improved system of appointment to the public offices, as it is there that patronage has caused some of the worst social evils." The Irish, though "brilliant", were, like most Celts, lacking in application. Competitive examinations for public office would concentrate their minds and provide them with qualifications for a wider range of employments.¹

All six Commissioners signed the 1858 Report. But before it was presented to Parliament one of their number, Archibald Stevens, an Anglican barrister, submitted an unofficial minority report which, according to his claim, represented the views of the majority of Anglicans in Ireland, who were, he said, antipathetic to the notion of broadening the scope of 'mixed' education (i.e., the mixing of denominations) in the endowed schools. In particular Stevens challenged the Commission's definition of 'non-exclusive' schools in Ireland. The controversy which he aroused prevented the implementation of the Commission's recommendations, by legislation, for another seventeen years.²

1. Papers on the Reorganisation of the Civil Service, Presented to both Houses of Parliament, ..., London, 1855, Evidence of Dr. Charles Graves, 21 February 1854, 22-29.

2. For Stevens's 'treason', see H. Martineau, op. cit.

Nevertheless the possibility of legislating for Irish intermediate education was a recurring issue in Parliament until the end of 1859. It was raised on a number of occasions by Mr. J. Bagwell (Clonmel), Mr. W. Kirk (Newry), Mr. Grogan (Dublin), and others, and in the Lords by the Earls of Cork and Donoughmore. The most striking feature of these queries, apart from their common acceptance of the need for reform, was the extreme diversity of their opinions on the religious issue — 'mixed' schools. The Conservative and Liberal Governments of the period clearly regarded intermediate education as a far too controversial issue. In 1858 Lord Naas replied, for the Conservatives, that "while the Commissioners had succeeded in showing the evils which existed in the present system...he could not say that when they set about to suggest the remedy they were as successful in doing so."¹ And for the Liberals in 1859 Lord Granville rehearsed the difficulties of the question and said that this Government, like the last, had not prepared a Bill. "At the same time, he fully admitted the importance of the question and the obligation of the government to consider what steps they could best take on this question."² And so the Irish intermediate issue, for the time being, slid quietly from view, at least in Westminster.³ The interest taken in the issue of Irish intermediate education, by Harriet Martineau in 1858, has been dealt with elsewhere; but, as will be evident later, her writing for the Daily News on that topic did not mark the end of her general concern for middle-class education in the United Kingdom.⁴

1. Hansard, III Series, CLIV, May-July 1859, 951.

2. *ibid.*, CLII, February-March 1859, 508.

3. But see remarks on the Dublin meeting of the S.S.A., above, ch. IV, 242.

4. See below, ch. IX, 460.

One of the omissions of this analysis of the middle-class 'forum' in the period immediately before the Taunton Commission is a consideration of the contribution of the daily press to the dissemination of ideas about current problems and schemes. In November 1861 the Times reported upon a fund-raising meeting for the Woodard schools at the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford. This provided Gladstone with one of the few occasions on which he allowed his oratory full rein on the subject of middle-class schooling. He made no secret of his support for Woodard's religious aims. But he was also nicely Whiggish : he declared that no community could be in a perfectly healthy state without some pressure upwards. "As the sap rises from the ground in the vegetable world, so it is in the structure of human society. With a stagnant lower class, no community can do well, no country can be powerful or secure...But while intelligence has thus been quickened in the masses of the people, there is no doubt that the lower middle class...is for the moment in a position of some danger...of losing its relative position..."

After thus reinforcing a more general feeling that the crucial political element in the community was the lower middle class, Gladstone went on to discuss the effects of developing political consciousness in England after the first Reform Act. He spoke, he said, as a witness, not a judge : but he thought that the effect of the 1832 Act, in addition to its enfranchisement of the middle class, had been to stimulate the exertions of aristocracy and gentry "in the fulfilment of public and social duty..and not to weaken, but confirm and strengthen their position

in the exercise of great social influence." There can be little doubt but that Gladstone was expressing a general estimate of the balance of political power at national level in 1861; his anxiety about the social influence of the lower middle class concealed the more potent fears of his peers about the stirrings of the as yet quiescent middle class in provincial politics. What he wanted, from the creation of lower middle-class schools, even on the Woodard model, was to see the initiation of "a new link or bond of union between all the various classes in this great community."¹ This was essentially the aim of the members of the Social Science Association in their papers and discussions upon middle-class education : to create social harmony and social stability. It was later to be seen as the expressed aim of another Liverpudlian, Lord Derby, in his speech at Liverpool Collegiate speech day in 1863.² It is notable that Gladstone's speech, like most of the contributions to the S.S.A. meetings, was dominated by discussion of the social imperative in middle-class education, and not specifically or even incidentally by questions relating to the content of the curriculum.

The Times leader which followed the Oxford meeting neatly summarised the common objectives of the middle-class 'forum'.³ The writer said that 'middle-class Education' might be a solution ; but everyone knew what was meant by it. English schools had to follow the variety of English homes : "it would be an impossibility as well as a piece of affectation to lodge under the same roof and board at the same common table the sons of

1. Times, 22 November, 1861.

2. See above, ch.I.

3. Times, 23 November, 1861.

farmers, tradesmen, and clerks, and the sons of small shopkeepers and artisans, those whose parents are willing to pay £30 a year or more, and those whose parents cannot afford £15, those who are to work mainly with their heads, and those who are to work with their hands, the children of the employers, and the children of the employed." Despite the seeming validity of the Liberal (and liberal) sentiments which were expressed about middle-class education up to 1864, the middle-class debate was still dominated by market forces. The desire to stabilise society, by means of the creation of a secure middle ground between the 'great schools' and the National Schools, would be fulfilled, it was generally assumed, by providing limited opportunities for upward social mobility, professional standards of qualification for teaching, and efficient external examinations; but, above all, by tying the cost of the various grades of middle-class education, for most pupils, to their parents' ability to pay the major part of the actual cost of schooling. Above all, the arbiters of what constituted a good middle-class education, who should determine the just price which parents paid for it, were still to be the more enlightened of the traditional leaders of society, rather than the middle classes themselves.

ABSTRACT.

This thesis sets out to identify a number of precedents for the recommendations of the Schools Inquiry Commission; to modify the strongly-held assumption that the Report of the Commissioners was a radical document, and to establish a clear relationship between the most influential members of the Commission and their roles and experience as the natural leaders of the landed interest in county society. It is also an attempt to show that there existed a community of interest between these local magnates and the 'forgotten middle class' — the professional educationists, like headmasters and H.M.I.s, the legal technicians of the equity courts, the reformist intelligentsia at the ancient Universities, and leading Broad Churchmen.

The ^{corollary}~~corollary~~ of this argument is a depiction of the urban industrial and commercial middle classes as being relatively inactive in the field of middle-class education.

The two most prominent figures in the debate about middle-class education were Thomas Arnold and Frederick Temple. The 1850s and early 1860s witnessed a gradual refining of Arnold's principles; and the execution of his proposals, in the form of the S.I.C.'s recommendations, was largely the work of Temple.

The main preoccupation of the Taunton Commissioners was with the crucial social and political position of the lower middle class : the prospective clients of their proposed third-grade schools; and the chief work of the Commission can be seen as an attempt to guarantee social stability, particularly in the rural community, by providing the tenant-farmer, the clerk, and the artisan with an education as efficient as, and more liberal than, the schooling

AN INVESTIGATION OF PRECEDENTS FOR THE
RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SCHOOLS INQUIRY COMMISSION
1864 - 1867.

With an Analysis of Reasons for the Failure of
the Endowed Schools Act, 1869.

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DAVID IAN ALLSOBROOK

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CHAPTER VII.**EXAMINATIONS.**

The importance of examinations as a factor in the debate about middle-class education in the 1850s and the 1860s has been established by John Roach in his extended study of the subject.¹ This present excursion into the field of examinations necessarily relies very heavily upon Professor Roach's work. His findings imply that there were two lines of development in English thinking about middle-class examinations in the period up to 1857 : one remained theoretical, while the other was applied first at local, then at national level.

The first, theoretical, branch of development emanated from James Booth, in Liverpool, under the aegis of the Society of Arts.² As Professor Roach says, echoes of Booth's ideas appeared a decade later in a pamphlet published by Canon Rickson of the Manchester Church Education Society.³ The significance of the Manchester Society, and of Rickson's role in it, have been dealt with earlier,⁴ and it is interesting that the promotion of ideas by these two Anglicans, Booth and Rickson, working from their Church bases in Manchester and Liverpool, came immediately to nothing. Schemes such as theirs had to be taken up by large institutions before they stood any chance of succeeding in the mid-nineteenth century. It was the College of Preceptors which first took up the proposition and mounted external examinations for middle-class schools in Nottingham in 1850, though the College lacked the prestige necessary to develop the experiment on a large scale.⁵

1. John Roach, *Public Examinations in England, 1850-1900*, Cambridge, 1971. See also R.J. Montgomery, *Examinations: an account of their evolution as administrative devices in England*, London, 1965.

2. Roach, *op. cit.*, 56-58. Professor Roach refers to Booth's notions of middle-class examinations as expressed in his 'Examinations, the Province of the State' (1847).

3. *ibid.*, 59.

4. See above, ch. III, 138, ff.

5. Roach, *op. cit.*, 61.

The second line of development proved to be more profitable and permanent. The Local Examinations of Oxford and Cambridge began, not among the surging middle-class urban enclaves of industrial England, nor yet in the two Universities themselves, but in the West country, supported in principle by the Bath and West of England Society.¹ The 'Locals', which grew out of Lord Ebrington's prize schemes for farmers' sons in Devon, came under the guardianship of the Universities through T.D.Acland's enthusiasm and Temple's support in 1857. Ebrington's and Brereton's less ambitious scheme had been rooted in rural county society. Acland and Temple, rejecting pure localism, transformed the original prize scheme by associating its principles with the University of Oxford and later with Cambridge.

Although the Local Examinations originated in the countryside, by means of the alliance between University liberals and county gentlemen enthusiasts, they were quickly taken up by men in industrial and commercial centres as a means of providing guarantees for the quality of local middle-class schooling. Professor Roach has said that the 'Locals' would achieve this object "without infringing the middle-class love of independence" and "without presenting problems about religious instruction or about outside interference in the running of a school."² Two examples have been chosen to illustrate the immediacy of response to the scheme of Acland and Temple; the first of these is urban, the second rural.

The Educational Conference of June 1857, held in London, was devoted to the solution of the mid-nineteenth-century problem of 'early leaving' in elementary education. Yet one of the most interesting papers read to it was written by W.L.Sargant of Birmingham⁴ on a subject not obviously

1. See above, ch.II, 69 ; and Roach, op. cit., 64-71.

2. Roach, op. cit., 67.

3. See above, ch.VI, 339.

4. For further references to Sargant, see below, ch.X.

related to the conference's main theme. In the year in which the 'Locals' began, Gargant was describing the enthusiasm with which the town of Birmingham had already taken up the idea of the examinations and had actively helped to bring them into being.¹ The class which Gargant thought would be most improved by the operation of the examinations was the lower-middle class, whose members, "if they are not actually the sons of mechanics, are the sons of persons only just above that position."² He attributed the genesis of the new project to Frederick Temple who "agreed with his brother inspector, the Revd. H.W. Bellairs, that Birmingham should have the honour of bringing the scheme into the world", and he quoted at length a letter from Temple to Bellairs written in April 1857.³ Temple concluded by saying,

The Examination should be held annually in Oxford. But an examiner should be sent down, with the same papers as were being set at the same time at Oxford, to any place where the gentry and local authorities desired it, and were willing to pay the educational expenditure incurred in hiring rooms for the examination.

A committee which already existed in Birmingham for the object of promoting elementary education took up the 'Locals' with enthusiasm⁴, even before the University of Oxford had formally considered the new proposals in May 1857.⁵ Birmingham was not acting alone: memorials to the University were presented from Cheltenham, with 46 signatures, from Gloucester, from the master and trustees of Leeds Grammar School, from the Hants and Wilts Education Society, and from the Examination Committee of the West of England Prize Scheme.⁶ It is fair to say that these were the first instances of a practical form of association of initiat-

1. Alfred Hill (ed.), *Essays on Educational Subjects read at the Educational Conference of June 1857*, London, 1857, 334-356.

2. *ibid.*, 335.

3. *ibid.*, 336-337.

4. For further information about the Birmingham Educational Association see below, ch. VIII.

5. Hill, *op. cit.*, 338.

6. *Times*, 30 May 1857.

ives in the larger towns with a common impulse to promote reform.¹ When the proposal was also put to Cambridge University, Sargent and E.H. Gifford, then master of King Edward's School, led a deputation thence which included Bellairs and Temple.²

The general work of the Northants Middle Schools Committee in relation to the reform of endowed schools has already been considered.³ It was perhaps only to be expected that its members would immediately respond to the 'Locals' with enthusiasm. Already at a meeting of the Committee on 7 June 1856 a resolution had been passed recommending to the Society that it should institute annual prizes for the grammar schools of the county "to be adjudicated by some person appointed by the Society." It is likely, though there is no direct evidence to support the proposition, that the Northants prize scheme idea was borrowed from the West of England : the connection between the Northants Secretary, H.J. Barton, and T.D. Acland, through the pages of the Bath and West Journal, has already been established.⁴

In July 1857, at a quarterly meeting, it was proposed, with H.J. Barton seconding the motion, and resolved, "that this Committee would gladly co-operate with the Universities in carrying out the proposed Scheme of Examinations for the Middle Classes."⁵ In December Barton reported that copies of the University examination regulations had been sent to the masters of the various grammar schools in the county.⁶ The response was disappointing : only one of the county's endowed schools offered to take part in the scheme. This reflected the complacency of

1. For a discussion of the relative inertia of the larger towns in the field of middle-class education, see below, ch. VIII.

2. Hill, op. cit., 340.

3. See above, ch. III.

4. See above, ch. II.

5. Minutes of the Northants Middle Schools Committee, 4 July 1857.

6. ibid., 19 December 1857.

the masters of such schools. Outside the county, however, Oakham expressed interest and eventually sent candidates to the Northampton centre in 1859.¹

The first Northants session of the 'Locals' was held in December 1859. The results of this were also disappointing, with only 3 entrants in the senior division and 14 in the junior division, of whom only 5 passed, none of them with honours. However, the Committee were sanguine about the experiment :

There can be no doubt that their very failure has proved the necessity of this probation of the middle-class education of this District and of giving it every stimulus in our power by persevering in this impartial and discriminating test. It is far better to know our shortcomings than to go groping on in self-satisfied blindness.

The examination was "the tribunal to which all middle-class education will appeal for its character."²

From 1859 onwards the administration of the Oxford and Cambridge examinations became the main preoccupation of the Northants Committee. In 1861 it was reported that the examinations "seem gradually to be overcoming the indifference with which they were at first received"; and by 1867 there were 130 candidates from schools in the county.³ The task of administration was quite complicated, involving financial returns, lists of guarantors, and notices of circulars sent to masters. Despite a proposal to set up a separate County Board of Examinations in June 1864, the Middle Schools Committee continued to administer the 'Locals'. Most of the early candidates seem to have come from private schools. Three Northampton private school masters were in fact co-opted on the the Middle Schools Committee in September 1866. One of these, Mr. Kingston, had been a commercial master at Oundle school.⁴ In their

1. *ibid.*, 2 April 1859.

2. Printed Report of the Middle Schools Committee, 1859, 33-34.

3. Annual Report of the Northants Education Society, printed in the Northampton Mercury, 25 April, 1868.

4. W.G.Walker, A History of the Oundle Schools, London, 1956, 353.

1859 Report the Committee expressed their debt to Kingston, "not only for the interest shown and co-operation afforded them in the whole organisation of the local arrangements, but also for his great kindness and hospitality in accommodating many of the distant Candidates in his own home during the week of the examinations."

A letter from Acland to Barton, dated 23 February 1862, which was attached to the Middle Schools Minute Book, contained some reflections upon the early development of the 'Locals'. He hoped that Oxford and Cambridge might allot the centres between them to avoid duplication. He went on,

...I think the two places must work independently. Each University has a vision of its own. Oxford holds firm to absolute justice to commercial schools in which Dissenters abound.

On the question of the religious papers in the examinations the Northants Committee demonstrated their tolerance. In 1864 they accepted that religious knowledge might be dropped from the requirements, but hoped that it might be replaced by an equivalent section on secular knowledge.¹

In the same year the Committee instituted a system of rewards for candidates who gained honours : £2 for Seniors and £1 for Juniors; and it was resolved that, since the Oxford Delegacy had refused to provide ornamental borders for certificates, the Society should supply them from their funds.² As at other centres,³ an annual prize day, usually presided over by the Bishop, became one of the important occasions among the Society's activities from 1865.

The Committee responded to another innovatory idea in this field. In 1864, having considered the question of "admitting females to the

1. Northants Middle Schools Committee, 9 January 1864.

2. *ibid.*

3. e.g., the *Times*, 25 November 1864, contained reports of two prize days under the 'Locals'; one at Bath, addressed by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the other at Oxford where Walter, proprietor of the *Times*, was the chief guest.

Local Examinations", the "Committee desire to express their approval of the course and their hope that the Universities will make arrangements for carrying it into effect."¹ At a later meeting in the same year a letter from Emily Davies was read, stating that a petition bearing one thousand and three signatures had been sent to Cambridge in support of the admission of females to examinations. The Society resolved to petition the Syndicate themselves. Finally in 1870 it unanimously agreed to request that Northampton be considered as one of the centres for "Cambridge Local Examinations for Girls", and a Ladies' Committee was established as part of the Society. In 1874 there were 13 female candidates.²

By 1864 the Northants Committee was providing a compromise between Acland's original conception of a centralised system of voluntary examinations and Ebrington's desire for county boards of examinations.³ Among other diocesan boards, Bath and Wells had been experimenting with prize schemes for middle-class schools since the 1840s,⁴ and continued to supervise the administration of the 'Locals' after 1869.⁵

The Royal Agricultural Society's interest in middle-class education has been noted earlier.⁶ In 1865 the R.A.S. also actively supported the 'Locals' by offering their own prizes in connection with certain relevant subjects, like agricultural chemistry, under the Oxford and Cambridge examinations.⁷

1. *ibid.* See below, ch.X, 494, for H.J.Barton's support of petitions to the S.I.C. in the matter of female higher education.

2. Annual Report of the Middle Schools Committee, 1874.

3. See Reach, *op. cit.*, 67.

4. See above, ch.III.

5. Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Acts, 1886, evidence of Archdeacon Fagan of Wells.

6. See above, ch.II.

7. S.I.C., Minutes of Evidence, IV, evidence of Sir E.C.Kerrison, appendix of extracts from a Report of the R.A.S. Education Committee, 660-662.

Commenting on Jowett's proposal to open the Civil Service to competitive examination, expressed in his letter of January 1854,¹ Frederick Temple, then Principal of Kneller Hall, wrote that he thought there was no reform which would be more likely to improve the Service, or "indirectly to promote the best kinds of education."² He regarded "the competition as the cardinal point in the plan." The character of the examinations which Jowett proposed was accepted in principle by most of the correspondents who contributed their views in 1854, and it matched the kind of literary education which would have been acceptable to headmasters of endowed schools, like Gifford of Birmingham,³ Vaughan of Harrow,⁴ and Cotton of Marlborough.⁵

But Henry Moseley, then an H.M.I., though distinguishable from his colleagues in the Education Office by his interest in technical education, thought that Jowett's scheme partook too much of the idiosyncracies of one kind of mind: it would be "shunted upon the rail of one class of thinkers."⁶ Certainly, he said, the scheme would offer nothing to engineers, "a class of men who seem to be taking the world in their own hands."⁷ It would surely become necessary for men of practical knowledge to be taken into the Government service. Nevertheless, Moseley envisaged the new examinations having a considerable effect upon the progress of general education: "a competition of public elementary schools and of private commercial schools would be created, greatly to the advantage of both."

1. See Roach, *op. cit.*, 27.

2. Report on the Re-organisation of the Civil Service, Presented to Both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty, London, 1855, 32.

3. *ibid.*, 47.

4. *ibid.*, 87.

5. *ibid.*, 58.

6. *ibid.*, 39.

7. *ibid.*, 40.

The most interesting comments on the possible social effects of the scheme came from Ireland. Charles Graves¹, brother-in-law of Leopold von Ranke, Professor of Mathematics at Trinity College, Dublin, and soon to become a member of the Kildare Inquiry into intermediate schooling in Ireland, thought that the examinations would not be democratic in tendency : but they would increase "the influence of the intelligent and well conducted portion of the middle and working classes."² In that sense they would be "essentially conducive to the stability of our social state" by strengthening popular confidence in the Government. Middle-class parents, he thought, "would hail the prospect open to their sons of obtaining an honourable position by the exercise of their own diligence and ability."³ Graves himself, as a man of slender influence and the father of three sons, resolved to "direct their education in such a way that they might be fitted for the proposed competition." He took as an instance the case of a widow with a clever son who might be receiving his education in an endowed school. Her difficulties began when his education ended. "But if the design of the Report be realised you will make this widow's heart sing for joy."⁴ Graves thought that one of the reasons why the business of so many middle-class schools was conducted so languidly was that "the influence of competition is unfelt by the masters."⁵ Ireland in particular would benefit by the examinations, because it was there that patronage had caused some of the worst social evils. The Irish, like most Celts, he thought, were brilliant, but lacking in application and self-reliance.⁶

1. See above, ch.IV.

2. Report on the Re-organisation of the Civil Service,..., 22.

3. *ibid.*, 23.

4. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

5. *ibid.*, 25.

6. cf., for similar remarks about Celts, Mr. Bonpas's Report for the S.I.C. on Wales, S.I.C., XX.

Until lately, the sons of persons in the middle class in Ireland have been taught to look to the clerical, military, legal, and medical professions as their only fields of exertion; whilst agriculture, manufacture, and trade, have been at a discount. Amongst the persons who are unsuccessful in competing for appointments in the Civil Service there will be many well prepared for the pursuits I have just mentioned.

Graves's evidence linked together a number of factors which were uppermost in the minds of advocates of Civil Service reform. First, he wished to improve the quality of middle-class education; secondly, he emphasised the special effect of opening up a new career for soundly educated boys; but, most important, he saw a more efficient system of middle-class schooling as a guarantee of social stability, in both England and Ireland. In particular, Graves, like Dr. Jenne, formerly master of King Edward's Birmingham, thought that the opportunities created for the best pupils in the national schools would lead to a general improvement in the quality of elementary education: "and thus you will contribute to the improvement of every village in the country."² The later acknowledgement of the effect of these examinations upon Irish education, at the Social Science Association meeting in Dublin, has been referred to earlier.³

The effect of the examinations upon the public mind was considerable. Addressing a public meeting called to protest against the scheme of reform for Monmouth school being undertaken by the Halcordashers' Company, Mr. George, a Monmouth tradesman who had been involved for over thirty years in the struggle to preserve the School's local character, spoke in defence of Latin and Greek in middle-class schooling:

Perhaps some tradesmen and farmers would say, 'What is the use of Latin or Greek or French?' In the olden time, if a person wanted to put his son into the Civil Service he had only to do his duty on certain occasions, and then he could go to the M.P. to get

1. Report on the Re-organisation of the Civil Service, ..., 26.

2. *ibid.*, 51.

3. See above, ch. IV,

an appointment; but now things were changed. A young man must know Latin and many things before he could pass the examination either for the Civil Service or to obtain a commission in the army.

The S.I.C. was doubtful about the lauded effect of the Civil Service Examinations upon the work of the schools. The influence of the examinations was "remote".² Yet their final recommendations included the proposal of establishing a central Council of Examinations comprising representatives from Oxford, Cambridge and London Universities, balanced by Government appointees.³ This idea was a neat piece of political jugglery : it blended the principle of using the Universities to guide and test the work of the schools, with that of establishing the influence of the State. Thus it seemed to avoid the kind of pure bureaucratic control of examinations from the centre which characterised systems in France and Prussia.

1. Hereford Times, 17 December 1864.

2. S.I.C., I, 325.

3. *ibid.*, 649.

CHAPTER VIII

Local Authorities and Unilateralism: II. Towns

It has been shown in Chapter III how a number of counties, and one great conurbation, became areas in which experiments took place in the organisation of middle-class education: experiments not only in imitation but in co-ordination; and they were largely Anglican in inspiration. In undertaking the task of trying to produce cohesive systems of secondary schooling within specific areas these unofficial local authorities were acting upon principles which were to be incorporated in the recommendations of the S.I.C. Their activities were attended with limited success. But by contrast the urban attempts to promote middle-class education were unilateral and unco-ordinated: their motivation was often arbitrary and non-educational, and the new or revived institution often owed little to earlier innovations in other similar places. Behind this urban experience of middle-class education before 1864 there was no cohesive force at work, no ostensibly shared framework of principle, and few outstanding models for imitation. To some extent these characteristics of urban experience are self-evident, and this chapter is necessarily a brief survey of unilateral and largely isolated efforts to provide education for the middle class in English towns in the period up to the time of the Taunton inquiry.

In 1864 George Griffith, a Kidderminster corn dealer, encouraged by his recent success at the York meeting of the Social Science Association, published his The Endowed Schools of England and Ireland, which he dedicated to Brougham.¹ Griffith's misfortune was that he was a member of the bourgeoisie — that section of the middle class

1. George Griffith, The Endowed Schools of England and Ireland, Their Past, Present and Future, London and Stourbridge, 1864. For a description of the York sessions of the S.S.A., see above, ch. VI.

which could afford to pay the market price for the education of its children and which sustained itself by industrial and business enterprise. But because of his social class, during his active career as a publicist, from 1840 until his death in 1870, he was never admitted to the inner circle of professional men — lawyers, headmasters and dons — aristocrats and country gentlemen, which monopolised the debate about middle-class education. His paper at York seems to have been largely ignored by the other contributors to the discussions in the Education Department of the Association. Yet in the period up to 1864 Griffith was the only truly middle-class man who consistently devoted his energy and his fortune to the task of trying to co-ordinate isolated local demands for the improvement of educational provision for the children of his own class.

Griffith was chiefly interested in the education of the lowest section of the middle class : the sons of artisans, tradesmen, shopkeepers, clerks, and the smaller tenant-farmers. Ironically he thus shared common ground with more socially acceptable advocates of improvement in middle-class schooling — the supporters of the National Society, the promoters of the Local Examinations, and the members of the S.S.A. — in supporting particularly the cause of the lower middle class. He wrote in 1864, "Those artisans and tradesmen are taxed to pay for the support of the Government schools", while there existed numerous schools "from which their sons are excluded by the present system."¹ His other published works reflect the fact that his specific inquiries and active participation were related to the endowed institutions of the English Midlands, and especially to the schools of Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire and Birmingham.

1. Griffith, *op. cit.*, 32.

Yet Griffith seems to have read everything written by others on his favourite topic. He consulted the records of all the significant legal proceedings relating to educational endowments, all the Parliamentary debates on the laws of charitable trusts, newspaper accounts of contentious cases, and the official reports of Royal Commissions and Select Committees. The product of this massive diligence, in the form of his published works, is often tedious and repetitious : as a 'politician' building up a 'party' he was often forced to go over the same ground more than once. Yet as a whole his work is impressive, and at times is both entertaining and strikingly perceptive. Its significance lies in the fact that it represents the only coherent attempt to create a middle-class lobby in the debate upon middle-class education. On a few occasions Griffith came near to creating the pressure-group he desired : in particular he captured momentarily the support of George Ewart, M.P.; but Ewart had obsessional interests of his own and moved off in his own direction.¹

A further remarkable feature of his interest in the subject is revealed by the general title of the 1864 volume : he drew considerably on Harriet Martineau's Daily News articles for his extensive remarks about Ireland, describing the Marquis of Kildare's report on Irish intermediate and endowed schools as "this wonderful Report."² Even when, as a corn merchant, he had visited Ireland in 1836 via stage-coach and steam-packet from Bristol to Waterford, bearing as a gift an 84 lb. Gloucester cheese for the friend of a senior partner, he could not forego the opportunity of inspecting Waterford endowed school.

1. See, W.A.Mumford, William Ewart, M.P., 1798-1869 ; Portrait of a Radical, London, 1960.

2. George Griffith, op. cit., 34-35.

The first of his salvoes had been fired in 1852, in the form of a study of the endowed schools of Worcestershire.¹ His general views, which seem to have developed little throughout his career, are best represented by a list of twenty-two propositions which he appended to the Preface of that volume. It is impossible now to estimate the precise weight of influence of his ideas upon the thinking of others : we know that he despatched copies of his works to members of the S.I.C. in 1865, and to Lord Brougham²; but whether those eminent people read them one cannot tell. The propositions, which he desired to see embodied in an Act of Parliament, deserve some consideration, bearing in mind that they were written nearly ten years before the publication of the Newcastle Report, with whose recommendations they had much in common.³

Griffith wanted the guardianship of trusts removed from the Court of Chancery. Local trustees should be elected by ratepayers. The education in endowed schools should accord with "the wants of the locality, the requirements of the age, and the abilities of the scholars", and the pupils ought to come from the area designated by the founder and be of the class determined by him. He wanted a "County Board", comprising one trustee from each school in the county; this would meet annually. An auditor should be appointed by the Board and the accounts of each trust ought to be published every second year in the county newspapers. Citizens with complaints about alleged mismanagement should have access to the Board; and an appeal against the Board's decision should be lodged at Assizes. No boarders should be allowed where the

1. Griffith, *The Free Schools of Worcestershire and their Fulfilment*, London, 1852.
2. Griffith, *Going to Markets and Grammar Schools*, ii, 295 ff.
3. The Preface containing the Propositions is dated "1 November 1852 Kidderminster"; *Free Schools of Worcestershire*, xxiv.

ordinary funds were sufficient to support a good master. No schoolmaster should have freehold tenure of office, but ought to be removable at six months' notice. Trustees should be allowed to sell trust property subject to the ratification of the County Board. Exhibitions and prizes ought to be confined to the foundation boys. "No clergyman shall be a trustee or member of the County Board, as their parochial duties would be thereby interfered with."¹ Griffith openly indulged his distrust of clergymen, particularly of eminent varieties of the Anglican species. But he was not reluctant to make exceptions providing that they were proven victims of malpractice by superior authority, as was Robert Whiston, Master of the Rochester Cathedral School.²

Apart from the significant omission of any reference to a central authority or to the power of the state in any guise, his list of propositions constituted a remarkable prefiguring of the 'Provincial Boards' section of the Taunton Report. It would be unhistorical, though fascinating, to make a connection between his propositions and the genesis of similar ideas in the collective mind of the S.I.C.; but Temple and his colleagues either did not know of, or had forgotten the rather extraordinary wares of the Kidderminster corn dealer, for his name was not mentioned in their Report.

Griffith's career was a constant attempt to develop public interest in the question of middle-class schooling, and his efforts were not confined to writing and publication. His persistence must have embarrassed many who might otherwise have wholeheartedly supported his

1. Griffith, *Free Schools of Worcestershire...*, xxiii-xxiv.

2. For the Rochester case, see *Going to Markets and Grammar Schools*, ii, 486-487.

cause. In 1848 he had begun to take an interest in the case of Kidderminster Free School and conducted a fierce campaign against the admission of boarders.¹ He became involved in the affairs of the Grammar School at Bromsgrove and addressed a meeting there in January 1852. He also communicated with the Charity Commissioners about the Kidderminster School.² Later his interest turned to a defence of local rights in relation to Repton School and the conversion of its charity.³ His first adventure on a wider stage occurred when he was invited to Manchester to address a meeting on the subject of the reform of educational endowments in January 1852. He was introduced to the meeting as an authority on the Grammar Schools of England.⁴ James Heywood was in the audience and supplied a complement to Griffith's proposals, suggesting that it was desirable that a Minister of Public Instruction should be appointed, "or some central authority."⁵ The meeting resolved to send a petition to Parliament regretting that so many of the endowed schools of the country were being turned over to the education of the "upper classes" against the wishes of the founders.⁶ Nothing came of this meeting, however, in terms of widespread, concerted action. Heywood's interest in middle-class education did not develop further. He might have assumed the role of authoritative leader of a middle-class party on the issue, but his only subsequent contribution on the subject to the discussions of the S.S.A. was very muted in tone.⁷

1. *ibid.*, 268.

2. PRO ED 27/5407, Kidderminster Free School file, letter from G.Griffith to Charity Commissioners, 9 April 1860. He was interviewed by Commissioner Hill on 10 May 1860.

3. Griffith, *Going to Markets and Grammar Schools*, ii, 453-455.

4. *ibid.*, ii, 455.

5. *ibid.*, ii, 456.

6. *ibid.*, ii, 457.

7. At the 1863 Edinburgh meeting of the S.S.A., Heywood contributed briefly to the discussion on middle-class education; at the 1859 meeting, seconded by Archdeacon Fearon of Loughborough, he moved a resolution for the co-ordination of local examination committees.

Another brief attempt was made to co-ordinate middle-class activity in the late 1850s at a time when the controversy over the Crimean debacle aroused interest in other quarters.¹ This took the form of the Society for Promoting National Education which was the result of the missionary zeal of Joseph Bentley, a former H.M.I.² He managed to enlist the support of Brougham who in 1859 presented on behalf of the Society 120 petitions from 24 counties to the House of Lords, all of them relating to middle-class education.³ The Society seems to have operated in association with the S.S.A., for Brougham paid great attention to the work of the S.S.A. when presenting the petitions. Yet the scope of the petitioners' propositions was limited to a request for voluntary inspection of middle-class schools and the certification of their teachers.

Brougham referred back to these petitions when addressing a question to Granville in the Lords at the time of the Social Science Association memorial in 1864.⁴ He reminded the House that what he called "the 1832" (sic) grant of £20,000 for elementary education had risen to £700,000 or £800,000 effecting great improvement in the provision of schools for the poor. "But for the middle classes no such improvement had been made, and their schools might be in the worst hands both as to the master's capacity for teaching, and as to his character." The same applied to schoolmistresses; and about the education of girls Brougham expressed particular concern on this

1. See above, ch.VI.

2. Joseph Bentley was a "lecturer and writer on education"; promoted two assurance companies 1855-56; died 1872, aged 67. Referred to in B.M.Catalogue as "School Inspector". Published works on the history of Worcestershire, on popular education, politics, etc.

3. Hansard III Series, 22 and 23 Victoria, 1859, CLV, July 25, 349.

4. For the S.S.A. Memorial, see below ch.IX, +22.

occasion.¹

Two other bodies served as private co-ordinating agencies in the 1840s and 1850s. The first of these was the College of Preceptors, which shared the aim of Bentley's Society — the certification of schoolmasters in middle-class schools. The College had been founded in 1846 "for the purpose of promoting sound learning, and of advancing the interests of education, more especially among the middle class." Its current Secretary, J. Robson, was in fact the first witness to be called by the S.I.C. in 1865.² The S.I.C. did not favour the work of the College, however, since it seems to have been characterised by a distinct lack of rigour. Its diplomas for teachers were granted on easy terms. It displayed in its early years the self-conscious weaknesses of a body striving to establish teaching as a closed profession, and it remained for the time being an association of private schoolmasters.³ The second body was a pressure-group born at the same time as the Taunton Commission — the Association for Promoting Scholastic Registration. This was an off-shoot of the College of Preceptors and devoted its energies to promoting the registration of schoolmasters according to the model provided already by physicians in the Medical Registration Act of 1858.⁴ Both the Association and the College, though they were ostensibly fighting for greater securities and guarantees for middle-class parents, were basically self-interested bodies trying to achieve professional status for private schoolmasters.

1. Hansard III Series, 27 Victoria, 1864, CLXXV, 27 May, 697.

2. See below, ch. X.

3. See J. P. Roach, op. cit., 60-61.

4. S.I.C., V, Deputation from Scholastic Registration Association, 203-204.

The true thrust of any middle-class demand for improved education, it might be thought, should be found in the motives for establishing new schools in provincial towns in the period up to 1864. Perhaps there were links between those institutions, or at least similarities of purpose which can be characterised clearly. But evidence in support of this proposition is hard to find.

Hazelwood School, in Birmingham, has conveniently occupied a central position in discussions about the existence of a philosophy of middle-class education in the early nineteenth century.¹ In its *Historical Sketch* the Spens Committee, referring to Hazelwood and its successor at Bruce Castle, Tottenham, spoke of "the breadth of the curriculum and the arrangements for self-government" and "the influence of Pestalozzi", noting the publicity it received in an article by de Quincey in the London Magazine in 1834.² Yet two points need to be made about Hazelwood: firstly, that its direct influence upon other institutions seems to have been minimal; secondly, that its innovatory features have been over-emphasised.

A recent study by P.W.Bartrip of the career of Matthew Davenport Hill, a son of the founder of Hazelwood, has attempted a radical revision of notions of the School's importance in the history of curriculum development.³ Although the School began in 1802, the innovations which have been attributed to it only emerged as the conduct of the institution fell more and more into the hands of Thomas Hill's sons, Matthew, who took charge of teaching and the curriculum, and Rowland, who looked after discipline and administration.

1. See, e.g., Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education*, London, 1960 edn., 32-34.

2. P.W.Bartrip, *The Career of Matthew Davenport Hill, with special reference to his place in penal and educational movements in mid-nineteenth century England*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Wales, 1975.

3. Bartrip, *op. cit.*, 18.

The revised estimate of Hazelwood propounded by Bartrip consists largely in his modification of long-held opinions about the modernity of the curriculum there. Thomas Hill's original aim had been to develop a school which, in contradistinction to the public schools, would prepare its pupils for commercial life. General science was taught, as were instrumental music, modern language and gymnastics, and the school had what was probably the first central heating system in an educational institution since the Roman occupation of Britain.¹ But Bartrip argues that the Hills' work was more important for its method than for the content of the curriculum. In fact he has made a powerful case for the gradual reversion of Hazelwood to a more conventional curricular position in the 1820s. Matthew's and Rowland's reforms were born of a desire to make it "a thoroughly good school": they became dissatisfied with its character after visiting a school where "the boys were immoral but in instruction, especially in Latin ...were far in advance of ours." Accordingly their first improvement was Matthew's taking into his own hands the teaching of Latin.² Their "regression" to a policy in which Latin held a central position in school studies was in part a reflection of the Hills' social insecurity as a family. Matthew and Rowland each subsequently enjoyed considerable pre-eminence in other fields, but both were aware of their father's lower middle-class origins in Kidderminster; and Rowland was particularly conscious, when he attained Government office, of the comparative inadequacies of his own education. He felt that his father had encouraged originality at the expense of breadth and depth of knowledge; and in his seventy-second year, he contemplated entering Cambridge as a student, only to find that he could not financially

1. *ibid.*, 29.

2. *ibid.*, 18.

afford such a venture. Bartrip says that "as an idealist Rowland championed the sciences", but "as a pragmatist he supported the classics". He found, particularly through his direct experience of the world outside Hazelwood, that the classics were, for a man of his aspirations, the truly 'useful' discipline, not the sciences. He certainly found this to be true of his period at the Post Office.¹ It is perhaps significant that "Science" was not mentioned in the later editions of Matthew's Public Education, the work which first attracted public attention to the School.²

In an important sense Hazelwood might be seen as the end of one phase in the development of education in England, almost as a dying fall. It is certainly difficult now to view it as a beginning. De Fellenberg and Pestalozzi were forerunners of the Hills, and the publication of Bentham's Chrestomathia preceded the plans of Matthew Hill by two years. Matthew contended late in his life that the School was original and owed little to such founding fathers of the new education. But his protests seem akin to those of Robert Owen in another connection. It has been suggested that the Hills read and synthesised the writings of Bell, Lancaster and others.³ The truly radical aspect of Hazelwood seems to have consisted in the democratic form of its pupil-government, and the absence, after 1816, of corporal punishment.⁴

Despite previous references to foreign reformers, Hazelwood lies at the end of a distinctively English radical tradition in education.

1. *ibid.*, 37.

2. M.D.Hill, Public Education, London, 1822 and 1825 editions.

3. J.L.Dobson, 'Thomas Wright Hill and the School at Hill Top', in Durham Research Review, 1959, II, 3.

4. Bartrip, *op. cit.*, 17-18.

It owed much to the Calvinist upbringing of Thomas Hill and, through Joseph Priestley's influence upon Hill, to the dissenting academies of the eighteenth century. If there was ever any co-ordination of ideas about middle-class education before 1864, it should be sought in the tradition of the dissenting academies. In particular the most striking unity of purpose and interrelationship occurred during the hey-day of Unitarian activity at Warrington, Hackney, Manchester and Exeter.¹ Joseph Priestley had been a pupil at Daventry. While he was a tutor at Warrington in 1765 he published a treatise on education which exercised wide influence over his contemporaries. C.G.Hey, in another study of Hazelwood, has emphasised the significance of Priestley's encouragement of the teaching of science.² Yet even in his 1765 treatise Priestley was careful to say that "a tradesman", though he had no direct use for Latin, would benefit by acquaintanceship with the language, though his compositions should be in English; and he laid chief emphasis upon History in the curriculum. He wrote in 1765,

It seems to be a defect in our present system of public education, that a proper course of studies is not provided for gentlemen who are designed to fill the principal stations of active life, as distinct from those which are adapted to the learned professions. We have hardly any medium between an education for the counting-house, consisting of writing, arithmetic, and merchants' accounts, and a method of instruction in the abstract sciences; so that we have nothing liberal that is worth the attention of gentlemen whose views neither of these two opposite plans may suit.³

The new articles of learning which Priestley proposed were various aspects of History, in particular English History and Constitutional History.⁴ The great purpose of education, in his view, was "to

1. J.W.Ashley Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education*, London, 1954, 152.

2. C.G.Hey, *The History of Hazelwood School*, Birmingham, Unpublished M.A.(Ed.) Thesis, University of Wales, 1954, 129-130.

3. Joseph Priestley, *Essay on the Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life*, (1765), in *Works*, XXIV, 7.

4. *ibid.* 8.

inculcate such principles and lead to such habits as will enable men to pass with integrity and honour through life, and to be inflexibly just, benevolent and good."¹

Two principal features emerge from the writings of Priestley : Firstly, that he clearly prefigured the educational proposals of the Utilitarians who took from him much of their inspiration in that field.² Secondly, it is evident that he took for granted, certainly in the passage quoted above, that provision for a barren 'commercial' instruction existed already, and that it was in the 1760s a generally accepted feature of the work of the multitude of private academies. Also he wished ideally to raise this 'instruction' to the level of a truly liberal education. It was with Priestley, in fact, that the notion of a "useful education" became part of the common currency in relation to middle-class education. "Useful" was a characteristically Utilitarian term : the Charity Commissioners employed it as late as the 1850s and 1860s. In this sense they stood in the Priestley tradition. To quote one example among many, the Charity Commissioners' scheme for Moulton School in Devon-referred to the governors' right to authorise the provision of "a sound religious, moral, and useful education."³ This triple conjunction would surely have warmed Priestley's heart. The Courts of Equity also took the term into use, and a petition to the Rolls Court from the inhabitants of Brentford in 1833 begged that the instruction in their Grammar School should be made "More useful and practical, and better suited to the wants of the inhabitants."⁴

1. Joseph Priestley, *Observations on Education*, (1778), in *Works*, XXV, 6.

2. See B. Simon, *op. cit.*, 120.

3. *First Report of the Charity Commissioners*, 1856, 29.

4. *English Reports*, XXXIX, Chancery XIX, 1904, 727.

Nicholas Hans' basic judgement is that all movements for educational reform in the nineteenth century can be traced back to men and institutions of the eighteenth century : the Mechanics' Institutes, the 'Arnoldian' public schools, and the Infant School movement all have their roots planted before 1800. The work of the Benthamites and of Brougham and his circle, Hans contends, should be seen , not as innovations, but as consummations. "The modernisation", he says, "of the curriculum in the Grammar Schools, at Oxford and Cambridge... was started in the eighteenth century."¹ The essential feature of the process of change, which Hans characterises, was the interpersonal transmission of ideas, achieved accidentally in most cases, and along the flow of a general philosophical current. Within that process there seems to have been no institutional coherence which can be seen as a systematic alternative to the local and national associations which have been identified in an earlier chapter.² It is argued here that the coherence and power of the philosophical radicals' propositions in the 1820s, and their attack upon an outmoded system of schooling, were idealistic, and that they never thoroughly penetrated the new institutions for middle-class education which were established in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The development of new institutions in the 1820s and 1830s has been traced elsewhere and requires little further elaboration for the purpose of the present study.³ But it is necessary to put forward certain exemplary cases for consideration.

1. Nicholas Hans, *New Trends in English Education in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1957, 209.

2. See above, ch. III.

3. See B. Simon, *op. cit.*, 115-117.

One of the most influential figures discussed by Hans was John Clarke, Master of Hull Grammar School between 1720 and 1733. Clarke's Essay upon Education, published in 1770, owed much to the writings of John Locke, and in it he demonstrated his opposition to the prevailing method of teaching Latin. He introduced English as the medium for teaching Latin at Hull.¹ It was with this aim in view that Clarke published also his many English translations of Latin school texts.² For Clarke, Latin remained an important intellectual key, but his principal object was "to have education less concerned with words than things, with 'real' or 'practical' knowledge."³

Neither Clarke nor his immediate successor, however, seem to have enjoyed the success in practical terms which his writings anticipated.⁴ Under a headmaster appointed in 1811 the classics at Hull became "only one among many subjects" and the curriculum was widely extended "to meet the new demand" from the local middle classes for an "English" education. John Lawson, the historian of Hull education, mentions Beverley as another instance of this kind of development.⁵ The problem for schools like Hull was that, though they might make alterations of this kind, they remained two-man schools with, at the most, perhaps 60 pupils. By the 1830s the town had a population of 60,000 : a single grammar school with an average endowment could not cater for the demand for education among the middle classes of such a community. It must have been the case similarly in many early nineteenth-century towns, therefore, that the creation of new schools

1. Hans, op. cit., 41.

2. J. Lawson, *A Town Grammar School through Three Centuries*, Oxford, 1963, 146.

3. *ibid.*, 147.

4. *ibid.*, 189-190.

5. *ibid.*, 191.

was not so much an implied criticism of the curriculum of an ancient institution as an expression of the need for more school accommodation with a reasonable guarantee of efficient teaching. This new demand among the professional people, as distinct from the bourgeoisie, could be served by the growing public schools.

The first wave of proprietary schools seemed initially to provide this guarantee. In Hull the movement for the creation of the Hull and East Riding Proprietary School began in February 1836. But, as Lawson says, "almost immediately it provoked a clash of sectarian interests." The result was that one group — Anglican and conservative — set up Kingston College; the other — Liberal and largely dissenting — founded Hull College, which was unsectarian. Each school company had a capital of £5,000 in £25 shares, with roughly the same number of staff, similar fees, and a predominantly day-boy population.¹ Both colleges were in financial difficulties by the mid-1840s, though both managed to totter on as private schools under their original headmasters. In a significant way the experience which Lawson describes at Hull reveals the essential problem of internal strife within provincial communities which operated against the possibility of a general middle-class movement in support of either national reform or inter-related local activity over a certain area. Though the Leicester Proprietary School, which had attempted to combine "a sound classical education with those subjects which more especially qualify for the pursuit of an active commercial life", seemed to represent a rather more united front than the colleges in Hull, the collapse of the Leicester school has been attributed to the lack of adequate support from among the nonconformists of the district.² In the Leicester case, too, the master was reduced to setting up his own private school in the town.

1. *ibid.*, 198-199; 211.

2. A. Temple Patterson, *Radical Leicester*, Leicester, 1954, 243.

The fortunes of middle-class schools in Sheffield in the second quarter of the nineteenth century reflect the potency of this sectarian controversy, but also introduce another element into the discussion of the middle-class demand : the direct influence of Thomas Arnold upon the establishment of new institutions. Arnold's letters to the Sheffield Courant in 1832¹ seem to have inspired local activity in the West Riding; and in this sector of the provinces, it can be argued, his opinions were empirically at least as potent as the theoretical propositions of the philosophical radicals. The Sheffield Collegiate School, which opened in 1836, seems to have been the direct result of Arnold's admonition to the middle classes. An Anglican institution, it enjoyed the patronage of Lord Wharncliffe, a member of the local aristocracy and later a proponent of the reform of charitable trusts.² In his speech at a commemoration dinner in 1852, Wharncliffe on two occasions quoted from Arnold's Sheffield letters. Before denying that, in the early 1850s, Sheffield's nonconformist citizens had anything to fear from an Anglican institution, Wharncliffe said, "to suppose that a person about to begin in any of the active occupations of this world can be worse off for a high and liberal education, is a libel upon the human mind."³

W.H.G.Armytage, in a brief survey of Sheffield education, has dated the inception of the Collegiate School to 1834. He notes the immediate eruption of sectarian rivalry, and the retort of the nonconformists in the town which took the form of the creation of the Wesleyan Proprietary School in March 1837. Despite the 1852

1. See above, ch.I.

2. See above, ch.V, 261. Wharncliffe was a member of the temporary 1849 Charity Commission.

3. The Sheffield Collegiate School, A Commemorative Brochure, London, 1852, 32.

celebrations, neither school was ever financially secure, and stability in local secondary education was ensured only after 1870 with the establishment of higher grade schools and the revival of the moribund grammar school.¹

The first meeting of the Sheffield Collegiate sponsors took place in September 1834.² Wakefield had already established its educational precedence in South Yorkshire, for its West Riding Proprietary School had opened on 6 August 1834. At Wakefield the first meeting to inaugurate the school occurred on 10 May 1832. Nowhere in the proceedings of the Committee of Proprietors is Arnold's name mentioned; but since his Sheffield letters were published in the previous month it is not too flattering a proposition to suggest that his influence may also have activated Anglicans at Wakefield.³ Plainly, however, the proprietors, led by Earl Fitzwilliam, were aware of other similar institutions recently founded, as they admitted, in "the South of England and in Edinburgh", for middle-class persons "of limited means." Just as at Sheffield the Wakefield School set out to provide a broad curriculum, based upon the classics, but including science and modern languages "because of the increasing importance of our commercial and manufacturing interests."⁴ In a West Riding context it is almost possible to treat the Proprietary School as an early anticipation of the county schools inspired by Brereton and Fortescue, since it was supported by gentlemen from Halifax, Oulton, Huddersfield and Bradford, with a clutch of local clergy, and presided over by

1. W.H.G.Armytage, 'Education in Sheffield', in D.L.Linton, (ed.). Sheffield and Its Region, a Scientific and Historical Survey, published for the British Association, Sheffield, 1956, 204.

2. Armytage, loc.cit.

3. The Proceedings at the Opening of the West Riding Proprietary School,....London and Wakefield, 1834, 61-62.

4. ibid.,32.

Fitzwilliam.¹

Huddersfield provided another example of West Riding initiative, this time among dissenters. In the absence of a local endowed school (with the exception of the very depressed institution at Almondsbury), the Nonconformist Revd. W. Burndall of Ramsden Street Chapel in 1838 founded the Huddersfield College Company. A Brochure of 1843 explained that the School "was established by a propriety of gentlemen entertaining various religious opinions," with the aim of providing "a sound Classical, Mathematical and Commercial Education, upon a Scriptural foundation." In that year there were 200 boys in the School. The clientele which they had hoped to attract was implied by the proprietors when they expressed the aim of cultivating "the formation of early habits of industry, prompt attention, obedience and punctuality — and to promote on all occasions integrity of conduct and gentlemanly deportment."² The School survived longer in its original form than most of the others of its type : it declined after 1856, and after a brief revival in the mid-40s, suffered from the competition of the reformed local endowed schools after 1869.³

In Lancashire, apart from the Manchester Society's commercial schools, there were two new institutions which went some way towards providing healthier examples of urban middle-class enterprise in education : the College and the Institute at Liverpool. According to the estimate of one ancient citizen of the town, Liverpool was the natural home of the English bourgeoisie in the first half of the nineteenth century :

We have never loved brilliancy from our hearts in Liverpool.
We have tolerated it at times for the sake of other qualities by

1. *ibid.*, 65.

2. Roy Brock, *The Story of Huddersfield*, London, 1968, 198.

3. *ibid.*, 201.

which it has been accompanied, but were also anxious to get rid of it as soon as possible. Liverpool looks upon able and clever men as Athens looked upon Aristides. Mediocrity suits our temper best.¹

Lord Derby's address at Liverpool in 1863 has been quoted earlier.²

Seaforth became the fashionable residential suburb for the merchant aristocracy of Liverpool early in the century. In an Anglican private school there, built with John Gladstone's money, the Vicar prepared W.E.Gladstone for Eton and A.P.Stanley for Rugby.³ Unlike Manchester, Liverpool had no considerable endowed school, and the first modern educational initiatives in the town were directed towards the promotion of adult education. The Unitarians were a strong group in the community, and it was from the influence of a small clique of radical intellectuals led by William Roscoe that the adult movement sprang. The Athenaeum with its reference library was founded in 1799, and the Public News and Coffee Room with its library began three years later. Inspired by a similar project in London the Royal Institution School opened in 1819.⁴ The Institution School in its early days gave evidence of a stunning tolerance which must have alarmed its Nonconformist promoters : in 1820 the pupils organised a 'King and Country' demonstration through the town, and Gladstone's cousins were at various times Institution pupils, But the School was never well attended : in the period up to its closure in 1892 it never had more than seventy pupils.⁵ However, it was characterised by the S.I.C. as a classical school with a strong mathematical side; and the

1. The Revd. James Aspinall, writing in 1852, quoted in David Wainwright, *Liverpool Gentlemen, A History of Liverpool College*, London, 1960, 8.

2. See above, ch.I, II.

3. S.G.Checkland, *The Gladstones, a Family Biography*, London, 1974.

4. A.T.Brown, *The Royal Institution School, Liverpool*, Liverpool, 1924.

5. Wainwright, op. cit., 21.

list of its honours at Oxford and Cambridge between 1847 and 1868 was most impressive.¹

The most striking of the Liverpool schools, despite its name, had little to do with the Royal Institution. The Liverpool Institute School, or, more properly, Schools, began in 1835. According to Wainwright, the Institute owed its inspiration to similar schools in New York, and it originated in the Liverpool Mechanics' Institute and Apprentices' Library which had opened in 1835. It soon flourished under its first great headmaster, W.B.Hodgson, who had received his own schooling and higher education in Scotland. When he resigned in 1849 there were two schools for boys : the High school, "to afford a good education suitable for the sons of professional men, merchants, etc.; those forming the upper side of the middle classes"; and the Commercial School, "to afford a good education for the sons of small tradesmen, clerks, etc.; those forming the lower side of the middle classes."² In addition Hodgson had set on foot in 1844 a school for girls, associated with the Institute, but called the Blackburne House Girls' School, and providing a middle-class education at moderate expense.³ These schools, in relation to the middle classes of Liverpool, *must have been* truly comprehensive, for, in 1849, the whole institution had 1,650 pupils, including 8 evening classes of 400 pupils. There was a library of 15,000 volumes, a sculpture gallery; and each week there were public lectures attended by 1,200 persons. The staff numbered between 60 and 70.⁴ The Institute was probably the most remarkable English school of its day, in the 1840s. There were

1. S.I.C. XVII, 588-590.

2. *ibid.*, 591, 596.

3. *ibid.*, 621.

4. S.I.C., V, evidence of W.B.Hodgson, 1.

no religious tests for entry.

In the late 1830s political upheavals in Liverpool and a new thrust towards middle-class schooling by the National Society seem to have combined to encourage the creation of another middle-class school in the town. James Murphy has described the sequence of events which led to the adoption of the Irish National system in the elementary schools which were in the care of the Corporation.¹ The impetus for this crucial change was the landslide victory of the Whigs in the local elections of 1835. The reform of the Corporation's schools was part of a policy of general social reform. The immediate Anglican antidote to this 'mixed' system came in 1836 when the local Anglican clergy, led by the Revd. Hugh M'Neile, opened rival schools. With the return of the Tories to power in 1840 the 'mixed' policy was reversed. The brief period of reform, however, had seen the port of Liverpool develop its own sense of civic importance.

The precise source of the idea of forming an Anglican middle-class school in Liverpool at this time is unknown. But since the meeting at which the idea was announced was attended by M'Neile and took place in July 1839, it may be assumed that a powerful group of Anglican clergy in the town were taking their lead directly or indirectly from the National Society's new programme,² and directly from the declared policy of the diocese of Chester which was a leading agency for the Society's efforts.³ The circular composed at the July meeting was signed by M'Neile and also by Robertson Gladstone, the brother of W.E. and the member of the family designated to stay and manage the business.⁴ Two of the other signatories were Anglican clergy while

1. James Murphy, *The Great Experiment, The Religious Problem in English Education*, Liverpool, 1959.

2. See above, ch. III.

3. Michael Sanderson, 'The National and British Societies in Lancashire, 1803-1839', in *Local Studies and the History of Education*, London, 1972, 1-36.

4. Wainwright, *op. cit.*, 26.

the remainder seem to have been merchants and brokers.

The task of preparing the first prospectus of the new School was given to John Gregory Jones who was to remain Secretary to the Governors for fifty years. He wrote in 1839,

It is impossible to contemplate without alarm the evils which the exclusion of the word of God from the studies of youth, or its introduction under degrading restrictions, is calculated to entail upon the rising generation...The children of the middle classes upon the character of whose training the fate of this mighty empire must essentially depend, are still exposed to the risk of imbibing latitudinarianism, if not infidel opinions, in the schools.¹

The proprietors announced a school for the education of "the Commercial, Trading, and Working Classes." The Bishop of Chester agreed to become the School's first Visitor. W.E. Gladstone, burdened with his notoriety as the author of Church and State, disturbed the even progress towards the School's opening by complaining that the stipulation that masters should be "orthodox, Trinitarian Protestants" might let in Quakers and Baptists. As a result the rules were revised and, at his insistence, it was decided that at any time three-quarters of the governing body had to be Anglican.² The initial, rather troubling, problem of financing the School was solved by Lord Stanley's accepting the office of patron. In his speech at the opening in 1840 Stanley hoped that similar schools would be established "throughout the great towns of this vast Empire", schools with the faith of the Established Church at their core.³

The extraordinary tripartite pattern of this school was not formulated until a later stage. Originally the College was constituted as two day schools (on the pattern of the earlier Institute and evidently in direct competition with it), an evening school, a hall for popular

1. Quoted in Wainwright, op. cit., 29.

2. *ibid.*, 30.

3. Quoted in Wainwright, op. cit., 33.

lectures. But as its advantages became apparent to the wealthier middle-class inhabitants, the upper school was divided into two — a high school and a commercial school; while the lower remained separate.¹ The Report of the S.I.C. therefore described the School in the following terms : an upper school affording "a liberal education", consisting of a classical and a modern division; a middle school furnishing "a complete commercial education"; and a lower school providing "a practical education for the trading classes." The description continued :

Designed to supply at a moderate expense to three classes of society a sound education based upon the principles of the Church of England. Three schools entirely distinct, one not being limited to be preparatory for the other.²

The Liverpool College thus prefigured the Taunton grades, but without the blessing of a 'ladder' system.

The experience of Liverpool in fashioning its own middle-class provision was characterised by a unique moment of unanimity in a mixed community. But by the end of the 1830s the town had fallen into line with the sectarian polarisation which seems to have been common to the development of proprietary schools in other parts of the North of England. One item in the terminology of the discussion of middle-class education in Liverpool, however, deserves attention. Lord Stanley had spoken of "the right of Empire", and this expression reflected the port's intimate involvement in the second phase of England's great commercial development. More acutely than any other urban population, except perhaps London, Liverpool at this time felt the need for efficient middle-class education as a presupposition

1. *ibid.*, 40.

2. S.I.C., XVII, 574.

for mercantile efficiency, though this kind of consideration has already been noted in connection with the work of the Manchester Church Education Society.¹ The imperial emphasis was developed in 1846 by James Booth, who had considerable experience of education at another point on the western seaboard : he was the former Principal of the short-lived Bristol College, and Vice-Principal of Liverpool College.² Booth postulated that England's role in the world, as the centre of Empire, was the end to which education should be raised. In a passage which may have reflected Liverpool's recently having shaken off the bonds of conscience in abandoning her connection with the slave trade, he said,

Let us now consolidate and Christianise; and although our path might have been hitherto tracked by blood and human suffering, perhaps unavoidably, let us exhibit to them power, not as it has been to them ever exhibited, under the aspect of fierce rapacity and unrelenting cruelty...but rather tempered with mercy, dispensing happiness, announcing the glad tidings of the Gospel, with the adjustments of industry and the blessings of education.³

Despite the uniqueness of Liverpool among provincial towns, in its ability to sustain the continued development of three considerable schools throughout the nineteenth century, it still represents the main weakness of the unilateral, almost parochial character of middle-class education in its development in urban communities. 'Development', wherever it occurred, was isolated. There may have been a discreet process of interchange and cross-reference of ideas; but the urban proprietary schools of the first half of the nineteenth century exhibited none of the characteristic features of a system.

1. See above, ch. III.

2. For a brief account of Bristol College as a precursor of Clifton College, see O.F. Christie, *A History of Clifton College*, Bristol, 1935, 2.

3. James Booth, *Education and Educational Institutions*, considered with reference to the Industrial Professions, and the Present Aspects of Society, London, 1846, 75-76.

Indeed it can be argued that the principles which underlay urban, commercial middle-class education were themselves commercial and competitive, and therefore implied unilateral, rather than co-operative effort. Uniting influences were often at work during the inception of a school : Wakefield, Sheffield, and, to some extent, Liverpool, exhibit the operation of initial influences. But ultimately the subsequent working of the schools remained, in each case, independent. It might be possible at a later stage, to prove the significance of the movement of masters among this category of schools, and of the patterns of common practice which may have resulted from such movement. Nevertheless the mutual imitations and common features of curricula and teaching did not constitute a system.

The middle-class proprietary schools of the northern and midland towns were the creations of prominent citizens, most often leaders of religious communities, not of municipal corporations. In London, on the other hand, in the 1830s one of the most famous of nineteenth century schools was founded; and the City of London School, well known for its curriculum innovations, was established by the ancient Corporation of the City. Sidney Webb described the government of the City of London in the early nineteenth century as a blend of intense democracy, radicalism, laziness, lavishness of hospitality, and mediocrity.¹ In 1833 Francis Place characterised the coping-stone of London City Government — the Court of Aldermen — as

...old men — no, old women, gossiping, guzzling, drinking, cheating, old chandler's shop women, elected for life, and thus in the Corporate capacity made into a little world of their own, for the advantage of which they manage, not legislate.²

1. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act* : the Manor and the Borough, Part II, 1908, 688-692.

2. Quoted in Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *op. cit.*, 669.

Webb could find no appraisal of the Corporation of London so apt as de Tocqueville's carefully weighed judgement upon the government of France between 1830 and 1848 :

The dominating spirit of that government...was the spirit characteristic of the trading Middle Class; a spirit active and assiduous; always narrow; often corrupt; occasionally, through vanity or egotism, insolent, but by temperament timid; mediocre and moderate in all things except in the enjoyment of physical indulgence; a spirit which when combined with the spirit of the manual working wage-earners and the spirit of the aristocracy, may achieve marvels, but which, taken alone, inevitably produces a government without elevation and without quality.¹

But soon after the Court of Aldermen, or rather, their representatives in Parliament, had exempted the City from the Police Act of 1829, and while they were holding at bay the inquiries of the Government into the working of their Corporation, they became involved in the creation of an extraordinary School. Webb noted that the Corporation had not made up for its supineess about sanitation or the prisons, about the River or the Docks, by any display of enterprise in providing for religion, education, or public recreation, still less for science or art; but he did refer, in a footnote, to the establishment of the City of London School in 1835.²

The proposal to found a "City of London Corporation School" came from the Board of Governors of the London Workhouse who had been constituted in 1662 as the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and 52 citizens elected by the Common Council of the City.³ In 1829 the Corporation had obtained an Act for disposing of the workhouse and vesting the government of its school in the hands of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and

1. *ibid.*, 692.

2. *ibid.*, 691-692.

3. Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales : London and Southwark, London Companies, 25 April 1837, 187. *N.B.* A.C. Douglas Smith, in his *The City of London School*, Oxford, 2nd edition, 1963, 47, gives the date of origin as 1830.

not less than 60 citizens, with power to add, as governors for life in the manner of Christ's Hospital, all who should become subscribers to a certain amount. Donations were offered, by 52 prospective governors, amounting to £1,208. 10s. The Corporation also promised £2,000 for the building of the school.¹ But when the Commissioners investigating municipal corporations entered the City, the Corporation changed its policy. The founding of the school was then seen as a means of keeping the Commissioners at bay. The Headmaster of the School, the Revd. G.F. Mortimer, giving evidence much later to the S.I.C. described the passage of events thus :

The Commissioners of Charities coming into the City, the present Lord Mayor, (in 1865), then Alderman Hale, called attention to the application of Carpenter's Charity, and brought forward a Bill in Parliament with their concurrence and with the concurrence of the Corporation, for establishing a school to be called the City of London School.²

Lord Brougham and the Earl of Shaftesbury were on the Lords' Committee which reported on the London Bill in July 1834.³ Carpenter's Charity, which had been founded for the gratuitous education of four poor boys in the City, and which then had an income of £900 p.a., was incorporated into the endowment for founding the new school.⁴ But the most interesting feature of the 1834 Act was that the new School was intended to provide, not an education for the poor according to Bell's system, as had been proposed in 1829, but "a liberal education for the sons of freemen and householders of two years' residence." The stipulation about the education of four poor boys was to be incorporated into the new scheme as a sop to the founder of the £900 charity.⁵

1. Second Report...1837, loc. cit.

2. S.I.C., IV, 359.

3. A.C. Douglas Smith, op. cit., 67.

4. Second Report...1837, loc. cit.

5. *ibid.*

The curriculum of the new School was broad and innovatory. It included, in addition to English, Greek and Latin, the teaching of French, German, Italian, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Ancient and Modern History, Chemistry, Geography and Book-keeping.¹ But the historian of the School has written that the two greatest nineteenth-century headmasters of the City of London School, Mortimer and Abbott, "sublimated the economic pressure of the interests of commerce, which demanded an alternative to the monopoly of education by the classics." The alternative which they provided was the teaching of modern subjects "at a level hitherto unknown."²

It is interesting that the founders of the School appointed T.H. Key, then headmaster of University College School, as a curriculum consultant.³ He had recently in 1832 become the first Master of the University College School, which was perhaps the most 'liberal' of all the early nineteenth-century school foundations. Key told the S.I.C. in 1865 that religious teaching was absolutely excluded from the School, since its pupils included 1 Hindoo, several Parsees, 50 Jews, dissenters of all classes, Unitarians, a few Roman Catholics, and "a large number of Church of England."⁴

Unity and uniformity of purpose and method were lacking in urban middle-class education before 1864. A kind of cement for the separate units of schools and colleges was provided for the first time in the 1850s by two kinds of examination: those for the Civil Service, and the 'Locals'.⁵ But the question of examinations as a unifying force directs attention to another related area which was not considered to be truly a part of middle-class education before 1864. In

1. A.E. Douglas Smith, op. cit., 57.

2. *ibid.*, 68.

3. *ibid.*, 67. See also S.I.C., IV, 313.

4. S.I.C., IV, 315-316.

5. See above, ch.VII.

1851 the Society of Arts, in an effort to revive the flagging fortunes of mechanics' institutes, which were then as isolated and unco-ordinated as the grammar and proprietary schools, took up a proposal of Harry Chester and, with the help of James Booth, set up a union of institutes and published a prospectus of examinations, the first of which took place in 1856.¹

The Society of Arts and the Science and Art Department examinations were taken up by the local unions of mechanics' institutes which developed in the 1850s, and helped to stress the need for a connection between the education of the lower middle classes and preparation for particular trades. Prominent among the new unions were the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes and the Lancashire and Cheshire Union.² In a later chapter it will be shown that the Yorkshire Union developed a parallel branch, in the form of the Yorkshire Board of Education, based upon Leeds.³ The Yorkshire Board was to be the first instance of inter-urban co-operation in the general field of middle-class education, though it shared generic characteristics with rural county bodies. Like the Northants Committee its activities covered almost the whole field of local educational provision. The 1868 Report Annual Report of the Board dealt with elementary and middle-class education and with night schools and mechanics' institutes. It is significant, in the light of earlier examples of sectarian dichotomies, that the Yorkshire Board possessed as Vice-Presidents, on the one hand, Edward Baines, Forster, Titus Salt, James Hole, A.J.Mundella, and J.Stansfeld, and on the other

1. Roach, op. cit., 62.

2. G.W.Roderick and M.D.Stephens, *Education and Industry in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1978, 58.

3. See below, ch.XI, 597; Annual Report of the Yorkshire Board of Education for the Year 1868, Leeds, 1869, 11.

Canon Bird of Ripon, Canon Robinson of York (soon to become an Endowed Schools Commissioner), J.G.Fitch and Colonel Akroyd. Four of its patrons were the Duke of Devonshire, Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Wharnccliffe and Lord Ripon. The President was Lord Frederick Cavendish.¹ The work of this Board was to form a promising link between the labours of the Endowed Schools Commissioners and the local trustees of at least one endowed school in the West Riding.²

The most remarkable instance of urban co-operation, however, though it was only temporary, occurred in Birmingham partly as a result of the town's reaction to the visit of T.H.Green on behalf of the S.I.C. in 1865 and 1866.³ In 1867 George Dixon was, according to one commentator, "probably the most popular man in Birmingham."⁴ In February 1867, as a consequence of the work of the Free Grammar School Association, which had set itself up in opposition to the conservative King Edward governors, Dixon invited to his home a number of prominent people, all with known interests in education, and sympathetic to ideas of reform. Most of them were local industrialists and businessmen, but there were also Anglican clergy like Dr. Miller and the Revd. Yorke, and leading dissenters. In addition a former collaborator in schemes of middle-class education in the town, Frederick Temple, then the presiding genius of the Taunton Commission, and T.H.Green were present.⁶ The result of this informal

1. Annual Report of the Yorkshire Board...1868, 3-4.

2. See below, ch.XI.

3. See below, ch.X.

4. G.Kenrick, 'George Dixon', in J.H.Muirhead, (ed.), Nine Famous Birmingham Men, Birmingham, 1909, 53.

5. See below, ch.X.

6. A.F.Taylor, Birmingham and the Movement for National Education, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Leicester, 1964, 27-28.

meeting was the founding a few weeks later of the Birmingham Education Society. Its chief aim had little to do with middle-class education : the members were agreed upon the need to use a local rate for the promotion and extension of popular education. But the leading protagonists represented a kind of denominational and political unity of purpose at local level unrivalled elsewhere. Dixon was made President; Dale, the leading dissenter, and Yorke, a leading Anglican, were Vice-Presidents, and Jesse Collings became Honorary Secretary.¹

Yet even this instance of urban co-operation may have owed some of its impetus to events and persons outside the commercial community of Birmingham. In their Third Report for 1864 the Children's Employment Commissioners noted with approval the work of the Birmingham Educational Association.² In particular they considered the Association's "inquiry into the state of education of the children of the working classes, as affected by the demand for labour and by other causes." The Association had been founded in 1857 for the purpose of promoting "education in general" in Birmingham, and, with the special initiatives of C.B. Adderley and W.L. Sargent,³ had established a prize scheme to encourage regular attendance at elementary schools. It was, in the words of the 1862 Commissioners, "presided over and supported by a body of noblemen, members of Parliament, clergymen, manufacturers, and other gentlemen interested in the district." Among these were Lyttelton, Pakington and C.B. Adderley.⁴ But the 1864 Report noted that the class affected by the prize scheme was "different from the mass of those whom I found and examined in factories and

1. *ibid.*, 32.

2. Children's Employment Commission, Third Report, 1864, 154.

3. For Sargent, see above, ch.VII, 376, and below, ch.I, 530.

4. Children's Employment Commission, ...1864, *loc. cit.*

workplaces." One of the aims of the Association was "to furnish to the community a means of expressing an opinion on the various educational measures that may be proposed for consideration, either in Parliament or elsewhere."¹ The statistical section of the Association was managed by the local manufacturer and product of Hazelwood, W.L.Sargent. The Secretary was John Thackray Bunce, who had also been Secretary of one of the sections of the 1857 Educational Conference in London.²

The Educational Conference of 1857 and the Birminham Educational Association not only epitomised the intensity of the educational initiatives which were being taken in Birmingham, but also reflected the co-operation which existed in the town between the leading families of surrounding counties and the active members of the manufacturing and business classes in Birmingham. Attending the 1857 Conference in London were Pakington, George Dawson, Dr. Miller and Lord Calthorpe.³

The family of Lord Calthorpe, in its relations with the town of Birmingham, has recently been used as an example of the continuing influence of local landowners upon the political and social evolution of Victorian manufacturing cities.⁴ The Calthorpes were one of a number of county families near Birmingham which exemplified the role which the landed interest could play in urban politics and society in the mid-nineteenth century. Yet none of the celebrated historians of Birmingham have had anything to say about aristocratic influence. David Carmadine has written that "Conservative interest has always

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. *Essays on Educational Subjects*, London, 1857, viii.

3. *ibid.*, 369.

4. David Carmadine, 'The Calthorpe Family and Birmingham, 1810-1910', in *The Historical Journal*, XVIII, 1975, 725-760.

been less alluring to the historian than Attwood or Chamberlain."¹ The inert nature of Birmingham local government in the 1850s and early 1860s meant that the solution of local social problems — the provision of education, the elimination of poverty, the very making of the town itself — was a matter of private rather than municipal enterprise. Therefore local landowners with property near the old town, like Calthorpe, Adderley and Lords Lyttelton, Dudley and Dartmouth, were almost inevitably invited by middle-class men to preside over schemes of local improvement. As Carmadine says, "the habit of deference towards them had not yet died." In the 1850s and 1860s "there was not so much a power vacuum in the town as a status vacuum", for the filling of which the local aristocracy and gentry were well suited.²

The movement from deference to sturdy urban independence in Birmingham can be exemplified by two public statements. The first took the form of a petition to Lord Calthorpe from his middle-class Edgbaston tenants in 1862, in which they expressed their "high approbation of the great benefits which you have, by your example and your influence, conferred upon this neighbourhood."³ This petition was signed by future 'radicals' like George Dixon, Robert Martineau and John Jaffray. The second statement was made by Chamberlain in 1875 in a speech to the Town Council after the Radicals had assumed power in urban affairs : he said, "All private effort, all individual philanthropy, sinks into insignificance compared with the organised power of a great representative assembly like this."⁴ It is possible

1. Carmadine, *op. cit.*, 727.

2. *ibid.*, 731.

3. Quoted in Carmadine, *op. cit.*, 740.

4. Birmingham Daily Post, 10 November 1875.

to argue that before 1870, in matters relating to education, the great urban centres were not organised internally for dealing with the provision of schooling or for its reform. Much less was there evidence of co-operation among localities in relation to middle-class schooling. One of the most important components in the watershed which divided the 'old' urban politics from the 'new' was, in addition to the 1870 Elementary Education Bill, the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 which appointed as one of its three Commissioners Lord Lyttelton who exemplified as a Whig the intrusion of aristocratic centralised authority into urban localities which had hitherto been largely indifferent to the organised provision of facilities for middle-class education.

It is fair to say that the chief mode in which the middle classes generally expressed their interest in middle-class schooling was not that of the great national association, like the Social Science Association or the National Society, but the independent private or proprietary school, whose response to market forces suited the temper of their attitude to the provision of a socially exclusive education for their children.

Chapter IX.

The Appointment of a Commissioner.

The consummation of nearly six years' activity among the members of the Social Science Association finally occurred in 1864. On 18 June a deputation from the Association met Lord Palmerston at Cambridge House "to represent the expediency of issuing a Royal Commission to inquire into the grammar schools and other endowed schools in the United Kingdom not yet reported upon and generally into the state of education of the middle classes."¹ A tantalising insight into the discussions which preceded the petition was given by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol when he distributed the prizes for the Oxford 'Locals' at Bath, later in 1864. He admitted that he had had the honour of being present at Lord Fortescue's when the subject was being first discussed. "He would not say that the result of that meeting was the present Commission (the S.I.C.), but some of those present in the room formed part of the deputation that waited on the Prime Minister."²

The title of the Memorial confirmed the exact coincidence, in the minds of those who mattered in mid-Victorian society, between the concepts of secondary education and middle-class schooling. It anticipated also, in broad outline, the terms of reference of the Royal Commission which was issued at the end of the year. The deputation can be said to have represented a cross-section of prevailing opinions on middle-class education. Its leader, Brougham, embodied, in the character of an elder statesman, the evolution of an attack upon the decadence of educational endowments which could be traced back to 1817, and the inquiries of the 1780s; Edwin Chadwick, though his public reputation was at a low

1. Times, 20 June 1864. It is interesting that the Association, which had held some of its early meetings in Ireland and Scotland, should have referred in its petition to the "United Kingdom". The eventual scope of the inquiry was not so broad.

2. *ibid.*, 25 November 1864.

ebb in 1864, represented the protagonists of firm government intervention for the solution of the problem; Lord Lyttelton's opinions, except in so far as he had expressed a tolerant Anglican anxiety on the question, were not as yet clearly defined; but as a member of the recent Public Schools Commission he could speak with authority on the condition of at least nine of the nation's great educational endowments. Earl Fortescue stood out among the deputation as a representative of the party which was in favour of reform based upon the initiative of county and local bodies, rather than upon state intervention, and his views had been expressed with some clarity in a recently published pamphlet.¹ The Revd. H.J. Barton, perhaps the least known of the group, similarly made his contribution as the agent of local concern for promoting the healthy working of educational endowments.² Sir John Shaw-Lefevre embodied the anxieties of a new generation of bureaucrats operating an examination system for entry into the public service.

The Memorial, read by G.W.Hastings, expressed in general terms the desire of the members that a Royal Commission should be issued to inquire into middle-class education, particularly the endowed grammar schools. The S.S.A. had in recent years collected a wealth of information on the subject, and there was a general concurrence of view among its members that middle-class education was in a most unsatisfactory condition. Hastings quoted at length the opinions of those gentlemen who had presided over the discussions of the Association's Education department. Sir John Pakington, in his 1857 Address, had remarked that it was a great error to suppose that the only educational difficulties were those relating to the working classes: "I know", he said, "that the middle classes find themselves in a position of great difficulty on the subject.

1. Earl Fortescue, *Public Schools for the Middle Classes*, London, 1864.

2. See above, ch.III, 123, ff.

4-7

It is the respectable tradesman, the small farmer, the clerk, and the men of that description who know not where to get education for their children, and who, practically speaking, pay very dearly for a bad article."

The Rt.Hon. William Cowper, in his 1858 Address, had said of middle-class schooling, "It has great pretension and show without substance or solidarity. There is no superintendence whatever. There is no test of the capacity of the master and no test of the success of his teaching." In 1859 the Rt.Hon. C.B.Adderley had pointed out that the middle class had reason to be disappointed with the education provided by the private and commercial schools, as well as by the endowed schools. Sir John Shaw-Lefevre, in 1861, was critical of the quality of pupils emerging from the schools as examination candidates for appointments in the new bureaucracies of mid-Victorian government : he said,

It is comparatively rare to find a candidate who can add correctly a moderately long column of figures, and many do not understand common notation so as to write down in figures a number described in words. When the examination extends to English composition, or history, the performance of some of the candidates is poor beyond belief, and we are under the necessity of keeping the standard very low, in order to prevent the inconvenience which would arise from an indiscriminate rejection.

Finally Hastings referred to the late Nassau Senior, whose Address at the Edinburgh meeting in 1863 had led directly to the presentation of the Memorial. The Association sympathised with the opinions of those who might be anxious about state interference in the education of the middle classes; but Hastings referred to Portescue's pamphlet which, pointing to the effective inquiries recently undertaken into the elementary and public schools, had protested at the injustice of omitting consideration of the needs of the middle classes. Earl Portescue had argued that an authoritative inquiry might be conducted on their behalf without involving any more interference with private instruction than had been the case with Commissions already issued. It might be claimed that Brougham's Charity Commissioners up to 1837 had already investigated the condition of educational charities in England and Wales; but that body had been

mainly concerned with the amount and use of the endowments, and not with the education they provided in the schools. The Council of the Association therefore strongly urged "the necessity for inquiry into the whole condition and management of these institutions. While the integrity and independence of private schools ought to be respected, private schoolmasters could communicate "voluntary information" which would throw valuable light on the whole condition of middle-class education, and perhaps suggest means of improving it."¹

Her Majesty's Commission was issued on 28 December 1864. The well-known terms of reference deserve repeating if only because they are so clearly founded upon the main principles propounded in the Memorial of the S.S.A. : the Taunton Commissioners were to inquire into "the education given in schools not comprehended within Her Majesty's two former Commissions...and also to consider and report what Measures (if any) are required for the Improvement of such Education, having special Regard to all Endowments applicable or which can rightly be made applicable thereto."²

The Times, as the staunch guardian of middle-class interests, anticipated the formal announcement of the Commission in a leader of 18 November 1864. "Our middle classes", said the leader-writer, "are apt to be independent, ambitious, defiant, and self-opinionated." Nevertheless, they were eager for education, "not only for its mental results, but as the means of getting on in the world and rising in the scale." This very attitude made them prey to the dishonest and the pretentious. The inquiry about to be set on foot could therefore do little harm. The only sections of society who had anything to fear from the Commissioners were "the

1. Times, 20 June 1864.

2. S.I.C., I, iii-iv.

trading-class of schoolmasters or very indolent trustees and other managers." No doubt the investigation would promote useful ideas in the field of curriculum reform. But even though the Schools Inquiry Commission might be seen as the inevitable consequence of the State pushing, in the last thirty years, first into working-class schools, then into the Universities, and finally into the nine Great Schools, its announcement would be certain to awaken "that singular jealousy" among the middle classes "which Lord Granville admits to guard the subject."¹

In a sense the Times, like the members of the S.S.A., saw itself as holding the ring, and clearing the ground for debate in an area which was cluttered with a confused mass of contrary and conflicting ideas in the mid-1860s. It is clear that, as ever, the Times invoked with disapproval the spectre of 'the schoolmaster', and recoiled from the action of further government intervention or, more pointedly, 'interference', in the sphere of middle-class education, along the lines of previous intervention in the voluntary system of education for the lower orders. It positively approved of the self-help local activities of individuals and bodies like Woodard and Fortescue and their respective allies, whose recent incursions into the field it hailed with sanguine hope. But in general it plumped for a just compromise in the form of inspection and investigation, rather than permanent universal intervention and control; and it took as its model for future government activity an extended system of examination, similar to the Oxford and Cambridge 'Locals'. It reported the prize distributions associated with those examinations copiously,² and with a frequency born of eager concurrence.

Another leader, eight days later, developed further the ideas of 18 November.³ "The schoolmaster", trumpeted the leader, "is once more

1. Times, 18 November 1864.

2. See above, ch. VIII.

3. Times, 26 November 1864.

abroad, as he was thirty years ago." But this time he was not the teacher of infants and striplings, but "the schoolmaster of schoolmasters, raising his eyes a little higher, and addressing teachers, parents, and young men and young women." Every day advice was tendered "by some statesman or theologian, politician or literary man" upon middle-class education; but the advice was so various that anybody could have it to his taste. Some assistance was needed by middle-class parents in choosing schools for their children; but those who had to choose would no doubt resent to the utmost any attempt to direct or control their choice." "No such attempt can be attended, we should think, unless there be any statesman among us ambitious to encounter the full stream of British self-confidence and jealousy...This is a voluntary affair." But it had to be admitted that "nobody knows what goes on in private schools, and it will be something for parents to know what schools court examination and what schools shrink from it."

It must be admitted that the Times leader-writer's promotion of this laissez-faire proposition in relation to examination and inspection, while it may have pleased those of its readers who were proud of their independence and rugged self-determination, hardly accorded with what was known of the less than universal progress of the University middle-class examinations. It was clear, even at this early stage, that schoolmasters, of a quality inferior to Thring, could use the conceit of claiming that they were far too elevated to bother with the meddlings of the Oxford and Cambridge delegacies.¹ Even those schools which did submit to examination often chose as candidates only their best pupils. The Times soon after published a letter from a Manchester schoolmaster, calling himself 'Omega', which threw the leader's unsophisticated action into clear relief. The schoolmaster entered upon his

1. S.I.C., I, 372.

peroration with, "Let our schools, then, public and private, be properly inspected — not a few of the boys only to be examined — by competent authority appointed by the government, and let it be known what schools they are which refuse to submit to this test — for I am fully persuaded of the truth of what 'Rusticus' says... 'No test will be of any value unless it is imposed upon all schools without possibility of escape.'¹

The leader of 18 November, one might suspect, had been prompted by a report, in the edition of the previous day, of a speech by Lord Granville at Willis's Rooms, and very appropriately at the presentation of prizes to successful candidates in the Oxford 'Locals'. The Lord President, in searching for a politically clear and simple definition of the term 'middle-class education', took for his authority his former colleague in the Education Department, Robert Lowe. Lowe's definition, said Granville, "much the clearest, the simplest, and the most comprehensible," represented the middle class as "all those who were too rich to send their children to the national schools, and who could not afford to send them to the very expensive and select public schools of this country." Granville attributed recent interest in the subject to the efforts of local bodies, and (providing the leader-writer with the phrase he subsequently used) to the speeches delivered by "eminent prelates, clergymen, statesmen, and literary men," nearly fifty per cent of which, he reckoned, had touched upon middle-class education. He was sufficiently political, and unhistorical, to let his analysis of reasons for the current popularity of the subject rest upon these points.²

He later made it clear that he was referring to recent speeches

1. Times, 30 November 1864. 'Rusticus' had been a correspondent on 22 November 1864.

2, *ibid.*, 17 November 1864.

of the Archbishop of York, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Wodehouse, and others connected with the Church and dissenting bodies. He devoted the major portion of his speech, however, to reviewing remarks upon the subject made by those "who are either now or have been connected with the department over which I have the honour to preside": he was referring to Henry Moseley, Matthew Arnold, and Robert Lowe. About the views of each of these three gentlemen he held varying degrees of reservation.

Canon Moseley's scheme for reforming the curricula of schools for the lower middle classes, based upon his experience in helping to create and manage the Bristol Diocesan Trade School, was rather too "practical" for Granville's taste: abandoning "a smattering of Latin" for "instruction somewhat of a scientific character" was very radical. Compromise, in Granville's mind, as well as in the estimation of the Times leader, was essential. He said,

I believe that as long as the study of a certain class of subjects is held to be necessary for the higher classes, a large number of the middle classes will certainly require and insist that the same sort of education, though perhaps in a shorter and cheaper form, should be given to their sons, in order that they may be able not to maintain, but to improve upon the social position of their fathers.

This sentiment too was taken up by the leader-writer. Granville went on, "This really is the question -- to bring into harmony the advantages of the old classical literature and its elevating influence on the mind and taste, with the knowledge of surrounding things which is necessary not to one class alone, but to all classes, in the present generation." It is tempting to wonder whether he knew how close this statement brought him to Matthew Arnold's current notions about the curriculum in middle-class schools.

But by this particular 'Barbarian', 'Professor Arnold' and, presumably, his French Eton, were dealt with in a light-hearted manner which concealed the heavy burden of Granville's political antipathy

towards state intervention on the grand continental scale. He said that he could conceive of nothing more picturesque than Arnold's description of certain classes of schools in France; but he had to admit, in the broadest terms, that "the instinct of the upper classes and the traditions of the middle classes were entirely opposed to state interference." Granville felt that such a feeling amongst those who mattered in society was correct. "But whether the prejudice is reasonable, or whether it is a foolish one, there is no doubt that it exists, and while it exists, and while State interference with middle-class education continues to be utterly distasteful to both the aristocracy and the middle classes, it would be perfectly Utopian for any Government or individual to attempt to introduce such a system." It was with such gentle irony that Arnold was eliminated from the running for a place on the S.I.C., and relegated to an assistant-commissionership on the Continent which was surely, in Granville's view, his real métier.¹

Among mid-Victorian politicians Granville does not rank very high in the estimation of recent historians. Nor does he emerge from the pages of his 'Life and Letters'² as much more than a rather lethargic, disinterested dilettante. But his speech at Willis's Rooms revealed his splendid qualities as a survivor: the forensic skills of compromise and moderation which were essential in enabling a political Titan to remain afloat amid the disintegrating ice-floes of party groupings in the era of Russell and Palmerston. His flattery of the middle class was subtle. He had already helped to deflect the more controversial arrows of the Newcastle Commission away from the heart of the legislative target: 'economy and efficiency' had taken precedence over

1. For a more detailed treatment of Arnold's appointment, in 1865, see below, ch.X, 472.

2. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Lord Granville, 1815-1891*, 2 volumes, London, London, 1905.

issues like 'system' and 'adequate provision'. His voice had finally announced the shelving of the issue of Irish intermediate education in 1859.¹ In 1864 he was engaged in a similar task of preventing middle-class education in England and Wales from becoming a topic which might destroy the delicate balance and compromises which dogged party politics in the mid-1860s.

A sense of personal allegiance, however, rather than sensitivity to the needs of party, lay behind the comments upon Lowe which he made in his speech. He agreed with much that the former Vice-President had recently said "in his clear, logical, condensed and witty style". But "while Professor² Arnold is perhaps a little too constructive, Mr. Lowe is, in some respects, a little too destructive." Although Granville could heartily agree with Lowe's curt dismissal of a plan of state education for the middle classes, he could not wholly accept his notion of the inherent evils of endowments : "...it must be owned that it is to endowments that we of all classes owe a great deal of the education we have obtained..." Yet in this respect Lowe was not so far out on a limb as Granville suggested. After all, Woodard, Fortescue, Brereton, and the multitude of founders of proprietary schools had all turned their backs decidedly upon the reform or use of endowments, even after the reform of charitable trusts legislation in the 1850s.³

In the middle of his speech Granville had whetted the appetite of an audience who were probably eager to know the names of those chosen to serve on the new Commission. But he merely said that he hoped those selected would be seen to represent different shades of opinion, while being able to work harmoniously together. This was a very fair

1. See above, ch. VI, 369.

2. Matthew Arnold had been Professor of Poetry at Oxford since 1857.

3. See above, ch. V.

prophecy of the outcome of the deliberations on a difficult subject. He said, "we think the Commissioners ought to have a perfect liberty, and we shall attend with the greatest respect to their recommendations. There are certainly things which I, as at present advised, trust they will not recommend. But no restrictions of any sort will be put upon them." They would be free, in fact, to investigate the real condition of the education given to every section of the middle class, and to point out the most efficient way of reorganising the system and improving the education provided. Some members of his audience may have been tantalised by his reference to the unfavourable circumstances which had prevented "certain persons who would have been of great service" from associating themselves with the Commission.

During the process of his selecting the members of the Commission, Granville was counselled by a wide variety of people, members of both Houses of Parliament and 'lay' outsiders. In most cases the advice was sound and just. But despite his general experience in educational administration, it seems likely that the knowledge of middle-class education which Granville displayed in his London speech had mostly been gained since the summer of 1864. He began canvassing opinions soon after the Government had decided to accept the proposition of the S.S.A., in July 1864; and in addition to the advice he requested from a close circle of political acquaintances and colleagues, he received a variety of unsolicited letters, some in the form of testimonials from people hoping to find a place for themselves on the Commission. The gradual composition of such a committee was evidently still a matter of patronage; but it was a species of patronage quite distinct from the warm-blooded nepotism and corruption which were associated features of the era of pre-Reform politics. Although the favoured candidates still came almost without exception from

among the ranks of those who mattered in society, the influence of the most famous tutor of Balliol, among others, had been added to country house contacts, family ties, and recommendations of amateur enthusiasm.¹ The extension of the franchise, the abolition of religious tests in public life, the increasingly complex bureaucracy which was beginning to provide channels for the mainstream of party politics — all these new elements contributed to the creation of varied and heterogeneous features of political life which necessitated a very subtle approach to the task of Commission-making. In a sense, too, even if the age of the amateur had by no means passed, and aristocrats still dominated places at the head of the Commissions, yet the conventional disinterestedness of the aristocracy did not hide the acquisition by many of them of interesting 'crotchets' and enlightened opinions. The aristocratic element on the Taunton Commission was able to display considerable inquisitorial expertise and took the trouble to be well informed. In addition, party, and a wide variety of allegiances, had to be seen to be justly represented. Two elements — one old, the other new — had to be given a prominent place. The older element, specifically because the S.I.C. was so closely concerned with endowments, was the group of 'technicians' of the law of charitable uses; the more recent was dissent, of which a representative could hardly have been omitted from the S.I.C., any more than from the earlier Newcastle Commission.

The bulk of the correspondence relating to the proposed Commission comprised letters from H.A. Bruce, Lowe's successor at the Education Office; from Lord Lytton, in whose letters were contained racy entertainment and sound sense; from Temple; and from Lowe himself.

1. For Jowett's influence on the conduct of the new Education department, see R. Johnson, 'Administrators in education before 1870; patronage, social position and role', in G. Sutherland (ed.), *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth-century Government*, London, 1972, 110-138.

Of these four, Bruce appears, in the context of English affairs, the most continuously influential figure : as Vice-President he lived in the shadow of Lowe's more brilliant term of office; and he was unfortunate in holding the post — for his reputation's sake at least — in the interregnum between Payment by Results and the genesis of the 1870 Act. Despite his effective term at the Home Office after 1868, he never shared the limelight of Gladstone's first administration with figures like Forster and Cardwell. But he held a place of high esteem among his liberal contemporaries,¹ and he was to come into his own as an educationist-innovator in the 1880s when he presided over the Committee which was to generate twin systems of intermediate and higher education in Wales.² His early career at the Bar, and as a magistrate, was hardly notable, and his political progress was slow. But once near the top he enjoyed the full confidence of his colleagues in government. His apprenticeship for high office was served under Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, between 1862 and 1864, and it seems likely that he first came to Granville's notice because of a successful speech he made on the Education Estimates in June 1859,²

It is convenient to consider in two parcels the advice Granville received from the summer of 1864 onwards : firstly, the counsel on the terms of reference of the Commission; secondly, on its composition. Bruce provided most of the early terms-of-reference fodder for Granville to ruminate upon. He wrote, "the more I ponder over the Commission of Inquiry into Middle-class Education, the more I am puzzled by defining its scope and objects."³ The Newcastle and Clarendon

1. After appointing Bruce in 1868, Gladstone congratulated himself on having found a "heaven-born Home Secretary". Quoted in, *Life and Letters of Henry Austin Bruce, Lord Aberdare*, Oxford, For private Circulation, 1902, I, 4.

2. *ibid.*, 103.

3. P.R.O., Granville Papers, 30/29/19/4/35, Bruce to Granville, 6 August 1864.

Commissions had been given specific objects. But, Bruce asked, "What is a middle-class school?" In answering his first question with another, he expressed a potential breadth of vision, in relation to the class-orientation of English education which anticipated the full scope of the S.I.C. recommendations: "Are all Public Schools and elementary schools to be so considered?" he asked. Was inquiry to be made into the private schools, as well as the grammar and proprietary schools? It is clear that he based his views about the range of the inquiry upon the supposed needs of one section of the middle class: that troublesome region which embraced the shopkeeper, the tenant-farmer, and the artisan. For he said, "If...by middle-class schools are understood schools for sons of tradesmen, farmers, and in which classics are not taught, the result will be that vast numbers of endowed and other schools, much, and in some cases, chiefly, frequented by the middle classes, will be excluded from the inquiry, and probably no schools need investigation more than these." It is clear that, at this stage, he had a precise and limited definition of the middle class — the lower middle class. But his isolation of a particular section of the community reflected the long-standing concern in England for the educational plight and the political involvement of the lower middle classes; a concern which, though it was to dominate the deliberations of the S.I.C., did not produce direct practical results under the 1869 Endowed Schools Act.

Bruce wished to define the terms of reference of the Commission very closely, but he feared that lines of demarcation could not be drawn accurately. Already, however, the guidelines for the tripartite division of schools and social sub-classes in the S.I.C. was showing through, and he was concerned that "most of the poorer gentry and clergymen send their sons to grammar schools at which they meet no inconsiderable number of the class socially inferior to them, usually designated

as 'middle'.

In his quandary he recommended that Granville should apply to Brougham and Fortescue about clarifying the terms of reference. Nevertheless, he outlined the eventual scope of the inquiry himself, again in the form of questions : "...is the inquiry to be directed also to the endowments, funds, and revenues, as well as into the courses of study pursued in these Schools ? Is the Commission to report upon the cost of education as well as its quality, and to estimate the proportion of the supply of good schools to the wants of the middle classes ?" The names of the Commissioners, he thought, would be easier to find than the answers to these questions. In the event, the Commissioners did attempt to answer them, and it would be difficult to believe that Bruce did not help in guiding their preliminary discussions along these lines.

By 15 August Bruce had resolved some of his doubts about terms of reference¹ : he suggested the wording, "to inquire into the State of Middle-class Education in England and Wales, and into the application of endowments designed to promote it." Bruce had by this time determined the central preoccupation of the Taunton Commission — endowments and their reform. He further proposed that Granville should examine the terms of reference of Lord Kildare's Commission to investigate similar kinds of schools in Ireland.²

This letter from Bruce arrived at the same time as one from Temple who had also been approached by Granville.³ In the most revealing part of his letter Temple clearly dissociated himself from any notion of state intervention over the question, along the lines of recent 'interference' in elementary education; he said, "to inquire into all the

1. *ibid.*, letter from Bruce to Granville, 11 August 1864.

2. See above, ch.IV.

3. Granville Papers, Temple to Granville, 11 August 1864.

schools which profess to supply those classes with education would be generally taken to imply some intention on the part of the Government to make grants, which I very earnestly deprecate." Of this passage Bruce was to remark later that it astonished him "as coming from a man who has not always been a schoolmaster."¹ This judgement suggests a much greater latitude of sympathy towards possible state intervention on Bruce's part than either Granville or Temple might ever have been expected to show. But the Vice-President added, ironically, "Perhaps he (Temple) dreads the influence of Mat. Arnold's (sic) pamphlet on French Middle Class Education on the President's mind." Granville's later thoughts on A French Eton have already been recorded. Whatever Bruce's own opinions, it is reasonably clear that at this time, as later, Granville was not considering Arnold's appointment to the Commission. Temple's final suggestion anticipated what was to be one of the more controversial proposals of the S.I.C. : "to set these (the endowed schools) right, perhaps to associate two or three into one in many cases, would go a long way towards supplying the Middle Classes with what they want."²

Assembling the Commission was largely a matter of finding names appropriate to pigeon-holes of varying sizes. The main criteria had already been established in the Public Schools Commission, and Bruce hoped that some of its members might serve again³: Lyttelton, Twistleton and Walford Vaughan. He also suggested Dr. Vaughan, formerly headmaster of Harrow, and Gibbs, tutor to the Prince of Wales. In his second letter⁴ he proposed Earl Grey as chairman; Earl Cathcart from the West Riding had a special interest in the subject; and from

1. *ibid.*, letter from Bruce to Granville, 17 September 1864.

2. *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

3. *ibid.*, Bruce to Granville, 16 August 1864.

4. *ibid.*, 19 August 1864.

among his Welsh colleagues he drew Harold Browne, Bishop of Ely, and formerly Principal of Lampeter College. The choice of Cobden, he thought, might please the dissenters. The Roman Catholic community would be best represented by Sir John Acton, already one of his own social intimates; and the legal component might be chosen from among Heathcote, Hunt, and Childers. His final list, which he attached as a postscript, would have provided a most satisfactory balance among the interests of both sides of party politics : in respect of the Church, dissent, the law, administration and education. It ran : Earl Grey, Fortescue, Cathcart, the Bishop of Ely, Dr. Temple (whose selection was apparently taken for granted by everyone closely concerned), Dr. Vaughan of Doncaster, Sir William Heathcote, M.P., George Ward Hunt, M.P., Dr. Smith of London University, the Revd. Canon Hugh Robinson, Edward Bunbury, Mr. Giffard, Mr. Dobson, the Revd. Charles Lake, James Heywood, Twistleton, Halford Vaughan, Gibbs, Dr. Storrar, and Chadwick. But twenty names comprise such an extensive selection that it must be presumed that Bruce was putting forward a long short list for Granville to choose from. And while he was proposing Earl Grey as chairman, Granville had already asked Lord Overstone to fill that office. But Overstone was so ill that he had to decline even sitting on the Commission.¹

The notion of choosing from among the former Clarendon Commissioners was seconded by Sir John Shaw Lefevre² who had recently supported the Memorial of the S.S.A. He too named Dr. Storrar "who from his position in reference to our University may be considered as representing a large class of persons interested in the improvement of School Education."

Temple's first letter to Granville³ was in the form of a testimonial for H.J. Roby whose name he submitted for consideration as a possible

1. *ibid.*, Overstone to Granville, 17 August 1864. Overstone, as S. Loyd Jones, was a leading financier and banker and had been Peel's main adviser over the Bank Charter Act.

2. *ibid.*, Shaw-Lefevre to Granville, 5 August 1864.

3. *ibid.*, Temple to Granville, 5 August 1864.

Secretary to the Commission. In 1864 Roby was an assistant master at Dulwich. He was well qualified, in Temple's estimation, because he had been a most efficient Secretary to the Cambridge middle-class examinations syndicate. Later Temple considered Granville's invitation to sit on the Commission.¹ He expressed some doubt : although Dr. Vaughan had sat on the Cambridge University Commission, Harrow was a more convenient distance from London than was Rugby. However, said Temple, "the work I should like very much." He went on to suggest some of the names already put forward by Bruce : Fortescue, Lake, and Dr. Vaughan (as representative of the Cambridge interest). He added Acland, his ally in the struggle with the Hebdomadal Council over the Local Examinations²; and he was the first to suggest Lord Taunton. But in reflecting upon his own list, he made an interesting and perceptive qualification which highlights one of the remarkable features of the Commission in its final form — indeed, one of the features of the whole of the middle-class debate in the mid-nineteenth century : they were all too much from the West country. Nevertheless, he said, perhaps with some personal pride, "they have moved more in that part than elsewhere in promoting education of late."

A letter from Granville to Lyttelton, written before 17 September 1864, confirms that, even before Temple's proposal, Granville had invited Taunton to become chairman.³ Replying to Granville from Somerset, Taunton was "not very sanguine" about the utility of any Commission about education, basing his belief on the results of Newcastle and the inherent difficulties of the middle-class question. It seems clear that he at least was aware of the dangers that lay ahead. But he expressed interest and was ready to act. Bruce thought that Taunton

1. *ibid.*, Temple to Granville, 15 August 1864.

2. See above, ch.VII.

3. Granville Papers, letter from Lyttelton to Granville, 21 September 1864.

would "superabound in questions"; but, failing Grey or Lyttelton as chairman, his committee experience would prove useful,"and he would keep the others within bounds", a quality which Lyttelton, too, hoped for in a chairman.¹

Most of the replies to Granville's queries were either ponderous or reflective. Two of his correspondents, however, — Lyttelton and Lowe — provided letters full of entertainment and wit. Lyttelton's, in August, must be one of the funniest ever to pass between two public men in the Victorian era. Its secrets were only partly revealed in an extract quoted by Fitzmaurice², perhaps because the handwriting is as usual almost indecipherable; and also, possibly, in order to conceal the hard edge of wit he used in characterising political figures whose careers still had some years to run. The tone and content of the letter provide a clue to the nature of unbuttoned chat among men over port in smoke-filled Victorian dining rooms and clubs.

Lyttelton's interest in the possible work of the Commission is evident from the start. He was Granville's own first choice for the chairmanship, but he modestly declined that offer. He said that he could not refuse to serve on the Commission, though it was hard to serve so often for nothing. "Allow me to suggest that at least it might be provided that no one with more than ten children should serve on more than two Royal Commissions without a grant from the Indigent Persons Fund. Gladstone, I am sure, would consent."³ He claimed to have attended all 127 meetings of the Clarendon Commission, along with 20 or 30 meetings of the Clerical Subscription Committee; and he apologised for the length of his letter : he had been told that "when you

1. *ibid.*, letter from Lyttelton to Granville, 25 August 1864.

2. Fitzmaurice, *op. cit.*, 434.

3. Lyttelton had, eventually, 15 children by two marriages.

(Granville) get an unusually long and illegible letter it always comes back (to Granville's secretary) marked, 'What is all this about?' But the second epithet is so clearly inapplicable in my case that I do not anticipate anything of the kind."

Clarendon, said Lyttelton, had been a conscientious chairman; though his grasp of the subject was very limited. "He seemed to me to have a very unoriginal mind...Gladstone once told me that his forte was to put other people's ideas into good English." Also he was guilty of "incessant persiflage, quizzing, and ideas of all kinds, which, though almost always good, became a bore, and gave extreme offence to some of the witnesses." Lord Devon would, he thought, make an admirable chairman : he had a capacity for real work, which Lyttelton thought derived from his long period as Under-Secretary in a busy office.¹ He knew a great deal about the current subject. "He can laugh sometimes, but a joke you might as well expect from an old bellwether or Newfoundland dog."

Northcote was "the ablest and most serviceable of all the lot";² but "he is devoured by political ambition, and if your rickety Government tumbles to pieces, he becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer, and exit!" Twistleton was "a queer man...He had long fits of torpor and silence (on the Clarendon Commission) alternating with great vivacity. The only thing he really did was to support the scientific witnesses we had." Professor Thompson of Cambridge was "over-refined and fastidious...He had not very good health and his Cambridge associations interfered with his attendance."

Lyttelton presumed Granville had asked Fortescue : "he is a great authority on the matter. But I doubt if he would act, nor is it much

1. See Boase, op. cit.: Taunton held offices in the lower and middle ranges of government for all but seven years from 1832 to 1858.

2. Lyttelton played a prominent role in securing for Northcote the post of private secretary to Gladstone in 1842. See Lang, op. cit., 37.

to be wished, for our excellent friend is a pre-eminent bore, and his nervous laugh alone would drive any Commissioners mad." "Tom Acland" was also an authority, "but he is crotchety". The Bishop of Oxford, Wilberforce, would do well; likewise the Archbishop of York who was nevertheless "not altogether agreeable."

Early in October Granville had asked Lowe's advice on naming Commissioners. At first he showed interest, especially, as he said, because he could hardly refuse on the grounds of other laborious employment.¹ Then, after he had been shown a list of his possible colleagues on the Commission, he wrote, on 21 October, that he need not trouble Granville further, "for the list...is quite enough to satisfy me that I could be of no use on it." He said that he never liked entering such a body "without having some hope of managing it", and there was no possibility of his doing so in this case. "The only man in whom I should have any confidence is Temple, and he could hardly attend regularly, and is a parson after all, a very material point when you come to deal with the appropriation of endowments." "Forster is not the least to be trusted, in Church and Education matters, and wants educating himself. Northcote is a hypocrite, Lyttelton a bigot", and he thought little of the influence which might be exerted by Lake, Carpenter or Storrar. In his waspish way he asked in a postscript, "What had Bruce to do at the Social Science meeting?" In fact Bruce was going to the S.S.A. meeting at York, where he lodged with H.S. Thompson, to have an opportunity of hearing a variety of opinions as to "what ought to be, and what can be done" to improve middle-class education.² Quite evidently Lowe's opinion of the personnel of the S.S.A., and the aims behind their activities was no higher than his estimate of those who were on Granville's short-list.

1. Granville Papers, letter of Lowe to Granville, 17 October 1864.

2. *ibid.*, letter from Bruce to Granville, 17 September 1864.

There were two further letters from Lyttelton, both much less euphoric in tone. He rejoiced at the choice of Taunton as chairman; but said that he could not at that moment recommend a dissenter, "though Newcastle liked Miall." Lyttelton, however, thought Miall too extreme. He thought Acland was generally acceptable, though, significantly, he "is not on the Council of Social Science." He did not want to be pressed over the matter of Fortescue, but thought on balance that he could not serve because of his eyes.¹ Finally he said, "If you are not over-clerical, for another Cambridge man I think my old tutor, Rev.J.W.Blakesley, once tutor of Trinity, and now Canon of Canterbury, would do very well." However, although Blakesley possessed some very appropriate qualifications, it must be that one factor ruled out his being considered for membership of a Commission which would have to scrutinise endowments very critically : in 1864 he was Master of the Mercers' Company. No one could have known London better than he; but few other candidates would have been more embroiled in the archaic system of patronage associated with the Livery Companies and the City Corporation.²

Sir George Grey offered pertinent advice.³ He warned Granville that discussion was warming up, not only in the S.S.A., but in a number of urban centres; and it may be presumed that he was thinking primarily of London. He could not understand why Northcote should hesitate to join the Commission; but he put forward an explanation which, as events were to prove, was most perceptive, and was clearly related to Lyttelton's judgement on the Conservative politician : Grey thought Northcote might be "afraid of the difficulties in which he may be mislaid in future legislation on the subject." In fact Northcote was later

1. *ibid.*, Lyttelton to Granville, 21 September 1864.

2. For Blakesley, see Boase, *op. cit.*

3. Granville Papers, Grey to Granville, 28 September 1864.

one of the two Conservatives who discreetly withheld their signatures from the Taunton Report in 1867, not out of disagreement in principle, but in order to preserve their subsequent freedom of political action on the subject. Grey passed on to Granville Harrowby's recommendation of Archdeacon Sandford¹ for a place on the Commission. Sandford was an interesting candidate whose immersion in the detail of lower middle-class educational problems is evident in the Reports he prepared for the Committee of Council upon elementary schooling in the West Midlands. But he can hardly be said to have had a national reputation at this time, nor was his influence very great outside his own district.

Grey also enclosed a letter addressed to him by Gladstone, who also passed on a note from Acland pleading for his inclusion. Gladstone's own letter is interesting in one respect : as well as recommending Miall or Stansfeld as the representative dissenter, and Hook as "a very liberally disposed" Churchman, he suggested Woodard who "must be one of the most competent men in England with respect to the working of middle-class education : as he is, I apprehend, the one who immediately has done most for it."² That this should be the only recommendation of Woodard is somewhat surprising, considering the broad and impressive range of his social and political contacts; and it may seem puzzling that Lyttelton, for instance, who had attended several fund-raising meetings on behalf of Woodard's school at Ardingley, had not mentioned his name. Gladstone evidently thought of balancing Woodard against someone with more liberal views, like Hook; but the omission of Woodard from the final list is perhaps explained by the tight grip which the Liberals and moderates of the S.S.A. held over the 'official' approach to the problem of middle-class education.

1. For Sandford, see above, ch. III, 174.

2. Granville Papers, Gladstone to Granville, 5 October 1864. Gladstone, along with Wilberforce, had made one of the leading speeches at a fund-raising meeting for Woodard in Oxford in 1861.

Woodard, in spite of his public success and the heavy financial support he was able to procure, was eccentric to the main stream of thinking about the subject in the late 1850s and the 1860s. The bland Anglican judgement of his achievement had been expressed most clearly in Robinson's paper to the S.S.A., in which the two Woodard schools were described as owing their existence to "the spirit of zealous churchmanship", and around them, Robinson said, "there floats something of a High Church atmosphere" which was evidently not to his taste.¹ And though in their forensic methods of raising money Woodard and William Rogers bear comparison, their theological positions were widely separated: the founder of Lancing stood on a narrow plank of doctrine and received support from a closely-knit group of Anglican laymen whose interest in maintaining the strength of the Church was far greater, in most cases, than their commitment to education. 'Hang Theology' Rogers, on the other hand, was a broad Churchman prepared to demonstrate a very elastic tolerance of the views of others in order to fashion a broad basis for his network of London schools. Woodard had erected a model for middle-class schooling which was interesting for comparative purposes, but which, by 1864, had begun to seem less attractive to most of those who mattered than either the reform of ancient foundations, or the creation of local, more comprehensive institutions, or the notion of inspection and examination. It is interesting, in any case, that Grey had pencilled in a question-mark alongside Woodard's name in Gladstone's letter: it is hardly likely that he found the name illegible; and therefore it would seem either that he was insufficiently acquainted with Woodard's work for him to understand its significance; or, more likely, that he was doubtful about his ritualist reputation.²

1. Transactions of the Social Science Association, York meeting, 1864, London, 1864, Canon Robinson, 'Suggestions for the Improvement of Middle-class Education', 371.

2. Granville Papers, letter of Gladstone to Granville, 3 October 1864.

Acland's letter was rather plaintive.¹ He had some years earlier suffered a temporary setback to his parliamentary career, and he declared himself to be fearful of the effect of "long rustication"; but he argued the case for his inclusion by modestly referring to, not only his work with Temple on examinations, but also his acquaintance-ship with the "wants and feelings" of the industrial and agricultural middle classes, with "the position and circumstances of schoolmasters of the second rank", and to the principles of fairness on which he was wont to judge dissenters. Ironically, considering Lyttelton's description of him as being "crotchety", he hoped that the Commissioners would be chosen from among men "whose minds are unbiased by special crotchets", which he thought especially important since the topic was "full of difficulties". It is doubtful, for instance, whether he would have approved of the appointment of Woodard, had it occurred. It is interesting that Acland, with his special knowledge of local affairs and reactions, should have shared the awareness of others, like Taunton, that middle-class education was a subject which would evoke considerable controversy. Gladstone hoped for Acland's appointment : they had been friends since their undergraduate days at Oxford.² But his coupling of the names of such diverse characters as Acland and Woodard in one letter — as his choices for membership of the Commission — suggests that he himself had no sharply defined ideas on the subject of middle-class education in 1864.

Lingen thought Harry Chester of the Society of Arts would not be a bad member of the Commission : Chester had given a great deal of attention to the subject; he was sensible, honest, and if he had to

1. *ibid.*, letter of Acland to Gladstone, 3 October 1864.

2. See A.H.D. Acland (ed.), *Memoir and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Dyke Acland*, privately printed, London, 1902, 23. Acland was a member of the 'W.E.G.' Essay Society, and was a frequent visitor to the Glynnes at Hawarden in the early 1830s.

work with others his "crotchets" might be kept in check. It will be remembered that, as a representative of the Society of Arts, Chester had been among the supporters of Fortescue's general proposals for middle-class education in the 1850s.¹ Lingen remarked to Granville that Chester was strongly in favour of "an Industrial, or Middle-class University"; the Secretary himself did not much like the idea, especially if it went beyond the existing Universities.²

Two letters to Granville, in connection with the Commission, add a touch of bathos to the picture of these profound deliberations. Both represent, by the exclusion of their authors from consideration, how tightly drawn was the circle that enclosed those who were finally chosen as members of the Commission. Both could have contributed useful information, based upon a wealth of experience in the field of endowed schools reform; neither had the necessary standing — socially, as Churchmen, as eminent professionals, or as representatives of sufficiently significant pressure-groups — to remain on Granville's 'in-tray' for more than a moment. Both were obsessive in their interest, and were near the ends of long careers.

Saxe-Bannister's letter³ argued, in the idiom of a legal document, on behalf of his own fifty years' acquaintanceship with the question of endowed schools. He wrote from Bloomsbury about his first "brief appeal" for grammar school reform in 1816, and his subsequent, albeit marginal, involvement in Brougham's work, and in the various Chancery cases of the 1820s, in particular that of Dulwich College. One reason for his disqualification in 1864 seems to have rested on his long sojourn in South Africa and New South Wales, where he had served as

1. See above, ch. II,

2. Granville Papers, letter of Lingen to Granville, 7 October 1864.

3. *ibid.*, letter of Saxe-Bannister to Granville, 6 October 1864.

Attorney-General. If nothing else, Saxe-Bannister's career demonstrates the longevity of interest in the issue of middle-class education during the nineteenth century.

George Griffith has made a more important appearance in an earlier chapter.¹ He returned from the 1864 S.S.A. meeting at York, encouraged to make further exertions by the fact of his having presented a paper there. He obtained a very moderately worded testimonial from Pakington, his neighbour in Worcestershire; and this he enclosed in his letter to Granville from Wolverhampton in October 1864.² He had already approached both Grey and Gladstone in August, requesting consideration as "an inspector", or assistant commissioner under the proposed Commission. He also wrote letters to Brougham in October who seems to have been pleased to recommend his appointment as assistant commissioner, adding that he had read with interest Griffith's publications on the subject. He wrote again to Gladstone in December, just before the announcement of the Commissioners' names, and received a terse reply from the Chancellor's son.³ Having arranged an interview with Granville in January 1865 Griffith arrived at the Privy Council Office to find that the Noble Lord had not yet returned from Osborne. When he finally got to Earl Granville, Griffith had a very polite, affable interview at which he gained the impression that he had "a fair chance of being appointed." He even visited Lord Taunton and, according to his own account, received a similar assurance. He sent copies of his works to all the Commissioners as soon as their names were published. Despite all this, and a petition on his behalf addressed to Granville by sixteen Wolverhampton worthies, his suit was unsuccessful. Griffith's

1. See above, ch.VII.

2. G.Griffith, *Going to Markets and Grammar Schools*, London and Stourbridge, 1870, II,

3. *ibid.*,

tenacity over the endowed schools question, reaching back to the 1830s, served him ill in his dealings with a Commission which included one of his arch-enemies from Worcestershire, Lord Lyttelton.

The usefulness of the S.S.A. did not end with its petition to Palmerston. There were to be two further meetings of the Association which had great significance in the continuing discussion of middle-class education. The first of them took place at York in September 1864. (The second was the notorious London meeting in 1869 at which Hobhouse made his declaration of intent.¹) The 1864 meeting coincided with Granville's deliberations upon the selection of Commissioners and the determination of the scope of the inquiry. He despatched to York Henry Austin Bruce. The importance of the meeting was not lost upon other prominent figures, and York attracted most of the ideologues of middle-class education who imagined that they might have a contribution to make to the S.S.A. discussions. In an account of a career where educational issues are significant only by their omission, Sir Stafford Northcote's biographer found space to record his subject's journey to the "festival of Social Science at York" in 1864.²

Most of the middle-class papers presented at the 1864 conference contributed little that was new to the debate. But Robinson's paper, 'Suggestions for the Improvement of Middle-class Education', was a very useful middle-of-the-road survey of current ideas. He was suitably modest in his hopes for some initiative from the new Commission which, though it might not lead to the establishment of any great system of middle-class education, would at least "bring together a variety of important facts, supply some valuable suggestions, and

1. See above, ch.V, 300 ff.

2. Andrew Lang, *Life, Letters and Diaries of Sir Stafford Northcote, First Earl of Iddesleigh*, London, 1899, 133.

awaken increased attention throughout the country."¹

Private enterprise and the free market in middle-class education had, he thought, failed to produce satisfactory results. The "natural course of things" had failed; and the time had come for external stimulus. Robinson identified as one of the central issues the necessary cheapness of middle-class schools : the comforts of home had to be purchased economically. To ensure good and cheap education, "external co-operation" was required. Nevertheless he did not believe it would be possible "(considering the social and political condition of the country) to establish any general and uniform system of middle-class education under the direction and control of the government." He did think it was necessary to consider whether government intervention would be even ideally appropriate or not, "for there seems no likelihood of its being attempted or even seriously suggested by anyone whose recommendations would give it the chance of being discussed in the national legislature."²

Conversely he thought that the middle-class problem would be solved, not by the rigid adoption of one scheme, but by the combination of a variety of plans. In this way the different groups would not be alienated, and "excessive centralisation" would be avoided. The education would be imbued with "that health, elasticity and freedom so characteristic of our national life." This conclusion led him into a discussion of the relative merits of the various schools systems already in existence. Of these he seemed to be most in favour of Fortescue's county scheme.³ He hoped that, in time, all the larger and most populous counties would have at least one county school. His reasoning here summarised the whole feeling of

1. Transactions of the Social Science Association, York, 1864, 367.

2. *ibid.*, 370.

3. *ibid.*, 371.

the rural movement in middle-class education : "It seems desirable that in each case the movement should originate with the great proprietors and leading persons in the counties. The co-operation of such men will give soundness and stability to the undertaking, and will tend to attract the notice and secure the confidence of the public." He thought the founding of a district committee or county board might perhaps be the first step.

He does not seem to have favoured setting up schools exclusively for distinct sections of the middle class : for example, for farmers' sons. Nor did he favour an excessive concentration upon practical training. (Though he did mention the training in "scientific agriculture" at West Buckland.) Rather he shared with Acland the idea that a secondary school should be a place in which to mould a boys' character, develop his general faculties, and store his mind with the first principles of knowledge. The apprenticeship for the business or profession would come later.

On the important subject of endowments Robinson showed his profound interest and a range of ideas which accorded nicely with those later developed by the Taunton Commission,¹ and those which Miss Martineau had extrapolated from the findings of the Kildare inquiry. In many cases the middle classes did not use the endowed schools, he said, because they were inefficient and failed to provide the kind of education required by the parents. He estimated the value of endowments at £400,000; half of this was grammar school income, the remainder for the poor. He was, therefore, he thought, "justified in urging that a fair proportion of this income should be set apart for the purpose of middle-class education."¹

He apologised for recommending "an organic change" from the

1. *ibid.* 374.

seclusion of a country parsonage. But he thought there was a surplus of grammar schools : only a few classical schools were needed in the provinces, to stand alongside the great schools; the remainder could be "diverted to middle-class education." This suggestion was very similar to the later proposition which Charles Evans put to the S.I.C.¹ Robinson recommended amalgamation of schools where necessary, despite the problems which might arise from a seeming infringement of local rights; and the introduction of a measure of centralisation. "But surely, when national interests are involved, it is possible to be too tender of local privileges." The possibility of rapid travel had broken the historic bond between an endowment and its original locality. On the question of endowments, he thought, "state intervention on behalf of the education of the middle classes is not only legitimate, but imperatively called for." But in spite of his commitment to intervention, he could never bring himself to agree with Matthew Arnold's suggested measure of state control. In Robinson's system there would always be room for proprietary schools, denominational schools in limited numbers, trade schools, and private adventure schools of proven efficiency. He saw every reason for extending state inspection from the elementary to the middle-class schools. In addition, anticipating a scheme which he helped to promote eleven years later,² he wanted the certification of schoolmasters; "...Lecturers in pedagogy (as it has been called) would not misbecome the Universities."³

After 1869 Robinson was to become the blandest of the three Endowed Schools Commissioners; though it can be argued that, in his

1. See above, ch. II, 95.

2. John Rylands Library, Manchester, Kay-Shuttleworth Papers, Minute Books of a Committee, 1875, to sponsor a scheme for the training of middle-class schoolmasters at the Universities. Percival and Lyttelton, among others, were associated with this scheme.

3. Transactions, York, 1864, 379.

quieter way, he was the most successful. His 1864 paper at York was hardly a piece of ideological dynamite, but the lack of novelty should not be allowed to conceal the perceptively comprehensive and reasonable nature of its summary of the main issues. Robinson's career as a national educational figure began with his words at the York meeting. He was for state intervention, in a limited form; he wanted registration, inspection and certification; he wished to tone down the denominational theme in middle-class schooling; he was in favour of grading schools, according to a national, though county-based, pattern; he favoured the county school principle, and the idea of a local board based upon the existing local social hierarchy; and he was willing to see endowments reformed, amalgamated and diverted. In all this, however, he could still seem to be sitting on the fence, appearing to sympathise with potential complaints about infringements of local rights : favouring reform while still, in an Arnoldian way, respecting convention. His conservative radicalism was closely akin to that of Thomas Arnold, though there are no direct references in his published writings to Arnold's Sheffield letters. Robinson embodied all that was most sensible and pragmatic among the proposals which had been made up to 1864; and his ability to spin a smooth web over a difficult issue foreshadowed not only his later work as a Commissioner, but the compromises which would have to be made between 1867 and 1869, when the Endowed Schools Bill was being framed. His paper demonstrated his close links with the rural ideology of middle-class education. It also revealed, at this stage, his political naivety and idealism, qualities he shared with those who were to frame the Taunton recommendations and work the 1869 Act. In 1864 he did not fully appreciate the possible weight of provincial middle-class reaction to the attempt to interfere with the constitutions of 'their' schools.

It is impossible now to know whether Granville ever studied Robinson's paper. But it is evident that at York, or soon after, Bruce and Robinson became closely acquainted; for, when Robinson came south to take up his appointment as Endowed Schools Commissioner he set up residence in Harrow. In 1869 H.A. Bruce rejected "Rugby without Temple", as he put it, as a school for his son William, and, noticing that "Matthew Arnold is delighted with Harrow for his boys", sent W.N. (later to become a Charity Commissioner) to reside with Robinson so that he could attend Harrow as a day-boy.¹ A further connection between the two men was Robinson's appointment to Lord Aberdare's Committee of inquiry into Welsh Intermediate and Higher Education in 1880.

The discussion² of the papers on middle-class education at York was begun by H.S. Thompson,³ agriculturist and prominent member of the Royal Agricultural Society, who entertained Bruce as his guest during the conference.³ Thompson thought that it was "hopeless" to try to educate the middle classes in one type of school. He gave as an instance "the agricultural classes, with whom I am best acquainted." There was a vast difference between a tenant-farmer who had £50,000 or £60,000 invested, and another who worked a small farm single-handed; the one mixed "in the higher ranks of life", while the other could "hardly be separated from the labourer." The only satisfactory definition of the middle class for Thompson, like Lowe, was "a class who can afford to pay a certain annual sum for the education of their children." But he emphasised, like others in the debate, that the

1. Letters of the Rt. Hon. Henry Austin Bruce, Lord Aberdare of Duffryn, Oxford, privately printed, 1902, I, 290-291.

2. Transactions, York, 1864, 456-458.

3. H.S. Thompson, of Kirby Hall, Yorks., (1809-1874) had been a student at Trinity, Cambridge, and studied for a time under Charles Darwin. Made several extensive agricultural tours, "following the example of Arthur Young", both in Britain and abroad, and specially studied conditions in Ireland in 1839-40. Experimented as an agricultural chemist. 18 papers in the R.A.S. Journal. (D.N.B.)

group most in need of assistance within this definition were not those who sent their sons to the great schools, but "the lower portion of the middle classes."

On the subject of endowments Thompson admitted that they had been created originally for the poor,¹ who had then been most in need of them. But "at present it is not the poorest classes who are in want of assistance." He wanted the suppression of endowments in their present form, and their re-constitution in "a form which would be more effective for the education of the middle classes," to counterbalance the aid given by the state for the education of the poor. These endowments, he thought, should then be governed by a "local board" composed of "men of high character and station", who would guarantee the quality of the education and the character of each school. The masters ought to be well paid; but capitation fees would give them an interest in extending the reputations of their schools. Initially the charity incomes should be used to set the schools on a sound footing; but once they were self-supporting, the funds should be turned into scholarships for the benefit of poor scholars.¹

Northcote made a typically politic speech : he thought there was unanimity over the need to do something; but there was also a great deal of disagreement over what ought to be done. He reduced the burden of the subject to two points : how to make the best use of endowments, especially for the middle classes; and what other measures to adopt. He declared his suspicion of "anything which has a tendency to centralise the education of the country — especially the education of the middle classes — in the hands of the Government." He admitted that there was a case for inspection. But alongside this argument lay the need to appreciate and accommodate the continuing diversity of

1. Transactions, York, 1864, 457-458.

middle-class requirements, in the form of a variety of school types. The system should therefore remain "as free as possible". He was also a confirmed classicist : he disagreed with Fitch's suggestion¹ that classics might be discarded at the lowest levels; Northcote was in favour of its retention, even when a boy was expected to leave school at 14 or 15.²

Pakington was concerned to bring the discussion back to what he considered to be the most important question : "what will hereafter be the best mode of supplying that want which is generally acknowledged in regard to the middle classes." He thought that too much time had been wasted in discussing what to do with old grammar schools. Like others before him, he considered that the discussion had become obscured by the attempt to embrace the needs of the whole of the middle classes; real anxiety, he thought, should be felt about the educational provision for the sons of farmers and shopkeepers. He agreed with Robinson that it was this "intermediate class" whose needs should be chiefly considered. Reform of the grammar schools might help in this connection; but he preferred to look elsewhere for the bulk of the answer. He reverted to the line of suggestion first put forward by Dawes and his imitators, and supported later by Acland and Sandford. He asked, "how far the improved condition of the national schools may be made useful to the middle classes to which I refer?" Improved National Schools would meet the educational requirements of the farmer and the shopkeeper. He anticipated what Lyon Playfair was to say of his own native country at a later meeting³ when he commented, "In this respect...we may learn a useful lesson from our Scottish

1. *ibid.*, Joshua Fitch, 'The Proposed Royal Commission of Inquiry into Middle-class Education', 380-393.

2. *Transactions*, York, 1864, 458.

3. *Transactions of the Social Science Association*, Newcastle meeting 1870, London, 1870, Lyon Playfair's address to the Education Department, 41-62.

neighbours. There the son of the gentleman freely associates with the son of the peasant in the same school. There is no false feeling of pride." Turning to recent developments in England, Pakington applauded the type of school initiated by the Revd. William Rogers in London, with its low fees and appropriate tone and curriculum.¹ Pakington evidently favoured the creation of a system for the lower middle classes which should be formed around a large nucleus of proprietary, rate- and government-aided, and private schools.²

Bruce had almost the last word, as befitted the emissary of the Government, and he spoke judiciously. In fact, his contribution was so nicely balanced that it was in some respects self-contradictory. Education, he thought, should be provided for all, so as to enable the country to avail itself of the services of all. This could be achieved only by getting rid of "those localising influences" which, while appropriate for an age when travel was slow, were no longer fitting for an era of rapid locomotion. Like Asland he considered that 'useful' education should not be the priority : there should be available to everyone "the best education that is attainable", giving "the means of putting them on a footing of equality with those on whom fortune has showered more liberal gifts at the first start of life." But despite this forthright declaration of liberal faith, he finally bowed before the diversity of ideas on the subject, assuring his audience that, "as the Government faithfully reflects the opinion of intelligent men throughout the country, there is no fear that the Government will interfere more largely than it does now with the education of the middle classes, unless it is the expressed desire of the middle classes that the Government should do so." Bruce was hardly more confident in his analysis at York than when he had first discussed the subject privately with Granville; and his peroration

1. For Rogers, see below, ch.X, 514 ff.

reveals that, despite his assumptions about the main areas of debate and inquiry, it is not to him that we must look for the pattern which the Taunton Commission was to adopt. By this time Bruce was too far advanced along the road to becoming a responsible politician, in the careful manner of Granville himself, to make 'advanced' proposals which might commit the Government to controversial action later.

However conservative the tone of Bruce's speech might have seemed, his opinions were reinforced by the words of the elder statesman of philosophical radicalism : Lord Brougham rounded off the York discussion by proclaiming that whatever steps were taken, "no compulsion whatever, direct or indirect, should be applied", not even over teachers' registration : that would be "against the very principle of freedom."¹

The significance of the York meeting, as the ultimate forum for the assembling of a brief for the future Commission, cannot be overestimated. Granville evidently regarded it as his final touchstone for testing the quality of current ideologies and schemes for the reform of middle-class education. The discussion provided a public review of the whole range of ideas, some of which had been partially implemented. The members of the S.S.A. were aware how the petition, presented earlier in 1864, had opened up the possibility of action as well as investigation. But they were far from agreeing upon the ultimate details of the framework for reforming activity. If there was a consensus — beyond agreement that something had to be done — it seems to have rested upon the belief that whatever action was taken should be a development of the provincial and voluntary initiative which had been undertaken in the previous two decades : the activities of county committees and groups of provincial gentry and aristocrats.

1. Transactions, York, 1864, 463-464.

There was also a generally united front over the need to promote further the development of cheaper and more self-sufficient legal means for dealing with the reform of endowments. There was also the notion that the middle classes themselves could not yet be trusted to find a solution to their own problems; the making of plans would still be left to those who truly mattered in mid-Victorian society — the more enlightened of its leaders, working in alliance with eminent professionals, bureaucrats and educationists. The feeling was that the provincial middle classes themselves had little to contribute in the form of ideas and initiatives. It is clear that, while most of the speakers could admit the need for state intervention, they saw, or claimed they saw it as a necessary evil, and as only a temporary expedient at the most. Certainly there was no one at York who spoke on behalf of Matthew Arnold. But general acceptance of the need for some degree of intervention did exist.

Finally the York meeting confirmed that it was the lower middle class for whom most interested people felt concern : the ruck of mechanics, artisans, shopkeepers and tenant-farmers. There was little to suggest, in the 1864 S.S.A. deliberations, that there was a profoundly knowledgeable appreciation of the specific needs of the middle classes in the great conurbations, among those who were about to determine the future structure of a middle-class system. Their metaphors and instances were still taken largely from the traditional county society which they came from and knew best.

We cannot know what the details of Bruce's report to Granville were, after the York meeting. But on the evidence of the Lord President's London speech, in November, he had adopted an open position,¹

1. Times, 17 November 1864.

while rejecting the extremes of Lowe's antipathy towards endowments, and Arnold's clamouring for powerful state intervention. It is interesting, however, that he seems to have looked at another review of current ideas on the subject : an article which embodies a subtle link between the problems of England and Wales, and those of Ireland, as set down by the Kildare Commission.

Early in October, Lingen had informed Granville that there was "a well-written article" in the last issue of the Cornhill. He was inclined to think, from internal evidence, that the article was by "Miss Martineau".¹ Of course, Lingen's was an accurate piece of detective work. Harriet Martineau's article was a balanced review of current thinking, though she was of the opinion that "we have not as yet the organised movement which some good citizens are calling for, to institute a system of middle-class education in England." She appreciated that there was "stir enough in the country" to show that some change was about to take place. Like Robinson, she acknowledged the effort which Woodard was making; but she too was aware that, though the structure of his school system appeared to meet the needs of the middle classes, its tone was far too sectarian.

Her article surely appealed to Granville; it may even have influenced his judgement. Basically it was a critique of Arnold's French Eton. Much as she seemed to admire that work as a picture of an efficient foreign system, she thought the people of England would "never tolerate the idea of a discipline so rigid and uniform, and locked in with the mechanism of the Government."² They would never accept the notion that all boys of a certain age should be taught

1. P.R.O., Granville Papers, 30/29/19/4, Lingen to Granville, 7 October 1864

2. Cornhill Magazine, X, July-December 1864, Harriet Martineau, 'Middle-class Education in England:Boys', 410.

precisely the same things in precisely the same way. What would appeal to English parents, she thought, was only the cheapness and guaranteed quality of middle-class schooling in France.

She was anxious, however, to define accurately who were the middle classes whose educational needs were being considered so tenderly. Here she turned to Dickens for assistance : she thought that Oliver Twist had revealed for the first time to intelligent Englishmen the subtle gradations of class among the lower orders, and "not a few of us are apt to speak of a long gradation of persons in our own middle class, as if they were all alike as long as they are less enlightened or genteel than ourselves."¹ The rich merchants and bankers she left out of consideration, since their children were early destined for the public schools and Universities. The perplexity began with the professional stratum — "physicians, surgeons, solicitors, Army and Navy officers, clergymen and Dissenting ministers in the provinces" — who could rarely afford to send their boys to any of the great public schools. She could speak with some authority on the plight of the dissenters : a generation ago their schools had been first-rate; now they were less secure.

She was concerned also for "the lower gradations of the middle class". For them the only viable set of institutions was that comprised by the grammar schools, which had "such a start in the essential points of any new system that they will doubtless qualify themselves to keep the lead when they can no longer hold their monopoly." Nevertheless, this social group — "our professional men of small means, our tenant-farmers, our country brewers and timber-merchants, our shopkeepers and superior artisans" — often had only private schools which in most cases had low standards and an absence of

1. *ibid.*, 411.

public spirit. She did not think that the 'Locals' could do much more for this kind of school. She was primarily concerned to provide the as yet inarticulate middle class with a voice in all the current deliberations. She thought that if they were given the chance, they would say they did not intend resorting to the State, "at least, till we see that we can do without it."¹ This would be the response of the middle class generally, "and of the very least enlightened of them in particular," to any resorting to the State for support. Yet there was evidence, on the other hand, that a considerable section of the middle class might be willing to accept state inspection of their schools and an extension of examinations of the 'Locals' type. For the moment she considered that the S.S.A. deputation should be treated as representing middle-class opinion; it had achieved the setting up of a commission of inquiry. Once the facts of educational inefficiency had been revealed, she thought, action could proceed along the path of consensus — "constructive action will naturally destroy what cannot longer be endured." But the public had to keep before them the notion that the English nation would decline in its best qualities "in proportion as it learns to depend on the State for whatever can be really and truly as well done otherwise..."²

Harriet Martineau knew that Matthew Arnold was sceptical about middle-class reaction to his suggestion of state intervention. But her attitude was more cautious than his. It must be assumed that she, like many of the members of the S.S.A., was anxious to see the establishment of a distinct and separate system of education for the middle classes, and was aware that this might involve a large

1. *ibid.*, 415-417, 423.

2. *ibid.*, 426.

measure of state activity for its fulfilment. This much is clear from her earlier opinions about Irish intermediate education.¹ And like the members of the S.S.A., she was conscious of the need to proceed in a politically watchful way whenever action by the central government was contemplated. Of all the contributors to the 'middle-class forum' she may be assumed to have possessed the most sensitive antennae. Her tone was less strident than that of the Times leader quoted at the beginning of this chapter, though she would hardly have characterised the middle-class attitude as one of "British self-confidence and jealousy." It is interesting that the Times leader and Granville's speech were written after the publication of her article.

By the close of 1864 Granville and Bruce — in consultation with Temple and Lyttelton, by sounding out the opinions of the members of the S.S.A., presumably by reading Miss Martineau's article and largely ignoring Matthew Arnold, by looking again at the recommendations of Kildare — had formulated the main lines of inquiry along which the new Commissioners would operate. As far as it is possible to judge, they chose the members of the Commission in accordance with these projected lines of inquiry. It was virtually certain, therefore, that the Commission would give priority to the possible reform of the endowed schools; that it would have considerable investigative powers, according to the models of Clarendon and Newcastle, without being able to intrude too rudely upon the private sector; that it would at least consider the question of cy près; that it would look closely at the needs of the lower middle classes; that it would review present and possible future arrangements for examination and

1. See above, ch. IV, 134, ff.

inspection; and that it would consider again the proposal of a graded system of schools first officially mooted by the Newcastle Commission. It must be presumed, therefore, that at this stage the judicious antipathy of the Lord President and his servants towards state action was strictly limited. They accepted the proposition that the central government might make temporary incursions, by legislation or recommendation and by setting up new or revised legal machinery, into the field of middle-class education. But in 1864 this 'intervention' was acceptable only as a means of dealing summarily with abuses; it would not include the much more dangerous proposition, so closely akin to Matthew Arnold's extreme proposals, that there should be a central authority and provincial boards for controlling specifically middle-class education. And yet, as has been shown, these very controversial notions — later adopted by the Taunton Commission — might be considered logical extensions of the proposals made in the Newcastle Report, and the informal practices already adopted by county and diocesan committees.

The Commissioners whose names were announced in December 1864 represented and brought together most of the lines of development which have so far been described as contributing to the debate on middle-class education. Though he was not Granville's first choice as leader of the side, Henry, Baron Taunton, could be called the conscientious captain of the West Country team of Commissioners. He had had thirty years' service in the Commons before his elevation to the Lords, and considerable experience in difficult executive offices as a Liberal : Chief Secretary for Ireland 1846-47; President of the Board of Trade 1847-52; and Secretary of State for the

Colonies 1855-58.¹ In relation to men of energy, like Temple, of ambition, like Northcote, and of mercurial temperament, like Lyttelton, he must have seemed, with his grave disposition, an ideal chairman of such a committee. Lord Stanley, though hardly well equipped to offer authoritative remarks upon the subject under review, complemented Taunton by his capacity for providing sound Conservative opinions tinged with liberal sentiment. Of Stanley one of his biographers wrote, "No politician of his time retained so remarkably, amid party conflicts, the power of judging questions from all their sides; of balancing judiciously opposing considerations; of looking beyond the passions and interests of the hour; of realising the points of view of those to whom he was opposed."² These seeming euphemisms were largely true. Northcote was an undoubted careerist, as Lyttelton had guessed, but his intelligent interest in middle-class education and his sensitivity to other educational issues was not in doubt.

Lyttelton was, in more than one sense, the joker in this pack. Lowe had called him a bigot³, and while this judgement was largely ironic, in 1864 there were still grounds for doubting Lyttelton's capacity for compromise on religious issues.⁴ It was not yet clear whether he was going to follow his brother-in-law along the road towards making concessions to dissent for political reasons. His connections with groups like the supporters of Nathaniel Woodard, and Cecil's Church Defence Institution, and the National Society's Central Committee had to be set alongside his reluctance to become

1. For Taunton's biographical details, see D.N.B.

2. T.H.Sanderson and E.S.Roscoe, *Speeches and Addresses of Edward Henry, XVth Earl of Derby, I*, prefatory memoir by W.E.Lacky, London, 1894.

3. See above, this chapter, 442.

4. Worcestershire Herald, 21 January 1865, contains a report of a meeting of the Worcester Diocesan Committee at which Pakington espoused the idea of the conscience clause, while Lyttelton maintained his allegiance to the official policy of the Society.

embroiled in acrimonious debate, and his enthusiastic commitment to the work of the Social Science Association.

The Granville correspondence has already demonstrated the high esteem in which Temple was held by his political contemporaries. He was the heir of Thomas Arnold in at least two important ways. Lingen said in his 1857 testimonial for his application for the Mastership of Rugby, "The appointment of Mr. Temple would mark an epoch in the public education of this country not less noticeable than that which followed the appointment of Arnold."¹ His involvement, with Jowett among others, in current theological controversy only served to emphasise the liberal character of his approach to a wide range of issues; and his experience in education as a practitioner, and as a theorist and administrator, along with his known capacity for hard work and his intellectual toughness, made it certain that his contribution to the S.I.C. discussions would carry considerable weight. In addition his recommendation for the Secretaryship of the new Commission was fulfilled by the appointment of H.J.Roby. Another of the three ordained clergy on the Commission, Dr. Hook, was hardly as theologically combative; yet as Temple's comments in 1856 upon Hook's educational schemes had shown, the two men shared common ground over education in relation to the Church. Hook's 'comprehensive' proposals for the reorganisation of elementary schooling were closer to Temple's way of thinking than they were to the ideology of the committed supporters of the National Society.² But Hook's special contribution to the S.I.C. discussions may have been expected to relate to the experience of the most famous phase

1. Quoted in E.G.Sandford, *op. cit.*, I, 152.

2. For a brief discussion of Hook's significance, see G.Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England*, London, 1973,

of his career, in the late 1830s and the 1840s, when he had been Vicar of Leeds. Apart from Edward Baines, and perhaps Forster, no member of the Commission knew so intimately as Hook the life of great cities and, more particularly, the detailed work of providing and organising schooling within such communities.

T.D.Acland, like Lyttelton, was at a staging-post in his career in 1864. Having voted for Repeal, as a Tory, he had only slowly begun to emerge from the political wilderness in the early 1860s; and while he retained his nominal allegiance to the National Society, he was no longer one of its mandarins, as he had certainly been at the end of the 1830s.¹ In the meantime, too, he had established himself as an authority on important aspects of middle-class education and, through this connection, had contributed significantly during the 1850s to the gradual emergence of the ancient Universities from their less than splendid isolation of the first half of the century. His particular work in the field of middle-class examinations alone would have guaranteed him an authoritative place on the Commission. Again, in the case of Acland, Temple seems to have had the deciding voice. He wrote to Acland from Rugby in November 1864 that he had talked to Granville about the S.I.C. "I told him that I believed it would greatly aid the work if you were on it." The Lord President could not settle the matter at once, for he had "fifty names strongly pressed on him."² But Temple seemed confident that Acland's name would go forward.²

Among the remaining members, Baines took his place as Lyttelton's 'statutory dissenter'; though the acerbity of his recent

1. See above, ch.III.

2. A.H.D.Acland, (ed.), op. cit., letter of Temple 21 November 1864, 231.

attacks upon established opinions in the Nonconformist must have suggested to Lyttelton that Baines was unlikely to make as reasonable a contribution to the S.I.C. as Miall had to Newcastle. Yet, Baines was also about to encounter a turning-point in his opinions. It would be inaccurate to say that he was changed simply by his experience as a member of the Taunton Commission; but it is certainly true that his ideas about education were considerably modified by other events during the years 1864 to 1867.¹

W.E. Forster, as the son-in-law of Thomas and the brother-in-law of Matthew Arnold, had sufficient credentials for his appointment and these were qualified, favourably, by his own former links with Nonconformity. As a Liberal M.P. for Bradford (with ^{Miall} ~~Baines~~) he supplied a brand of refined urban radicalism which complemented the 'gentry' and predominantly county associations of the leading members of the Commission.

The remaining members of the Commission have left shallower marks upon the record of mid-Victorian affairs. Yet each must have had a distinctive role assigned to him. Peter Erle, Q.C., was the legal technician : he qualified for a place because of his considerable experience as Chief Charity Commissioner.² It was evident that the deliberations of the S.I.C. would frequently revolve around the problems connected with the law of charities and, in particular, cy près. Erle's evidence and advice to the Newcastle Commission on the possibility of finding solutions to these problems had evidently reinforced arguments in favour of his appointment; though it should be added that the recommendations of that Commission seemed

1. See below, ch.X, 552.

2. See above, ch.V.

most controversially radical. Dr. John Storrar represented the education lobby of the medical profession and, perhaps obliquely, the educational interests of other professions.¹ Finally, the Revd. A.W.Thorold, the leading nonentity among the Commissioners, counted among his achievements the holding of fashionable livings in London and being the husband of Lord Taunton's niece.²

1. John STORRAR, M.D., 1811-1886. Member of the Senate of London University, 1859-1885; representative of London on the General Medical Council, 1858-1886.

2. Anthony Wilson THOROLD, 1825-1895. Rector, St. Giles' in the Fields, London, 1856-1867; chaplain of Curzon Chapel, Mayfair, 1868-1869; Vicar of St. Pancras, 1869-1874. Member of London School Board, 1870-1874. Bishop of Rochester from 1877. Married Emily, daughter of John Labouchere, 1865.

"Without striking characteristics, or a really powerful mind, he had a strong grasp of detail, could set others to work, and inspired them as much by his own industry as by his words." (D.N.B.)

CHAPTER X

The Schools Inquiry Commission at Work, 1865-1867.

How ridiculous it will seem in years to come appointing a lot of esquires and a stray lord or two to gather promiscuous evidence on an intricate professional question, and sum up, and pronounce infallible judgement on it. However, this is the English panacea now -- this witches' cauldron -- and small hopes it gives.

Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham.

.....

I. Terms of Reference.

The papers of the Taunton Commission no longer exist.¹ In a fundamental way this is most unfortunate. Yet the piecing together of the progress and development of the Commission's views, singly and collectively, during the years 1864 to 1867 is made more intricate and interesting because of the absence of official papers in manuscript. There remains a considerable amount of material which can be used to reconstruct the pattern of their labours: private papers of witnesses and other interested individuals, as well as of the Commissioners; published memoirs and correspondence; newspaper reports and leading articles; and, most important of all, the scattered traces of evidence relating to their development which can be prised out of the published volumes of the S.I.C. itself. It is possible to determine with some accuracy, for instance, the dates of the Commission's sittings. Some of these are recorded in Volumes IV and V of the Report; these contain the transcripts of witnesses' oral evidence. But the *Times* also provides what must have been a fairly comprehensive list of the S.I.C. meetings, each brief report tucked away, usually at the foot of a column of miscellaneous news, containing on each occasion the names of the Commissioners who were present and, sometimes, a summary of the business undertaken or the appointments made. Thus it is reasonably certain that the first meeting of the S.I.C. took place on 24 January 1865 at 2 Victoria Street, Westminster, and that this was followed by

¹ See, Peter Gordon, 'Some Sources for the History of the Endowed Schools Commission', in *B.J.E.S.*, XIV, 1965-66, 59 ff.

further meetings on 7, 9, 14, 21, and 22 February, and 14, 15, 20, 21 and 29 March.¹ This kind of information was continuously supplied until the final meeting on 25 June 1867.

However, the first Times report to contain any specific information about the working of the Commission was not issued until 3 April 1865. Under the heading 'Education' it was recorded that the Schools Inquiry Commissioners had appointed assistant commissioners to investigate, in selected portions of England and Wales (like the Newcastle Commission) the state of education in schools which came within the scope of the current Commission. D.R.Fearon's area was to be the London postal district; E.A.Giffard was given Surrey and Sussex; C.H.Stanton was to examine Devon and Somerset, with Bristol and its suburbs; T.H.Green, Stafford and Warwick; J.L.Hammond, Norfolk and Northumberland; J.G.Fitch, the West Riding, with the City and ainsty of York; James Bryce, Lancashire; H.M.Bompas, Flint, Denbigh, Montgomery and Glamorgan. Matthew Arnold was to inquire into the system of education "in parts of the Continent of Europe", and the Revd. James Fraser was similarly to look at schools in Canada and the United States, a task he was to perform also for the Scottish Endowed Schools Commission. It seems that Arnold, armed with the precedent of the Newcastle Inquiry, was able to insist on the collection of first-hand foreign information on behalf of the Taunton Commission.²

The early connections between Oxford University, Balliol College particularly, and the infant Education Department, have

1. See appropriate dates in the Times.

2. G.H.E.Russell (ed.), Letters of Matthew Arnold, 1848-1888, London, 1895, I, 244, letter from Arnold to Mrs. Forster, 3 January 1865 (i.e. three weeks before the first official meeting of the S.I.C.).

been the subjects of a recent study.¹ T.H.Green and James Bryce, among the assistant commissioners of the S.I.C., reinforced the links between Jowett's protégés and the conduct of public affairs. Both of them, along with Temple, had played roles in the internal reform of Oxford University in the 1850s.² For Green the offer of a temporary post at £50 a month caused him surprise and typically moderate pleasure. Temple's patronage was, in this instance too, the means of his obtaining the appointment. Temple informed Green that his anticipated entry into public affairs had caused some alarm among the other Commissioners since they had heard that he was "an extreme man, an ultra-radical in politics, an ultra-liberal in religious opinion." This vexed Green considerably, for he had always prided himself on his reserve in stating opinions on public issues; and it was certainly not until the 1870s that he began to make a widely known reputation as a philosopher of collectivism and state responsibility.³ Nevertheless, like Bryce he was eager to take up the appointment. His cousinhood to Jowett's aspirations for his young men was revealed in a letter he wrote to a friend early in 1865. Green confirmed that he was indeed the "T.H.Green" whose appointment had been noticed in the newspaper. Having recently failed to get a chair at St. Andrew's, he had decided to work for the "Schools Commission". Evidently he saw this as his chance to acquire more experience in public affairs. "The work is of a kind for which I am grossly unfit, but as it is a good opportunity for acquiring practical habits and the pay is rather good,

1. Richard Johnson, 'Administrators in education before 1870: patronage, social position and role', in Gillian Sutherland (ed.), *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth-century Government*, London, 1972, 110 ff.

2. John Roach, 'Victorian Universities and the National Intelligentsia', in *Victorian Studies*, III, Dec. 1959, 149, note 56.

3. R.L. Nettleship, *T.H.Green: a Memoir*, London, 1906, 59-60.

I thought it best to take the appointment." In a more bantering way, noting that his area was to include Birmingham, he said, "my prime duty (is) to overhaul Charley Evans, which is rather droll." Evans was then headmaster of King Edward's, Birmingham, and had been one of Green's masters at Rugby.¹ In an earlier letter Green had revealed that he had sent his name up for "a lay inspectorship of Schools" in 1863, "it being Jowett's impression that one was vacant." He preferred this to a permanent position in the Education Office since "it would take one about and give the opportunity of seeing and hearing something new." Despite his "swell testimonials", however, the reply from Granville merely told him that he would be considered if a vacancy did occur.² Although he denied accusations of ultra-radicalism there was perhaps a serious tone concealed beneath his reference to "overhaul" of Charles Evans, for, from the outset, Green treated his task in a most positive way, as his report on the Counties of Stafford and Warwick was to show.³ His preliminary vision of his task, however, reveals something of the innocence of these radical-liberal young men who, since the 1830s, had been making forays into the seamier, more turbulent regions of nineteenth-century British society.

Bryce was similarly off-hand in writing of his appointment to his friend and fellow-historian Edward A. Freeman in March 1865. At that time he was revising his own Holy Roman Empire. To Freeman he said, "so I will soon be called away for some months both from history and law, to go through some part of England hunting for

1. Balliol College Library, Correspondence of T.H. Green, copies of letters made by Mrs. Green : letter from Green to David Hanbury, 20 April 1865.

2. *ibid.*, letter to Donald Crawford, 30 May 1863.

3. S.I.C., VIII, 98-253; see also below, this chapter.

information."¹ For Bryce, despite his Oxford flippancy, the journeys undertaken for the S.I.C. were a real voyage of discovery. On the one hand he asked Freeman to recommend a brief account of early Welsh history with which to equip himself for his mission into Connop Thirlwall's territory in Pembrokeshire.² On the other, his first impressions of political and industrial Manchester had a profound influence upon him. He wrote,

Manchester is a much more agreeable place than I had supposed : not as dirty as London : the people rough, but straightforward and hearty; society, it is true, overriden by wealth, but that wealth employed in a bold generous way. Politically there seems to be very little stir...the merchants...represent a state of society and a framework of notions so unlike that we have in the South of England.

While deploring his failure to make progress on the 'Holy Reich', he delighted in his new role :

...the school people look on one as dangerous by a double right, as a Government emissary of tyrannical centralisation; and as an Oxford scholar who cannot possibly know anything but Latin verse. However, this makes it all the greater sport to cajole them and spread a net of Forms and Printed Questions around the struggling bird.³

The assistant commissioners, like Green and Bryce, who went into the industrial regions were truly discovering unknown territory for the first time.

The first set of instructions to assistant commissioners had been prepared in March 1865, before their appointment was announced.⁴ The precision of the directions given at this early stage in the Commission's career implies that the leading Commissioners,

1. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Bryce MSS, 9/62, letter to E.A. Freeman, 10 March 1865.

2. *ibid.*, 9/93, letter to Freeman, 7 May 1865.

3. *ibid.*, 9/72, letter to Freeman, 22 May 1865.

4. S.I.C., II, Instructions, Circulars, Correspondence, I, 123-126.

Temple particularly,¹ already had specific questions which they wished to ask, and firm presuppositions on which to base their inquiries. Collectively these would have related to the writings of Temple, to the deliberations of the Social Science Association, and to the issues discussed by Bruce, Granville, and Temple.² Some of the principles to be adopted were straightforward : for example, the typology of schools to be accepted as a framework — endowed grammar, proprietary and private. The grammar schools, in the light of the continuing debate over cy pres, were to be examined to ascertain their general condition and to find whether they were fulfilling the founders' intentions, with particular reference to the class of children they had intended should benefit from them. If these purposes were not being fulfilled then the assistant commissioners were to report whether this was due to some fault in the management, or to the fact that "scholars are no longer to be found whose parents wish them to learn what the school was founded to teach."³ The recent great increase in the number of proprietary schools suggested to the S.I.C. that the public favoured such institutions; and that in such cases it might be found advisable to add a proprietary element to existing grammar schools. The assistant commissioners should examine the results of the schools and find out "whether the control of the directors interferes injuriously with the master in the conduct of the school." The private schools were too numerous to be inspected in detail, even in the initially selected areas. But an inspection might be

1. See below, this chapter, 551, for Temple's later role.

2. For Temple and the S.S.A., see above, ch.VI; for Bruce, etc., see above, ch.X.

3. S.I.C., II, Instructions, etc., 123.

made of them in "the county towns" and "one or two others of considerable size."¹ It is clear from these instructions that priority was accorded to the endowed grammar schools. They were the only 'public' institutions for middle-class education, and they had been examined as such by the Brougham Commissions.

The views of Acland and others on the matters of instruction and the curriculum had evidently become part of the S.I.C. presuppositions at this stage, since the assistant commissioners, though directed to look at specimens of schools giving "supplementary instruction" — for instance, Art Schools — were told that "general and not special instruction appears to the Commissioners to be their special province." In the professional schools, therefore, they would inquire into what "general" instruction had been found to be the best preparation for the work there.² Girls' education "did not fall so largely within the province of the Commission as that of boys." Nevertheless, despite the fact that girls were often educated at home, their interests could not be excluded. At this stage the S.I.C. felt that, even though it might not be able to recommend measures for improving girls' education, information on the subject should be presented to the public so that there would be a sound basis for future discussion. Finally the assistant commissioners were requested to canvass parents' opinions on a number of topics : subjects of instruction; vocational teaching; the cost of a good education and what they were prepared to pay for it; the juxtaposition of social classes in the schools, and day

1. *ibid.*, 124.

2. *ibid.*, 124-125. For Acland's views on vocational education, see above, ch.II, 75-76.

and boarding schools. But they were given no advice as to how they might collect these opinions in a reasonably objective and comprehensive way.¹ It was considered that they would need only six months in which to complete these inquiries in the selected areas, and that the reports would be submitted two months later.

In March 1866 a notice appeared in the Times announcing that the S.I.C. was extending its inquiries beyond the selected districts to cover all the grammar schools of England and Wales. Thus, for example, Bryce was to look at schools over a wide area of Wales; Green was to examine Buckingham, Leicester and Northants.² They were given four months in which to complete this considerable work. No public explanation was offered for this extension of the inquiry. But speculation is possible, based upon circumstantial evidence. It must have been at this time, in March and April 1866, that, after receiving nearly all their witnesses' contributions, the Commissioners began to consider the possibility of preparing proposals for the creation of local agencies, the county or provincial boards. It was at this point too that they requested written evidence from carefully selected witnesses,³ and it is possible to argue that, at the same time, they thought it necessary to widen the scope of their factual inquiry so that it embraced all those schools which, according to their final recommendations, would have come under the aegis of the provincial boards. The Newcastle Commission had previously recommended setting up local boards⁴; but although that Commission had taken oral evidence on the subject, it had been of

1. *ibid.*, 125.

2. Times, 26 March 1866.

3. see above, ch.II, 97.

4. See above, ch.V, 272; also, Popular Education Commission, 1861, I, 330, 331, 340, 545.

a somewhat random nature.¹

In order to carry out all its inquiries the S.I.C. found it necessary to develop definitions of the social groups which might be regarded as the clientele of the schools with which they were concerned. In the first chapter of this thesis there is a description of the statistical procedures adopted by the S.I.C. for estimating the size of 'the middle classes'. Dr. Farr of the Registrar-General's Office produced a special paper for their consideration and guidance. It is interesting, too, that T.D. Acland in Exeter and assistant commissioner D.C. Richmond in the Eastern counties conducted their own separate local investigations according to the principles set out by Farr.² It was characteristic of the S.I.C.'s general approach to the problem of middle-class education that both these individual inquiries related to predominantly rural areas. The great industrial conurbations — the new social and economic frontiers of mid-century England — were dealt with extensively by Fitch, in the West Riding, and Bryce, in Lancashire; but even their reports contained little in the way of systematic statistical analysis.³ In fact the assistant commissioners had been made parties to the S.I.C.'s tentative initial classifications in March 1865 when they were told that it was impossible "to draw the boundary precisely in a country in which no class of society is separated by a definite line from that which is above it and that which is below it." They were directed nevertheless to attend particularly to schools patronised by the children of "such

1. e.g. Popular Education Commission, 1861, VI, evidence of Peter Erle, Q.C., (a Taunton Commissioner), 452.

2. See above, ch. I.

3. See, e.g., S.I.C., IX, Fitch's Report, 107-108.

of the gentry, clergy, professional and commercial men, as are of limited means, and" (most important of all, considering the S.I.C.'s preoccupation with the lower middle class) "of farmers and tradesmen."¹

The Commissioners, then, wished at first to examine in detail only selected areas of England and Wales, along with appropriate and, by that time, almost conventional foreign comparisons. Also, quite early in their proceedings they must have tabulated a list of witnesses grouped in relation to distinct educational issues. Evidence for this assertion is to be found in a letter written in May 1865 by Earl Fortescue to J.L.Brereton, in which he reported that Lord Taunton had told him that "the Commissioners are now entering upon their Second Division of witnesses" — M.P.s and others resident in Town only during the Season. "They propose taking you and other non-residents in town at all, about November, when they are to resume their labours after an interval."² Acland revealed two general items of information in a letter to his wife :

Eleven Commissioners met. Lord Stanley alone absent in consequence of especial business, but he means to be a regular attendant. We are likely, I think, to work harmoniously and honestly. I have already had to take some part in settling the course, but I try not to talk too much.³

"The course", such as it was, can be traced with reasonable accuracy in Volumes IV and V of the S.I.C. publications which contain witnesses' oral evidence. It cannot have been possible to

1. S.I.C., II, 123.

2. Hoxerton College Library, Fortescue/Brereton Correspondence, letter dated 22 May 1865.

3. A.H.D.Acland, op. cit., 231, letter from Acland, 24 January 1865.

corral groups of witnesses with absolute homogeneity; but, given the need to take account of the Season, the chronological list of witnesses in Volume IV, covering the period 28 February to 4 July 1865, reveals clear patterns of interrelated topics and of the interests of the Commissioners themselves.

Acland seems to have taken an important part in settling the course, since the first batch of twenty-one witnesses all gave evidence which had a bearing on the subject of examinations, which was one of his 'crotchets'. Their evidence filled thirteen morning sessions, and the final interviewee was T.D.Acland's brother, the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford. Thus Acland was able to start the proceedings on his own territory, though it was ground which he shared with the most influential member of the Commission, Frederick Temple.¹ The first witness to be called was John Robson, the Secretary of the College of Preceptors.² The Commissioners were therefore reinvoking, in the person of Robson, the primary question raised by Thomas Arnold in 1832 : how best to supply the middle classes with teaching of guaranteed quality. In this it is possible to perceive the influence of Acland whose profound knowledge and frequent use of Arnold's Sheffield Courant letters has already been noted.³

The remaining Examination witnesses covered virtually the whole range of the topic. Canon J.P.Norris, a former H.M.I., who had been involved in the inception of the Cambridge 'Locals', devoted the burden of his evidence to the system of inspection of middle-class schools recently taken up by his University.⁴

1. See above, ch.VII, 375.

2. S.I.C., IV, 1-15; 31-46.

3. See above, ch.II, 75 ff.

4. S.I.C., IV, 46-60, Norris's evidence, with an Appendix on subjects for middle-class schools.

W.B.Carpenter, brother of Mary Carpenter who had co-operated with Northcote over the promotion of the Industrial Schools Act, was Registrar of London University, and one of his duties was therefore to administer the examination system there.¹ Peter Le Neve Foster, Secretary of the Society of Arts, described the examination work of the Society and its application to the lower middle classes.² George Griffith (not to be confused with the Kidderminster corn dealer), Secretary of the British Association, deputy professor of experimental philosophy at Oxford and occasional lecturer on science and mathematics at Winchester, gave evidence relating to his work as examiner for the Oxford 'Locals'.³ The Revd. Henry Moseley, another former H.M.I., described his work as examiner for and member of the Council of Military Education,⁴ though Lord Lyttelton prompted his evidence relating to the Bristol Trade School which Moseley had been largely responsible for creating. Professor Rankine of Glasgow outlined his University's examinations for engineering students.⁵ Professor Acland described his work as medical examiner at Oxford, Newcastle and Durham.⁶

Professor Acland had been immediately preceded by the Revd. Dr. Howson, Master of the Liverpool Collegiate Institution; he was, in fact, the first of the next batch of witnesses, the headmasters. The sequence of their appearance seems to have been arbitrary; and while it is impossible to determine the significance of each, or his relationship with members of the Commission, as a group the headmasters represented comprehensively the full spectrum of

1. *ibid.*, 82-111.

2. *ibid.*, 139-146.

3. *ibid.*, 173-186.

4. *ibid.*, 187-211; with Appendices, 211-214.

5. *ibid.*, 231-241.

6. *ibid.*, 297-313.

successful school-keeping, from the famous graduated systems at Liverpool Collegiate to the Nonconformist and private schools. Also many of them could demonstrate their experience of a wide variety of schools. They included Mortimer of the City of London School; Bradley of Marlborough; Pears of Repton; Benson of Wellington; Barry of Cheltenham and formerly of Leeds; 'Charley' Evans of Birmingham; the Revd. H.G. Robinson, Principal of York Diocesan Training College until 1863, who had been responsible for the revival of the Yeoman School in York.¹ They were followed by a select group of Parliamentarians, including Lowe, Pakington (whose own Select Committee on Education had just finished its sittings), Kerrison, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells who brought with him two private schoolmasters from Bath.²

On 27 June the Commissioners changed gear and, taking up a question lately raised by Gladstone concerning large charitable endowments for education, devoted a great deal of attention to one institution, Christ's Hospital. During two days, 27 and 28 June, they interviewed eleven officials of the institution, from the Treasurer, William Gilpin, down to the drawing master and the medical officer. The Duke of Cambridge, President of the Hospital, gave his evidence much later, in February 1866.

The S.I.C.'s interest in Christ's Hospital may well have been a legacy from the investigations of the Newcastle Commission, one of whose witnesses had been William Gilpin.³ The earlier Commission had paid special attention to the Hospital, "the wealthiest and most famous of all our free boarding schools", because of the huge

1. These, and others, gave evidence between 2 May and 14 June 1865. For Robinson, see above, ch.IX, 449.

2. S.I.C., IV, 683-698.

3. Popular Education Commission, 1861, VI, 575.

size of its income, its peculiarities of government, and its tendency "to assimilate the general system of education to that in the ancient public schools", thereby increasingly taking children from above the class of the indigent poor.¹ The revelations before the Newcastle Commission enhanced the arguments of those educational reformers who wished to improve the condition of the endowed schools and, in particular, they attracted the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, W.E.Gladstone. At a time when the policy of Payment by Results was being formulated and enacted, a charity school whose chief master received £600 per annum was an anomaly which seemed to call for the redistributive action of the central government. Gladstone's speech on Charities in the Commons in 1863 has been mentioned earlier², but it is worth recalling in this place since it was an antecedent of the S.I.C.'s special interest in over-wealthy educational trusts. The Chancellor quoted extensively from the Newcastle Report,³ and from Gilpin's evidence. He thought that those people connected with Christ's Hospital exercised their power "upon enlightened principles and with the best intentions." But, since the institution could no longer be said to cater for "the sick, the poor and the impotent" — in fact, the parents were generally people with £200, even £500 a year — he denied that they were entitled to call upon Parliament "for a vote of public money in aid of the education of their children." By this he meant that, equitably, Christ's Hospital did not deserve its exemption from taxation, a privilege currently enjoyed by all charities. Its

1. *ibid.*, I, (Report), 496-497.

2. See above, ch.V, 290.

3. He quoted particularly from Volume I, (Report), 519.

income was £70,000 a year, and the governors each paid £500 for the privilege of making 1,600 presentations of pupils to a charitable institution. He recommended taxing it at the rate of £2,000 per annum.¹

Gladstone referred also to "the Charter House", of which Palmerston, as Prime Minister, was a governor. He mentioned Monmouth School which educated only 100 boys yet whose income, within a short time, would be "enormous."² Tonbridge, he had heard, had 200 boys and an income of £4,000 a year : "...how these young gentlemen can be objects of charity I do not know." The income of Judd's charity would soon increase to £80,000 because of the falling-in of leases.³ Gladstone, in the wake of the Newcastle Commissioners, had raised a question which ultimately was to create considerable difficulties for the Endowed Schools Commissioners after 1869.⁴ As an antidote to the demand for rate-aided elementary education, conservatives of various kinds were pointing to the endowed schools' incomes, which could be a source of aid for the education of the poor.⁵ But in the opinion of the S.I.C. the endowed grammar schools were institutions which ought to be providing education for the middle classes. In the cases of the charities whose incomes were excessive compared to the numbers of pupils being educated by them, the reforming solution was to ensure that the benefits of the charities were entrusted to proportionately larger numbers of middle-class children. This opinion had been anticipated by the Newcastle Commissioners.⁶

1. Arthur Tilney Bassett (ed.), op. cit., 330-331.

2. For Monmouth School in the 1860s, see below, this chapter.

3. Bassett, op. cit., 339.

4. See below, ch. XII.

5. See below, this chapter, for T.H. Green's comments on this problem.

6. Popular Education Commission, 1861, I, 456ff.

At a very early stage the S.I.C. had composed a document of printed questions dealing, among other matters, with the constitution and endowment and objects of each trust, which they sent to all the grammar schools.¹ The replies, with other items of information, encouraged the Commissioners to expand beyond Gladstone's three notorious examples and to concentrate particular attention on eight excessively large endowments : Christ's Hospital, St. Olave's (Southwark), Dulwich, King Edward's (Birmingham), Manchester Grammar School, the Harpur Schools at Bedford, Judd's School (Tonbridge), and Jones's School at Monmouth.² The S.I.C. devoted a chapter of its main Report to "Eight of the Largest Endowments". There it was said that the selection of schools had been guided by "a somewhat arbitrary rule." But their general object had been "to exhibit on a great scale...conditions, whether deserving imitation or fit to be held up as examples to be avoided, such as occur on a smaller scale in many other schools in the country."³ The author of this chapter was Lord Lyttelton, Gladstone's brother-in-law. Evidently the Commissioners did not wish to create anxious anticipation among those concerned with the management of the selected schools. But their suggestions for possible future reform and amendment left little doubt but that they desired to see radical alterations in most of them. It is clear from their remarks that, in making recommendations, they relied heavily upon the cogently prepared descriptions and suggestions submitted by assistant commissioners in each of the eight cases. However, although the Commissioners recommended

1. S.I.C., III, 1-10. The answers were incorporated in the assistant commissioners' reports on schools.

2. Replies from these schools were printed separately in Volume III.

3. S.I.C., I, 473.

that each of the schools be put to new uses, they did not propose any general principles according to which these uses might be determined, beyond the numerical expansion mentioned above.

Christ's Hospital figured separately in another category of schools which the Commissioners singled out for their attention, namely the hospital schools. It was in trying to reform the hospital schools that the Endowed Schools Commissioners were to encounter their most virulent organised opposition.¹ In this category were the Bristol institutions of Colston's, Queen Elizabeth's and Red Kilds²; Chetham's in Manchester, and Henshaw's in Oldham; the Westminster group which later proved most troublesome of all — Grey Coat, Green Coat and Emanuel; Aske's at Horton; Bancroft's at Stepney, and the Norwich hospital schools.² Apart from the case of Christ's Hospital, however, the Commissioners did not interview any persons connected with these institutions. Instead they based their judgements and recommendations upon the evidence supplied in each case by the reports of assistant commissioners. It is from this magisterial attitude to the guardians of the hospital schools that the problem encountered later by the Endowed Schools Commissioners may be said to have begun.³ Bristol contained the greatest concentration of such institutions outside London; and Mr. Stanton's comments on that city's hospital schools may be said to represent fairly the kind of information which the S.I.C. received :

1. see below, ch.XII,

2. S.I.C., I, 211.

3. See below, ch.XII, for the attitude of the City of London Corporation in the Emanuel Hospital case.

While we see much that is excellent in these two schools (Colston's and Queen Elizabeth's) we cannot avoid asking the question, are they promoting as much as they ought the cause of education? or is the education made subsidiary to the charitable support and entertainment of the boys? ...Most of the parents, however unable they might be to afford any considerable payment, yet most undoubtedly could contribute something. The boys are mostly sons of workmen or servants of the electors...When we consider the largeness of the endowment, the ample material all round, the capacity of the boys...I am constrained to think that, with some little alteration, greater and more worthy results might follow.¹

Taking their lead from comments such as this, the Commissioners judged that the hospital endowments "now act largely, though indirectly, in discouragement of education, and they are applied very frequently to the relief of classes of persons who could hardly have been regarded by the founders as within the immediate purview of their intentions." But they were quick to state that this did not mean that the schools should be returned exclusively to the deserving poor on indiscriminate principles of selection; rather, by "the enforcement of good entrance examinations", on a level superior to the work of the voluntary schools, they should be helped to exercise a "far wider and safer beneficence."² By implication, therefore, the schools should be turned over to the use of the lower middle classes.

The second phase of witnesses' evidence began with more headmasters, the educational professionals who, as a group, far outnumbered any other category of witnesses to the S.I.C.. The large number of headmasters who gave evidence throws into perspective the petulance of Thring's criticism of the S.I.C. for its failure to define what a "good School" was.³ The master of Uppingham

1. S.I.C., VII, 59-60.

2. S.I.C., I, 215.

3. G.R. Parkin, Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham, Life, Diary and Letters, London, 1900, 145.

had some theoretical justification for indicting the Endowed Schools Commissioners after 1869 as legal maddlers who had little experience of managing a school: this was certainly true of Lyttelton and Kobhouse, though hardly of Robinson. But Temple, the presiding spirit of the S.I.C., could not be similarly challenged, and the members of the Commission had taken pains to inform themselves about school-keeping by interviewing fifty-one headmasters (Thring among them) and headmistresses, along with eight assistants, out of a total of one hundred and forty-eight witnesses.

Some of the names among the second group of headmasters may have been suggested by the results of the first part of the assistant commissioners' inquiries. But there were certain prominent figures without whose evidence the investigations would have been incomplete. First of all, two Woodard men, the Revds. E.C. Lowe of Hurstpierpoint, and E. Sanderson of Lancing. Woodard himself did not appear; and though he is known to have been a retiring man, and while Lyttelton would have been in a position to transmit news of some of his more recent achievements to the Commissioners,¹ Woodard's absence might be accounted for by the almost total dissimilarity between his views and those of Temple in relation to Church schooling.² And while Acland and Lyttelton had close connections with the National Society at this time, it might have been expected that the current role of the Society in London and the provinces would have encouraged the S.I.C. to call more than the only well-informed witness, the Revd. Robert

1. The Times, 11 April 1864, contained a lengthy report of a Woodard fund-raising meeting at which Lyttelton had seconded a resolution for founding a school at "Balcomb" in Sussex for 1,000 lower middle-class boys. This was later to become Ardingly.

2. Temple is mentioned only once in Brian Heeney (op.cit., 94) and then in a very disparaging remark by Woodard himself.

Gregory of Lambeth; and even he supplied little information relating directly to the Society's recently revived work in middle-class education.¹ Again, Temple's preferences might have carried much weight here.

The shifting fortunes of endowed grammar schools in the mid-nineteenth century make it difficult to place schools accurately in an hierarchical order. Nevertheless, among the headmasters called, surprisingly few were from grammar schools which could, in the 1860s, have been placed just below the 'great schools'. Pears and Thring have been mentioned already. The only other masters of ancient schools to be summoned were Wallace of Loughborough whose school had undergone a considerable transformation in the 1840s²; A.K. Isbister of the Stationers' School (also Editor of the Educational Times)³; Twells of Godolphin, Hamersmith⁴; and F.W. Walker of Manchester.⁵ In addition there were proprietors of famous private schools like O.C. Waterfield, headmaster of Sheen and formerly an assistant at Eton⁶, and J.M. Brackenbury of Wimbledon College.⁷ It is interesting that the private schoolmasters were summoned as witnesses after the assistant commissioners' initial forays were complete.

The Nonconformists and Catholics generally came into the second group of headmasters to be called. The Revd. B.B. Naigh of the Independents School, Tadcaster, was already well known to Edward Baines.⁸ Evan Davies, who ran a Nonconformist private

1. S.I.C., V, 610-624; see also below, this chapter, 508.

2. *ibid.*, 157-169; see also Green's remarks about the School, below, this chapter.

3. *ibid.*, V, 22-45.

4. *ibid.*, 109-119.

5. *ibid.*, 213-222.

6. *ibid.*, 761-772.

7. *ibid.*, 885-897.

8. *ibid.*, 633-645.

school in Swansea with Congregationalist connections, and Thomas Sibly of the Wesleyan College, Taunton, were interviewed on the same day.¹ Probably the most distinguished Nonconformist witness was J.C. Bruce, the Presbyterian proprietor of a famous schools in Newcastle-upon-Tyne which counted Robert Stephenson among its former pupils.² The Catholics were the Revd. Thomas Williams, headmaster of a Jesuit school near Chesterfield,³ and the Revd. J.R. Kingdon, Prefect of Studies at Stoneyhurst.⁴

There was also what can be described as a 'curriculum' group. The Commissioners were continuously interested in the content of middle-class education, as well as its administrative and social structure, and summoned G. Birkbeck Hill of Bruce Castle School, Tottenham, whose school had long been associated with curriculum experiments in middle-class schooling.⁵ Dr. R.J. Bryce, whose connections with Ireland and with assistant commissioner James Bryce have been established already, gave his views upon teaching in Scottish schools and at the Belfast Academy.⁶ G.W. Dasent, one of Moseley's colleagues on the Council for Military Education, produced weighty evidence about the efficiency of teaching the English language and literature in middle-class schools,⁷ as did Lord Harrowby who believed that "the average boy, taken in a different way, and taught English alone, will at 15 or 16 be a much more accomplished boy."⁸ Harrowby was not at all convinced, however, of the usefulness of French in the middle-class curriculum, though his predominantly

1. *ibid.*, 337-362.

2. *ibid.*, 748-761.

3. *ibid.*, 222-231.

4. *ibid.*, 326-337.

5. *ibid.*, 838-849.

6. *ibid.*, 862-885.

7. *ibid.*, 515-533.

8. *ibid.*, 539.

rural terms of reference go some way towards explaining this. The case for French was put by Professor Charles Cassal of London University¹; for German by Dr. Karl Dammann, assistant at King Edward's, Birmingham.²

The claims of science were presented by numerous witnesses, usually in the midst of other kinds of evidence : Foseley and Bryce were prominent among them. The most powerful and concerted advocacy came, not from one of the witnesses, but in the form of a report from the British Association's conference at Dundee, held in 1867, prepared by a committee which included Joseph Payne and Professors Huxley and Tyndall.³ The committee emphasised that a demand for the introduction of science into the modern system of education had increased very steadily in recent years, to such a degree that "it is impossible to doubt the existence of a general and even a national desire to facilitate the acquisition of some scientific knowledge by boys at our public and other schools." But the B.A. report was shot through with acknowledgements of the difficulties attending the introduction of science into the schools. Despite the weight of evidence presented by witnesses to the S.I.C., the current debate upon this issue ensured that there were those who were prepared to argue against its acceptance as a general school subject. Among the latter were otherwise liberal advocates of a more useful curriculum, like Desent,⁴ and Bruce, who thought that

1. *ibid.*, 934-943.
 2. *ibid.*, 169-190.
 3. S.I.C., II, 215-230. For Tyndall, see above, ch., III, 168. For the B.A. committee, see David Layton, *Science for the People*, London, 1973, Ch. V. . N.B. The B.A. report was presented too late for it to have any formal influence upon the S.I.C. recommendations, which were in the process of being written.
 4. S.I.C., V, 525.

"the classics and general literature has (sic) a more refining effect upon the mind than science."¹ Nevertheless there were other witnesses whose enthusiasm for science was somewhat surprising : Robert Lowe thought that "no better use could be made of portions of endowments...than in founding lectureships and masterships" to teach science.²

It is interesting, and by implication a significant comment upon the presuppositions of the members of the S.I.C., that the final recommendations relating to innovation in the curriculum, and the introduction of science in particular, were predominantly of a neutral kind. Despite their willingness to make radical proposals like the introduction of local and central authorities, the Taunton Commissioners conceded that, given their grading of schools and outline of appropriate curricula, questions of the kind, "whether the boys should learn botany or experimental physics, or the rudiments of chemistry", should be left with governors of individual schools, and the detailed preparation of schemes of work to the headmasters.³ Temple, who wrote this recommendation into the Report, was here writing as a proponent of the principles of 'liberal education', a theme developed by his protégé, T.H.Green, in his General Report.⁴

According to the instructions given to assistant commissioners, the question of girls' education was not supposed to concern the S.I.C. overmuch. But even while Granville was deciding upon the membership of the Commission in 1864, he received through

1. *ibid.*, 752.

2. S.I.C., IV, 641.

3. S.I.C., I, 584.

4. For Green's views, see below, this chapter, 540.

Lyttelton a firm proposition from Emily Davies.¹ At the same time Harriet Martineau had published her article in the Cornhill devoted to the question of girls' education, anticipating discussion of it by the S.I.C.² It is interesting to speculate upon the date at which the Commission received a Memorial on the Girls' Education. Roby's reply to it was dated 28 February 1865; and it is possible that its request that endowments hitherto available only for boys should be employed also in providing girls' education had not yet been digested by the new Commission when they framed their instructions.³ The list of petitioners was headed by A.P. Stanley, and included the brother of Pakington, the wife of Lingen, the sister of A.H. Clough, H.J. Barton (secretary of the Northants Education Society), F.D. Maurice and, with a host of other subsequent witnesses to Taunton, F.V. Thornton whose remarks on the education of his own genteel daughters in an elementary school were to impress the members of the Commission.⁴ A second Memorial imploring the Commissioners to explore the question of higher education for women was delivered by Emily Davies in July 1867. It was signed by 520 persons, most of whom were "not directly engaged in teaching girls", and including the names of many of the signatories to the earlier document. There were also a considerable number of Social Science Association 'regulars', like Mary Carpenter, Canon Hey and Edwin Chadwick.⁵

Quite late in its sequence of hearings, the S.I.C. summoned twelve witnesses for the specific purpose of receiving informat-

1. See above, ch. IX.

2. 'Middle-class Education in England: Girls', in the Cornhill Magazine, I, July-December 1864, 549ff.

3. S.I.C., II, 192-194.

4. For Thornton's other work, see above, ch. III, 165.

5. S.I.C., II, 194-197.

ion about female education. The Females among them certainly impressed Acland : "Our ladies gave excellent evidence...some of the best we have had yet, calm, clear, modest, but thoroughly knowing what they were about."¹ They began, appropriately, with Emily Davies and Miss Buss, late in 1865², and continued with a concentrated group of headmistresses and others in March and April 1866. Once again the West Country bias asserted itself : the first of the March witnesses was Miss M.E.Porter, headmistress of a girls' school in Taunton; and she was followed by the Revd. J.G.Fussell and Miss Kyberd, the founder and the headmistress of a recently established school in Frome. The final star witness was Mark Pattison who, drawing upon his experience as a college tutor for men, said that, "whereas you had in some measure to drive the boys to make them learn, the girls come to you and want to learn."³

The immediate consequence of the work of the Ladies' pressure groups was that Lyttelton was given the task of composing a separate chapter of the S.I.C. Report concerned exclusively with the education of girls.⁴ By this time, too, the Local Examination system had been extended to girls and, in this connection, the Northants Education Society, led by H.J.Barton, and having been petitioned by Emily Davies, had begun to consider making special provision for female candidates.⁵ Lyttelton's response to the evidence was magnanimous, though this might have been expected

1, A.H.D.Acland, op. cit., 257-258, letter of T.D.Acland to his wife, (Was he trying to please her ?), 30 November 1865.

2. S.I.C., V, 232-267.

3. *ibid.*, 952.

4. S.I.C., I, 546-570 (Chapter VI). For this attribution to Lyttelton, see below, this chapter, 551.

5. See above, ch.VII, 330.

of the father of lively and beloved daughters and of the son of an eminent lady of powerful character.¹ He admitted his strong convictions about the importance of girls' middle-class education, and went on,

Mr. Fearon sums it up, not too strongly, in saying that 'appropriation of almost all educational endowments of the country is felt by a large and increasing number, both of men and of women, to be a cruel injustice.'²

In its final recommendations the S.I.C. suggested that, in relation to endowments, "wherever in the administration of them it shall be found possible to admit Girls' Schools to a direct and substantial participation in them, we conceive that, with a few modifications, that may be done," in accordance with their recommendations for boys' education.³ So a topic which had no strong antecedents as far as the members of the S.I.C. were concerned, became one of its important preoccupations as a result of its own general inquiries and consideration of evidence after 1864.

Assistant commissioner James Bryce not only had opinions favourable to the women's movement in education, but enjoyed his official contact with "the fair sex", as he called them, in Lancashire. The examination of ladies' schools, he said, "is a very important branch of the duties imposed on the Assistant Commissioners, and the more perilous it is, so much the more honourable."⁴ And later in 1865 he wrote, "the girls' schools are the best fun, of course : I am taken out and examined in croquet by the fair ones when I have just been worrying them

1. Lyttelton's mother had been chief Lady-in-waiting to the Queen.

2. S.I.C., I, 567. Lyttelton is here quoting from the S.I.C. evidence of J.P. Fearon, Solicitor to the Attorney-General.

3. S.I.C., I, 607-608.

4. Bodleian Library, Bryce MSS., 9/72, letter to Freeman, 22 May 1865.

with geography and history."¹

The crucial importance of the county, and its bearing upon the discussions of middle-class education before the establishment of the S.I.C., has been considered earlier in this thesis.² Earl Fortescue had been considered by Granville for a place on the Commission. In the event he merely gave evidence, in December 1865. Brereton had been summoned in the previous month; and he was accompanied by the architect of the West Buckland School, R.D.Gould, who was the only school architect to give evidence. Kerrison had spoken earlier, in June 1865, and he, with Fortescue, Brereton, and Voelcker of Cirencester, established the connection between the county and agricultural groups: the two should be treated together in the context of the S.I.C. discussions. Kerrison's Suffolk County School was also represented by the headmaster, the Revd. A.C.Diamond. The day before Fortescue appeared, his Royal Agricultural Society colleague, H.S.Thompson, had given his evidence.³ William Torr, a farmer on a considerable scale in Lincolnshire and also "much connected with the Royal Agricultural Society", communicated his views to the S.I.C. on the same day as Fortescue, and his evidence can be associated very closely with the written submission of Bishop Jackson of Lincoln which reached the Commissioners in June 1866.⁴

Torr's evidence is of interest for three reasons. Firstly he was the only farmer who spoke to the S.I.C., yet even he, by

1. *ibid.*, 9/75, letter to Freeman, 16 July 1865.

2. See above, ch.II, 98.

3. S.I.C., V, 321.

4. *ibid.*, 317-326. For comments upon Jackson, see above, ch.III.

his own estimate, was well above the class of tenant-farmer about whom the S.I.C. was most concerned. His brother had one son at Harrow and another at Rugby.¹ Torr's connections with Acland at the R.A.S. implied that he had been called to reinforce that Commissioner's views about the education of the farmer. That is essentially what he did. Basing his opinions on his own experience of schools, Torr wanted an education for children of his class which retained Latin, omitted French, and included at least the elements of chemistry and botany. He laid most stress, however, on book-keeping, for this would enable farmers to keep their affairs in order. He did not respond very readily to Acland's insistent prompting on the Arnoldian point about a farmer requiring two 'educations', that of a man as well as of a farmer. Torr felt that, as matters stood, that kind of liberal education was more appropriate to "a class above the tenant farmers."² His notion of general education would include "the elementary portion" of most things; and he would hope to keep the boys at school a little longer. His third point had a bearing upon the S.I.C.'s later conclusions: he conceived of the lower tenant-farmers' sons remaining at school till 14; boys of his own class till at least 16.³ Torr, in his very pragmatic way, might therefore be seen as providing some confirmation of the Commissioners' age-limits and their curricula for second and third grade schools.

1. S.I.C., V, 321.

2. *ibid.*, 324.

3. *ibid.*, 325.

The cause of county or diocesan education was enhanced by the evidence of two witnesses from the North-west : the Revd. J.Hodgson, rector of a parish near Wigtown, and Secretary of the Carlisle Education Society; and the Revd. J.Simpson, rector of Kirkby Stephen.¹ Though neither of them was an enthusiastic supporter of the county board proposition, they both suggested that a strong central authority would be the most efficient agency of reform; and that consolidation of endowments to form large central schools was the most economic way of using existing schools for the middle classes.

The Chancery witnesses formed a distinct group, most of them giving their evidence at four meetings between 7 February (the beginning of a new session) and 20 February 1866.² Roundell Palmer (the Attorney-General), and Lord Westbury (the Lord Chancellor and a former Attorney-General) appeared later in the year. Perhaps Kay-Shuttleworth, because of his special interest in endowments, and his experience as an administrator, can be considered a member of this group; as also can Lingen. Peter Erle, the Chief Charity Commissioner, was a member of the S.I.C. It has been suggested in an earlier chapter that these legal witnesses, armed with a wealth of corroborative evidence, provided the S.I.C. with a sound legal platform on which to base their most radical proposals : the right of a provincial board, in league with the central authority, to override cy près

1. *ibid.*, 923-934 (Hodgson); 562-579 (Simpson).

2. These were, James Hill (Charity Commissioner); Vice-Chancellor Sir William Page Wood; Thomas Hare (Inspector of Charities); R.R.W.Lingen; John Wickens (junior counsel to the Crown in Equity); J.P.Fearon (Solicitor to the Attorney-General); and Master of the Rolls Lord Romilly.

wherever it should be thought necessary.¹ But in addition to confirming general principles which had been widely acknowledged before 1865, these witnesses informed the Commissioners about specific cases of abuse and put them on public record. This was particularly true of Thomas Hare who, as an Inspector of Charities, was involved in arguments with the Corporation of the City of London, and was currently working on at least one case which was of special interest to the S.I.C.²

The group which supplied information relating to the upper departments of elementary schools was select but comprehensive. The evidence of Bottfield, Best, Thornton, Norris and Hodgson has been noted already.³

A singularly small group was that which represented the trustees of endowed schools. The Commissioners were to be highly critical of school governors in general, and in particular of the trustees of hospital schools, of the fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges who were guardians of endowed schools, and of City companies as trustees. Surprisingly, therefore, none of their witnesses represented this aspect of the work of college fellows or the City companies. Of the three governors who did give evidence only one seems to have been called simply in that capacity. This was C.S.Roundell who, rather notoriously, was a governor of Giggleswick School in the north of England and of Dulwich College.⁴

Roundell, a barrister and Fellow of Merton, said that the Charity Commissioners had intervened in the affairs of Giggleswick

1. See above, ch.V.

2. See below this chapter, 526, for Hare's involvement in the case of Jones's School, Monmouth.

3. See above, ch.III, 170 ff.

4. S.I.C., V, 307-317.

in 1864, and had appointed ten new trustees drawn from an area within a thirty-mile radius of the School. He had qualified under the new régime as the son of a local proprietor of land. While he acknowledged that the previous governors had often acted, as they saw it, in the interest of the School, he thought that there had been "that which may be summed up as the want of greater general independence of local ties, of a more enlarged appreciation of modern educational requirements"; and also a lack of "more men of University position."¹ One of his new colleagues on the current body was Kay-Shuttleworth. Roundell, despite his expressed desire that dissenters should wherever possible be admitted to the governing bodies of endowed schools,² can hardly be said to have embodied the general principle later propounded by the S.I.C. that trustees should be able to devote sufficient time to school affairs. His attachment to Dulwich was not touched upon in his evidence. In his evidence the Revd. William Rogers said that he was indeed a governor of Dulwich; but he was asked for no further information about that school's affairs. The Commissioners concentrated upon the middle-class schools which he had helped to found in London.³

The paucity of information from governors constitutes a notable gap in the oral evidence. A further weakness is even more significant, though hardly so surprising. The Commissioners summoned only two witnesses who might be said to have represented the middle-class clientele of local schools. Yet throughout the main Report of the S.I.C., and the reports of the assistant

1. *ibid.*, 308.

2. *ibid.*, 317.

3. *ibid.*, 472-485. For Rogers's London schools, see below, this chapter.

commissioners, there was constant reliance upon the opinions of unidentified parents relating to their requirements for the education of their children. There were many examples in the oral evidence of landowners and headmasters who were asked to proffer opinions about parents' requirements. But still, the very class to whose interests the S.I.C. ostensibly showed so much devotion were represented at first hand, amid a welter of scholastic and professional evidence, by only two witnesses.

It might be presumed that Mr. Edmund Edmunds, a local iron-monger whose son was a day foundationer at Rugby School, was known to Frederick Temple. As a member of the Farmers' Club he was also probably acquainted with Acland. In February 1865 Edmunds had addressed the Farmers' Club at the Adelphi on the subject of middle-class education.¹ On that occasion he said that farmers ought to be interested in the subject, since they were "the largest class following any one profession or business in England."² He quoted the opinion of the Revd. W.C. Lake, formerly a Newcastle Commissioner, expressed in a speech at West Buckland School, that middle-class boys should learn "something difficult, something on which they must bestow all their energies of mind"; Lake thought that middle-class education ought to consist, not of "useful knowledge" only, but "in calling out and tasking the energies of the youthful mind."³ Edmunds's interest in the subject seems to have been matched by his knowledge, for he knew of the work of Brereton and Fortescue at West Buckland, of the Surrey County School, of the

1. 'Middle-class Education', taken from the Journal of the Farmers' Club, February 1865; copy in the D.E.S. Library. The Revd. John Constable, in his address at Cirencester in the same month, referred to Edmunds's paper. See above, Ch.II, 83.

2. *ibid.*, 3.

3. *ibid.*, 5.

Harpur commercial schools at Bedford, and of Hurstpierpoint.¹

He clearly thought himself to be above "the lowest strata of shop-keepers" since he intended keeping his son at school till 16 or 17, while people of that class would take their children away at 14.² He made a useful comment in this connection : if a boy wished to be indentured, he ought to leave school at 14. "I merely mention that to show that there are certain branches of trade where a boy is compelled according to present arrangements to leave school at 14."³ Replying to Lord Taunton he established another important criterion in relation to the S.I.C.'s subsequent recommendations. He favoured, ideally, a boarding education for all middle-class boys, as a means of developing character. But he admitted that although a thriving tradesman might be able to pay for two sons at a boarding school — perhaps thirty guineas a year each — he would not be able to support five of his offspring in this way. Middle-class day schools were therefore an unfortunate necessity for people of his means.⁴ He also thought that the better-off tradesman's feeling that Latin was "a waste of time" was "every day dying away": "if you only take a book like Caesar, and take one of those long sentences, and make a boy carry on his mind from the beginning to the end of it, you have done a great deal, you have brought the boy to think more than you could in any other way."⁵ How this opinion must have warmed the hearts of Temple and Lyttelton.

1. *ibid.*, 5-6.

2. S.I.C., V, 485-502.

3. *ibid.*, 485.

4. *ibid.*, 486.

5. *ibid.*, 487.

The other urban middle-class witness came in under the wing of the Revd. Robert Gregory. William Barham was a tradesman, perhaps a builder, and apparently somewhat lower in the social scale than Edmunds. He lived in Gregory's parish of St. Mary, the Less, Lambeth.¹ He had three sons, the eldest of whom, at 14, had already left school : "he would not go to school any longer than 14."² His sons had all attended Gregory's school in Lambeth, paying fees of ten shillings a quarter. This was "a middle-class school engrafted on to a National School," and was associated with the second phase of the National Society's promotion of such schools in the 1860s.³ Six months before, Barham had sent his second son to St. Saviour's, Shoreham, having come across the Woodard schools, he told Lyttelton, by attending a meeting in London. He thought that French should be part of the middle-class curriculum because "I think we get amalgamated with France so much"; Euclid, he thought, rather than chemistry, was useful as a preparation for the building trade.⁴

Edmunds and Barham are instances which emphasise the patronising attitude of the S.I.C. towards the class which was the subject of their inquiry. Tradesmen, farmers and commercial men were treated as a species quite separate from the professional section of the class. The opinions of the former on educational matters were barely worth considering. Green, with his Temperance opinions perhaps peeping through, described a typical commercial family thus :

1. *ibid.*, 605-609.

2. *ibid.*, 609.

3. *ibid.*, 605. For the second phase of the National Society's work, see below, this chapter, 503.

4. *ibid.*, 607.

The father, probably, spends the evening with his friends at some place of social resort; the mother is tired with household cares, and if she had the will, has not often sufficient elementary knowledge to overlook the studies of a small boy.¹

This kind of 'evidence' was very suggestive, but surely presented a highly impressionistic and poorly researched picture of the middle-class man and his family. It can be argued that the S.I.C. was more interested in creating a system of education based upon its own presuppositions, than in tracking down real middle-class needs.

II. Parallel Activity.

The period during which the leading members of the S.I.C. were receiving written information from assistant commissioners and selected correspondents, and oral evidence from carefully chosen witnesses, most of which tended to match the presuppositions which they brought to their first meetings in 1865, was not a 'close season' for experiments and further developments in middle-class education. On the contrary, the years from 1864 to 1867 were a time of feverish innovations, most of which fall into either of two broad categories. Firstly there were those events which constituted a process of abreaction: changes, even reforms, which were probably prompted by the anxious feeling that the central government had declared an interest in doing something about the general condition of middle-class education, and attempts to clear the decks before the initiative might be taken out of the hands of those who were locally concerned with administering schools. Secondly there were experiments which

1. S.I.C., VIII, 169.

can be seen as having been positively encouraged by the immediate inquiries of the S.I.C. Any scrutiny of developments in the second category leads inevitably to an appreciation of the ramifications of relationships on the S.I.C. and of the connections between the Commissioners and other persons currently active in the promotion of middle-class schooling.

In relation to both categories of activity, it is difficult to determine with absolute precision the firmness of the interconnections between the existence of a Royal Commission and what was being done in London, and the English provinces. But, to take one set of examples, the optimism of Fortescue and Brereton in their promotion of and support for county schools after 1864 may have had much to do with what they expected that the S.I.C. might propose. The dilution of this initial optimism, as they received messages from their contacts among front-line Commissioners, was quite evident; but this surely does not undermine the judgement that the work of the S.I.C. was seen at first as a major encouragement to the expectation of an advance along the county school front.¹ Other factors than the mere existence of the Commission must certainly have come into play: the moderately greater ease with which trustees could bring about local changes, after the creation of the Charity Commission, was one of these. Nevertheless the crescendo of reform in the years from 1864 to 1867 is probably explained, in many cases, by a general process of anticipating any broad principles of reform or readjustment which the S.I.C. might later enunciate.

1. See above, ch.III.

It is of course impossible to specify what was the reaction of the Established Church to the appointment of the Taunton Commission. Bishop Ellicott of Gloucester was by reputation a conservative. Speaking at Bath within a few days of the announcement of the names of the Commissioners, he expressed cautious optimism. He thought that, judging by the course of the Clarendon Commission's inquiries, "they had every reason to expect that the (S.I.C.) investigation would be thoroughly probing, but considerate." But he owned that he was "old-fashioned", and he would have been more pleased had the new Commission come "less abruptly". His opinion was that an extension of the Universities' work of inspection of schools, and of the 'Locals', would have been the better and more moderate course of action.¹ More liberal-minded Churchmen — like Temple, Canon Robinson, Hook, and Brereton, the devout disciple of Arnold — would never have been parties to this kind of opinion. Yet there must have been a large body of clergy and laity who regarded the genesis of the Taunton Commission as an event whose consequences might jeopardise the strong connections between the Established Church and the endowed schools. In the recent past Lewis Dillwyn's Endowed Schools Bill, which would have opened the schools to a denominationally much more varied clientele, had been fiercely debated, and rejected.

The Church Defence Institution had been established in 1859 as a bastion against possible disestablishment of the Church in Ireland and England, and as a retort to the Liberation Society. The personnel of the Institution overlapped the member-

1. *Times*, 25 November 1864. Some Liberals found Ellicott's views on social questions appalling: Granville once asked, "Is he really such a fool as he seems to be?" (Quoted in G. Kitson Clark, *op. cit.*, 1973, 249.)

ship of the National Society in the 1860s. In its opening year it included among its supporters Lyttelton, Redesdale and Harrowby, J.G.Hubbard and Sir J.H.Kennaway, M.P.¹ All of these were staunch adherents to the Society.² The declared aims of the Institution were "to combine the Clergy and Laity in earnest work for promoting such measures as would tend to increase the internal efficiency of the Church, and also to defend it from external setback."³ It served as a kind of English Inquisition, reporting regularly upon the voting proclivities of Anglican M.P.s in relation to crucial measures in the Commons. The day of the Institution was to come later, in the early 1870s, with the founding of the periodical, The National Church, and the accompanying attack on the Endowed Schools Commissioners.⁴ In a recent study of Archbishop Tait, the Church Defence Institution has been characterised as "torpid" in its early years.⁵

By contrast the revival of the National Society's interest in middle-class education began nine months after the first meeting of the S.I.C. On 1 November 1865 the General Committee of the Society appointed a sub-committee "to consider and report whether the Society can assist and if so how best in promoting the Education of the Children of the Poor just above those who usually attend the National Schools." This new development in the Society's activities matched the S.I.C.'s concern with the lower middle class, and the various experiments with 'higher tops'

1. National Church, July 1873, 189.

2. See below, this chapter, for treatment of the National Society's revived activities.

3. National Church, loc. cit.

4. See below, ch.XII.

5. P.T.Marsh, The Victorian Church in Decline : Archbishop Tait and the Church of England, 1868-1882, London, 1969, 145.

in a group of National schools.¹ The original sub-committee included Sir Thomas Phillips, a champion of Church Education in Wales, and John Frost's opponent at Newport in 1838; the ultra-Conservative Gathorne Hardy, later a doughty opponent of the Endowed Schools Commissioners on Select Committees; Philip Cazenove, businessman and supporter of Rogers's work in London; the Revd. Robert Gregory; and Lord Lyttelton and T.D.Acland, currently serving on the S.I.C. There was also C.B.Adderley, contributor to the debates of the Social Science Association and a prime mover in educational matters in Birmingham and Worcestershire.

At the first meeting of the sub-committee, later in the same month, only Gregory, Phillips, Archdeacon Sinclair and Cazenove were present; though it was noted that Gregory had invited Lord Harrowby to become a member. It seems that Lyttelton and Acland remained nominal members of the sub-committee for most of its existence, though the latter was present at four meetings, the last in 1870, while Lyttelton attended only twice, in 1874 and 1875. Lyttelton's prolonged absence was ironically appropriate since he did not have to attend meetings at which Lord Cranborne, later Marquis of Salisbury, was present : they were to become violent opponents during the years 1869 to 1874 over the Emanuel Hospital case.² The most active and enthusiastic member of the sub-committee was Gregory : indeed, at one meeting, in January 1871, he was the only member present, managing nevertheless to vote grants of money to two schools. He acted as honorary Secretary, a role he shared at various times with

1. For these schools, see above, ch.III.

2. See below, ch.XII.

John Gorst, M.P., and Phillips. As time went on the sub-committee acquired new, though often transient, members: the Revd Dr. Barry of Cheltenham; J.G. Hubbard, the saviour of Radley College¹; G. Cubbitt, M.P., the builder; the Revd. Dr. Millar from Birmingham²; Wilberforce of Oxford, Bishop Ellicott of Gloucester, and the Dean of Manchester. Lords Redesdale and Harrowby attended for the first time in April 1867, at a time when Lyttelton's conversion to acceptance of Conscience Clauses was imminent.³

The sub-committee had been formed for a clear purpose, and it was left to Gregory to define this purpose most precisely in a pamphlet circulated among the members of the Society across the country in December 1865. This was entitled, Do our National Schools provide Education for all whom they ought to train?⁴ The Society's new scheme seems, therefore, to have been largely the work of Gregory whose evidence to the S.I.C. reflected his admiration for the work of Woodard and the success of the middle-class National School in his own Lambeth parish.⁵ In March 1866 the sub-committee presented seven resolutions to the General Committee of the Society, clarifying their aims and defining their social target-area. The first resolution requested that a committee be raised to administer a fund for promoting "sound religious education" among the children of the "upper division of the labouring classes

1. See A.K. Boyd, Radley College 1847-1947, Oxford, 1948, 131-142.

2. see below, this chapter, 536.

3. See below, this chapter, 553.

4. National Society, General Minutes, 10 November 1865.

Compare Gregory's title and subject-matter with G.F. Mathison's How Can the Church Educate the People?...., published under the aegis of the Society in 1844. Mathison's work is considered in J.P.C. Roach, op. cit., 1971, 45.

5. See above, this chapter, for Gregory's evidence to S.I.C.

and the lower division of the middle classes." The standard of education was to be "such as people would generally understand by the term 'Commercial Education'". (No further definition was provided.) An interesting proposition was that aided schools should be 'central', in the sense of their serving several parishes in union. The Society, it was hoped, would give generous support to each school, but on the undertaking that Church principles were adopted and that self-sufficiency was the ultimate aim. The right to inspection of the selected schools was reserved to the Society.¹

Roundell Palmer, the Attorney-General, laid the foundation-stone of a school in the district of St. Thomas, Islington, in October 1866. The instruction to be provided was not only for the children of the poorest classes, "but for those of skilled artisans and the lower middle class". The Times announced that the school had been founded "under the aegis of the National Society." Palmer's speech was chiefly notable for two sentiments: that such schools would help to prevent strikes; and that, while they were unlikely to promote upward social mobility, they would make men more contented with their place in society.² But real public acknowledgement of the revival of the National Society's interest in middle-class education came in the form of a notice in the Times in January 1867. The list of Committee-members there recorded was far larger than any in the Minute Book of the Society, and it was announced that the Archbishop of Canterbury had consented to become President of the Middle-class Schools Committee.³ The notice was an open appeal for funds. By the end

1. National Society, General Minutes, 7 March 1866.

2. Times, 1 November 1866.

3. Times, 26, 27 January 1867.

of the next month the Committee had prepared a printed document outlining the conditions under which grants would be made. The Society was prepared to advance money for building or adapting premises; for furnishings and for purchasing sites. The tenure of the site and premises was to receive the sanction of the Committee, and "security shall be given for education in the principles of the Established Church, satisfactory to this Committee, and to the Bishop of the Diocese, and for a sound commercial education suited to the children of the middle classes."¹ In May 1867 it was agreed that a separate fund be set up for the Metropolis, in order that the Society might obtain support more readily from institutions in the City. The Society was presumably aware of the rapid financial progress being made by the Revd. William Rogers's rather more secular plans for education in the City of London.²

The funds of the Committee were never large : in July 1867 they had £2,238.10s. at Coutts the bankers. Requests for assistance increased much more rapidly than financial reserves, most of the former coming from the London area. The majority of the grants voted were of a trivial size : St. Mark's, Chelsea, for instance, received £5 for its prize scheme. But a parish in Kennington did get £200 for purchasing a site³, and £400 was loaned at 1% for mortgaging a school in East Peckham.⁴ The arrangement of details in these transactions seems to have been largely due to Gregory. Brian Heeney has called the sums distributed "small". Nevertheless, among other grants of similar

1. National Society, Minutes of Middle-class Committee, 15 May 1867 : proof-pages of "National Society Middle-class Committee — Conditions of Grants".

2. See below, this chapter, 514.

3. Middle-class Committee Minutes, 24 May 1867.

4. *ibid.*, 20 November 1867.

similar size, the £150 sent to help establish a school in New Brompton in 1868 must have been very useful, as was a furnishing grant sent to a school in Rhyl in the following year.

It might be presumed, from the earliest statements of intent, that the aided schools were National Schools with upper departments of the Dawes type. This was not the case. The 1867 Committee wanted a distinctive social purpose to be served in its aided schools, with no admixture of classes. When a Mr. Macaulay wrote to the Committee from Highbridge in 1868, asking for a grant to enable him to add a middle-class department to his National School, Gregory replied that "after much consideration they had come to the conclusion that it was not expedient to have schools for the Middle Classes in connection with National Schools."¹ The Society, despite its original declaration, was therefore largely aiding private Anglican schools.

The Committee seems to have undertaken its inspectorial function conscientiously. There were regular references to the examination of schools, the fee for which varied from 3 to 6 guineas.² At a public meeting in Willis's Rooms in June 1869 it was resolved that

The subject of examination will be chosen upon the basis of the recommendations for schools of the third grade made by the Middle Class Schools Commission, and of the requirements of the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations. Prizes will be given according to the Report of the Examiner.³

The work of the Committee continued sporadically during the 1870s. In 1877 £10 was granted for the repair of Hawarden Grammar School, near Gladstone's home. But in April it was decided to

1. *ibid.*, 19 February 1868.

2. *ibid.*, 31 January 1870.

3. *ibid.*, 30 June 1869.

allow £15 to pay for prizes for the previous year, and then to discontinue inspection. The Committee wound up its activities in April 1879.¹ The work of the Committee hardly constitutes one of the pre-eminent achievements of the National Society. Its significance lies rather in the response to the work of the S.I.C. and to the general debate about middle-class education which it represents. There had been an initial flutter of activity within the Society in 1860²; but one is led to the conclusion that it was fear of the prospect of a Liberal reforming programme emerging from the S.I.C. which prompted the Society's renewed activity after 1865.

The most important figure undertaking unilateral activity in the field of middle-class education in the 1860s, working in the shadow of the Taunton Commission, was the Revd. William Rogers. In June 1864, Sir John Pakington made the leading speech at the Prize-day of Rogers's upper schools of St. Thomas Charterhouse in Goswell Street. Pakington, an active supporter of the Social Science Association, said that the coming Commission would be thoroughly justified if it could "devise means for the improvement of the educational system of the middle classes." That morning he had received a memorial from Lord Brougham on behalf of the S.S.A., to present to the Prime Minister, asking for a Royal Commission. In these circumstances he now congratulated the middle classes of that part of the Metropolis upon "enjoying an advantage enjoyed by very few of their class in

1. *ibid.*, 2 April 1879.

2. See Heeney, *op. cit.*, 171.

other parts of London."¹ Rogers had founded the Goswell Street School in 1856. When the foundation stone was laid there had been a large assembly of his friends and allies. Gladstone handled the trowel, but the main, and most informative speech was made by one of Rogers's oldest friends, Arthur Hobhouse, later to become successively a Charity Commissioner and, more notoriously, an Endowed Schools Commissioner. Hobhouse referred to two earlier schools which Rogers had built in the parish, commenting that they now provided for more pupils than Eton and Harrow together. He praised Rogers who, coming to London "young in years, and with a slender private fortune, not connected with any persons in high station", had accomplished his work almost single-handedly. He had received no financial aid from the district in which he worked and, what was worse, no "moral sympathy" from the locality. Among the other speakers was another old friend, Sir Stafford Northcote.²

An Old Etonian, Rogers was a remarkable man. The son of a London Police Magistrate, he went up to Oxford and helped to found the University Boat Club in 1840. Academically undistinguished, after studying theology at Durham, he became perpetual curate of St. Thomas in 1845. His first two schools there had required him to raise £1,750 and £5,500 respectively. The building which Gladstone inaugurated was opened in 1857 by Prince Albert. But these early initiatives were of less consequence in the history of middle-class education than the work he achieved after his removal to the Parish of St. Botolph's,

1. Times, 29 June 1864.

2. "Report of Proceedings at the Ceremony of Laying the Foundation Stone of St. Thomas Charterhouse New School Building... by the Rt. Hon. W.E. Gladstone, M.P... May 8th 1856," London, 1856. (Copy in the D.E.S. Library.)

Bishopsgate, in 1863.¹ As a member of the Newcastle Commission Rogers had been able to examine important aspects of endowments in relation to the middle as well as the lower classes. As a trustee of Dulwich College he was aware of the difficulties associated with large endowments and their reformation.

But before embarking on a description of Rogers's most important work in the field of middle-class education it might be fruitful to examine one aspect of the activities of his contemporary and competitor, Woodard, whose proselytising views Rogers never shared. In June 1865 the Times reported an important public meeting at Willis's Rooms whose advertised purpose was "to aid in the promotion of self-supporting public boarding schools for the education of the lower middle classes." Woodard was on the move again. Among those present were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Nelson, Lyttelton, Sir J.F. Coleridge and Dean Hook. Lyttelton and Hook had spent the morning of that day interviewing the Bishop of Bath and Wells for the S.I.C.² Gladstone made the leading speech. But his remarks must hardly have filled his brother-in-law's heart with optimism, for he said that there was a considerable waste of resources in the form of endowments; and that this caused many to ask, "Why do you not reform these grammar schools, and then we should not be taxed for education or be called upon to support efforts like those of Mr. Woodard?" It was a fact, he said, that all attempts to reform or revitalise old endowments were "mixed up with local feeling and interest",

1. For Rogers, see D.N.B. See also, Margaret Bryant, 'Topographical resources : private and secondary education in Middlesex from the 16th to the 20th century', in T.G. Cook (ed.), *Local studies and the History of Education*, 1972, 127-129.

2. S.I.C., IV, 683.

and while there was a Commission appointed to inquire into educational trusts, "no sanguine expectations must be formed of its results." Referring to the Clarendon Commission, he said that, though a report had been published, "the wheels of every scheme drove heavily", and no greater progress could be expected after the current Commission. The chief motivation for the present proposal to establish more Woodard schools, he thought, was the recent progress made in educating the working classes: "they might be said to be treading on the heels of the middle classes"; and if the middle classes were to keep their socially superior position "it must be by means of that extended system of education which Mr. Woodard had been instrumental in establishing." In his speech Lyttelton pledged his support for a kind of schooling by which "no shadowy Christianity would be taught," but the people "so trained to be godly and enlightened and brought up as good citizens, as good subjects, and as good Christians."¹

The appeal of William Rogers's proposals for middle-class education was less elevated and more practical than Woodard's thoroughly Church-influenced schemes. The new rector of St. Botolph's began his great campaign for funds in November 1865. He had already published a pamphlet on the City of London charities, recommending their alteration for educational purposes, a proposal which had the energetic support of his friend Hobhouse. The first Rogers meeting in 1865 was attended, not by aristocrats and clergymen in high places, but by the tycoons

1. Times, 21 June 1865.

of the City : "bankers, merchants, clergymen, magistrates and members of the Corporation."¹ Rogers might well have calculated that his timely attack on inert charities in the City would encourage such a company to attend, perhaps out of anxiety for their interests as trustees, rather than enthusiasm for education.

Alderman Hale, the Lord Mayor, opened the proceedings by saying that the national, parochial and ward schools provided education for the children of the London poor; while the endowed schools provided education for the higher classes. But there was "a large class of small tradesmen, clerks, and respectable mechanics" who had no reliable means of educating their children. He admitted that he "recently took occasion to moot the subject in the presence of the Masters and Wardens of the twelve principal City Companies", and he believed that they might be induced to support the proposed scheme.

About £50,000 was needed. Rogers thought the money might come from the "general charitable funds at the disposal of gentlemen in the City" whose trusts were "bursting with money." He referred to the Haberdashers' School in Hoxton which had £3,000 a year; Sir John Cass's charity had £5,000 a year, out of which only 110 children were educated. The Mercers' Company was particularly rich, as was their School, St. Paul's. Casting his eye over the returns made to the House of Lords on City Charities, "he could not help thinking something was brewing. "Perhaps the Attorney-General had got some grand scheme, or the Chancellor of the Exchequer something grander." This little piece of irony was also a very public

1. Times, 8 November 1865.

piece of blackmail. By thus playing on the anxieties of City trustees and Company men he hoped to create a school "that should fit the sons of the lower middle class for the practical business of life." It is interesting to speculate on the role which Arthur Hobhouse, who was to become a Charity Commissioner in the following year, played in forming Rogers's views on City Charities and City Companies, and in formulating the threat of action by Gladstone.¹ Among Rogers's friends at Balliol had been Northcote, Jowett and Lingen.² In St. Thomas's in the 1840s and 1850s these men had rallied to help Rogers's philanthropic work in education.³ But above all others, Hobhouse had been his chief helpmeet. Hobhouse's biographers (one of whom was J.L.Hammond, one-time assistant commissioner to the S.I.C.) are silent on the legal assistance which he might have been able to afford Rogers. But it seems likely, judging by Hobhouse's very marked prejudice against the City Corporation and the City Companies that an element of his thinking did not lie behind Rogers's speech in 1865.⁴

At the same meeting Mr. Tite, M.P., deflected Rogers's thrust by saying that the assembled company, as merchants, or "as interested in other respects in the business of the city", had experienced the deficiencies of middle-class education at second hand. He put his finger on another inducement to merchants' supporting a middle-class scheme

1. For Gladstone's attack on charities, see above, ch.V.

2. L.T.Hobhouse and J.L.Hammond, op. cit., 3.

3. *ibid.*, 5.

4. For a more detailed development of Hobhouse's views, see above, ch.V.

when he said that young men who applied for "situations as clerks in the City" were profoundly ignorant. "All that most of them could do was play cricket." They could "neither read, write, nor cast accounts." But Tite was careful to stress that he had no intention of asking, like Rogers, for interference in parochial trusts. As a result of the meeting a committee was appointed, headed by the Lord Mayor, with five other Aldermen, six M.P.s, William Ellis and four clergymen. The vote of thanks to the Mayor was offered by Mr. Gilpin, Treasurer of Christ's Hospital.¹

The anxiety generated by Rogers was soon transformed into a financial frenzy. A meeting to raise subscriptions was held at the Mansion House in January 1866. Even before it took place offers of £1,000 each had been made by thirty-four individuals or companies including Rothschild and Sons, Thomas Brassey, Baring Brothers and the London and Westminster Bank; six others offered £500 each. The Committee moved with despatch, even haste, and proposed a school for 800 to 1,000 boys. Rogers and Alderman Waterlow had already spoken with the Charity Commissioners about conversion of some of the parochial charities, but though the Commissioners had agreed in principle, they could promise no real support; the Attorney-General had confirmed this opinion. J.P. Cassiot, a wine importer, guessed that the subscriptions had come in so quickly "because the proposal... struck home to the heart of every man who kept a clerk." The businessman seems to have realised that his Cratchits on £200 to £300 a year, and "to whom he was largely indebted for his wealth", had no means within reach of providing efficient

1. Times, 8 November 1865.

schooling for their sons. Mr. Freshfield, the Bank of England Solicitor, reckoned the number of clerks in London at 100,000. Even Rogers's large scheme would therefore only mark a short initial step. Bradley of Marlborough was on hand to give advice upon the choice of masters, and the most appropriate length of school life. The Times called all this activity "a remarkable exemplification of the power of combination" in attaining "a noble and disinterested" objective.¹

Interest in middle-class education in London was evidently stirring among the merchant aristocrats of the City and its Livery Companies. Rogers had mentioned Hoxton in his first speech; and in January 1866 the Hoxton tenants of the Haberdashers' Company petitioned the Court of the Company to open Aske's Grammar school to the local middle class. Hitherto the benefits of the school had been confined to a limited number of the sons of the livery of the Company. The petitioners quoted the recent precedent of the Stationers' Company who had suddenly "with great liberality" thrown open their school in Fleet Street to the public, providing an education at £6 per annum "similar to that given at the City of London and other schools of note."²

At the next meeting in July 1866, after a letter of apology for absence from Lyttelton had been read, Cassiot said that though City Companies paid their clerks a fair wage, they could not pay amounts such as would enable them to educate their children "as porters might educate theirs." The meeting was told that £54,103 had been raised in support of

1. Times, 12 and 13 January 1866.

2. Times, 10 January 1866.

the proposed school.¹

In October 1866, less than a year after the first proposal, the new school opened on a site off City Road. It was to be for the sons of clerks, artisans and small tradesmen. The Lord Mayor, Alderman Phillips, touched on a new theme which had evidently been discovered since the first meeting. After stating his view that it was "the duty of the State" to see that all children were properly educated, he expressed anxiety that, unless "artisans and mechanics" received a sound education, it would be found that, "especially in the lighter and more elegant branches of manufactures", England would be overtaken by other industrial nations where such education was more highly prized. Hexameters, he thought, "were of little use in warehouses, counting-houses, or in entering rooms."; for those places a sound practical education was required, to fit boys "for that position in life which they were likely to occupy." It was at this meeting that 'Hang Theology' Rogers earned his soubriquet. To the probably intense chagrin of Gregory and his relatively impoverished cohort at the National Society, Rogers said that he had considered both the "theological question" and the question of economics; but his reply was "'Away with the theological question and away with the economical; let us begin'... and...here we are."

In the following years Rogers achieved one of his aims by capturing some of the city parochial charities' money for middle-class schooling. By this time his friend Hobhouse had served the Charity Commission for over a year. The trustees of the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft were given permission

1. Times, 5 July 1866.

to pay £2,000 of the surplus funds to Rogers's Middle-class Schools Corporation, which had been given a Royal Charter in 1866.¹ Hobhouse was present, along with Lingen and, unaccountably, Jules Fleury, at the first prize day of the new School in July 1867. By this time there were 700 boys in the school.²

Rogers's considerable talent for fund-raising was an important factor contributing to this achievement. But even more significant was the anxiety of the merchant aristocracy about the future of the excessive and often inefficiently administered funds for education of which they were trustees. There is a striking contrast between the achievements of the National Society in London at the same time, accomplished on a very slender budget, and the munificence of London businessmen in support of Rogers's broader ambitions. It must have been frustrating for Gregory at the National Society to watch the progress of the Middle-class Schools Corporation; for although Rogers had pitched the tone of his campaign very broadly by throwing out theological niceties, he had certainly, despite his protestation, clung firmly to the "econo~~mical~~ Question", thus moving a conservative business community towards support for constructive action, helping them to efface, partially, their image as uninterested trustees, and to provide better clerk-fodder for their counting-houses.

1. Times, 23 April 1867.

2. ibid., 27 July 1867.

The works of Gregory and Rogers, though mutually exclusive, were each independent responses to the initiative of the Government in setting up the S.I.C. There were also individual institutions and private corporations which seem to have reacted in similar ways. A number of schools coincidentally and rapidly transformed themselves between 1864 and 1868. For example, in the West Riding, Giggleswick in 1866, Saddleworth in 1867 and Wakefield in 1868 had new schemes made for them¹; in Essex, Maldon in 1864, Felsted, Chigwell and Grays Thurrock all in 1867;² in Somerset, Taunton College, of which Lord Taunton was president, in 1867, and Martock grammar school in 1868;³ in Worcestershire, Bromsgrove, of which Lyttelton was a trustee, in 1869, Bewdley in 1865 and King's Norton in 1867;⁴ in Staffordshire, Kinver Grammar school, another of Lyttelton's trusteeships, in 1867.⁵

But the most notable instance of a school's timely transformation in the 1860s occurred in the case of Monmouth. Gladstone's interest in Monmouth has been noted already.⁶ The School was to receive special attention as one of the eight great endowments studied by the S.I.C. Its governors were the Court and Wardens of the Haberdashers' Company whose involvement in Aske's School Hoxton, has just been mentioned. It can be argued that, like other Livery Companies with schools in their charge, the Haberdashers had a special interest in the

1. S.I.C., XVIII, 193, 238, 287.

2. S.I.C., XIII, 72, 56, 30, 64.

3. S.I.C., XIV, 236, 227.

4. S.I.C., XV, 541, 537, 596.

5. *ibid.*, 419.

6. See above, ch. V, 291.

work of the S.I.C.

Mr. Bompas reported extensively upon the school for the Commission. He noted particularly the considerable increase in income enjoyed by the School over the previous fifty years. The founder's money had been invested in 300 acres in New Cross, on the Old Kent Road. In 1832 the income was a comfortable £779; by 1864, £2,148, largely because the lines of six railway companies had intersected the property. In 1867, when Bompas was writing, it was over £3,000, with the prospect of its increasing "more and more rapidly."¹ He noted that the boys attending the School were "principally the sons of labourers and small tradesmen." The sons of professional men in the neighbourhood hardly ever entered. It was not a School "open to the world", but was confined to local boys: pressure from the townspeople in 1823 had eliminated the boarding element which had begun to predominate in the early years of the century.² There were, in fact, two schools, one classical, the other commercial. Unlike some of the examiners of the School in the 1850s, Bompas was moderately impressed by the teaching, despite the fact that no Monmouth boys were currently at the Universities.³ In 1852 the Haberdashers, who delegated the supervision of the School largely to twelve local visitors, had received two deputations, both led by Crawshay Bailey, M.P., the Monmouthshire ironmaster: the first expressing the views of the Town Council, begging that the School be opened to

1. S.I.C., XX, 538.

2. William Meyler Warlow, *A History of the Charities of William Jones at Monmouth and Newland*, Bristol, 1899, 189-190.

3. S.I.C., XX, 540. The examiners had been men of considerable reputation: in 1851, E.H. Bradley of Balliol; in 1857, Haig Brown, later headmaster of Charterhouse.

boarders; the second bearing a memorial from a meeting of the townspeople requesting the continuation of the status quo.¹ But nothing was done immediately, and further favourable examiners' reports during the next ten years seemed to signify that the 1852 crisis had faded away.

Nevertheless, the unfavourable attention which the School was attracting from interested observers, which was to culminate in Gladstone's comments in 1863, seems to have prompted the Haberdashers — well acquainted with a long sequence of attempts to undermine the Livery Companies — to take action. At first their thoughts were confined to re-building. In May 1862, the Company commissioned their architect, William Snooke, to prepare a survey of the existing building. The headmaster had complained of want of classrooms. Having decided to act, the Company approached the Charity Commissioners in June 1863, one month after Gladstone's speech, and asked permission to build. The Master of the Company laid the foundation stone of the new building in June 1864.

This achievement prompted the Company to consider more comprehensive proposals. In November 1864, a month after the announcement of the S.I.C. names, the town of Monmouth received notice of the impending visit of Thomas Hare, Inspector of Charities. In the absence of any evidence relating to private discussions at Haberdashers' Hall, it may be supposed that the Company now desired to sign and seal a new scheme for Monmouth before any possible foreclosure of their activities by the new

1. Warlow, op. cit., 224.

2. PRO, ED 27/6609, Monmouth School : Charity Commission papers.

Royal Commission.¹ The Company's new policy may also have been prompted from another direction, for in the same month a local Solicitor and Secretary to the School Visitors, J.E. Powles, published a pamphlet containing a "statement and Suggestions" for the future use of the School.² Powles's main point was that the School should be much enlarged and its benefits extended to "boys of all classes" on boarding terms. Hare meanwhile submitted his report to the Charity Commission, presumably aware of the three meetings of the townspeople in November and December 1864 at which views violently opposed to the proposition of Powles had been expressed.

The Haberdashers' Company did not formally approach the Charity Commissioners until July 1866. The Secretary of the Company, Curtis, announced that they had prepared a scheme for Monmouth School after representations from the local Visitors, the Town Council and the inhabitants. The scheme was embodied in a formal application to the Commissioners in January 1867.³ They proposed that numbers should be raised to 150, with 100 in the commercial school. But at a meeting with the Company in May, the Commissioners severely criticised the scheme, and in August the amended scheme was returned to the Company. The final scheme was published in Monmouth on 19 February 1868.⁴ Since the Report of the S.I.C. was published on 28 February, the Haberdashers had, consciously or not, exhibited a nice sense of

1. Hereford Times, 26 November 1864.

2. 'The Free School of William Jones at Monmouth -- Statement and Suggestions', by 'J.E.P.' (John Endell Powles). Copy in Newport (Gwent) Town Library.

3. PRO, ED 27/6612, Monmouth School : Charity Commission papers.

4. *ibid.*

timing. Bompas was therefore only just able to include details of the scheme in his report which was published at the end of the S.I.C. series in 1869. The scheme provided for two schools, an upper classical and a lower commercial, the upper school open to any boy, with fees of 50 guineas a year; the lower to boys whose parents resided in Monmouthshire, Herefordshire or Gloucestershire, with fees of 10 shillings a quarter. The course of instruction was extensive, comprising Greek and Latin at one end, with book-keeping, land-mensuration, history and geography, French and German at the other. A conscience clause was included in the scheme.¹

The Endowed Schools Commissioners evidently felt piqued by the pre-empting of their role by the Company. In January 1870 the Company applied to the new Commissioners for permission to extend further the Monmouth buildings. D.C.Richmond, in an aside which was irrelevant to the specific topic in hand, replied,

The Commissioners...must remind the Company that they are plainly bound by the purport of the Endowed Schools Act, to give a general effect to the recommendations of the Schools Inquiry Report. That Report contains many important enunciations of general principles with which the new (Charity Commission) Scheme of the Company, though carefully and in many respects liberally framed, does not in all respects accord.²

It has been argued that three kinds of activity — the work of the National Society, of Rogers, and of a City Company — were direct responses or reactions to the existence of the Taunton Commission, or, at least, to the assumption that changes on a

1. S.I.C., XX, 31.

2. PRO Ed 27/6617, Monmouth School file, letter from D.C. Richmond, 11 February 1870.

national scale were imminent. It is appropriate at this point to proceed to an examination of the making of the S.I.C. Report.

III. Constructing Recommendations.

The instructions given to the assistant commissioners were a radical re-working of the Commission's original terms of reference; and, as might have been expected of a group whose most formidable members included the youthful and academically formidable T.H. Green and James Bryce, and the widely experienced Joshua Fitch, the views expressed in their reports supplied sharp seasoning for the earnest presuppositions of the leading members of the S.I.C. The opinions of Bryce and Fitch have, perhaps, been most often quoted : the areas which they examined were not well known to most of the Commissioners and contained a concentration of contemporary urban problems in relation to middle-class education. But Green's opinions were the most interesting of all : a philosopher poised on the brink of his first encounter with public affairs, he reacted healthily to the challenge cast down by Birmingham, a city about to reach its Radical simmering-point, yet a centre also of conventional Anglican sentiment. Green approached his task in Birmingham with considerable anxiety, but it is surely a mark of his success in the eyes of the inhabitants of the city, the educationists in particular, that he retained his connection with it in a most positive way long after 1866. He became a regular attender at the meetings of the Birmingham Teachers' Association in the 1870s and was the masters' representative

on the board of trustees of King Edward's Schools.¹

Birmingham lay at the centre of Green's first area, the Counties of Stafford and Warwick. Encompassing conurbation and rural hamlet, the range of his inquiries was as broad as that of any of the assistant commissioners. The pattern of his work, he said, was to begin by spending a day with the master of a school; then, "having conciliated him as much as possible", he would determine a day on which he might review the teaching. Afterwards, if need be, he called on trustees or parents.² Green's shyness and diffidence were apparent when, after a month at the job, he wrote that he had "no real taste for 'practical life'", and that he wished to return soon to Oxford, "having tried other work and found it wanting."³ Yet his modest attitude may well have been an advantage in dealing with hard-headed Birmingham businessmen, for at least one leading citizen had anticipated the visit of the assistant commissioner and prepared ammunition.

William Lucas Sargant was a Birmingham gunsmith who had made a small fortune selling weaponry to colonial Africa. He had been a pupil at Hazelwood in the 1820s, was a friend of Matthew Davenport Hill, and became the first Liberal 'outsider' to penetrate the close corporation of Free School trustees in the town.⁴ Sargant had already achieved some national repute in educational matters, through his statistical surveys⁵,

1. R.L. Nettleship, *Memoir of T.H. Green*, London, 1906, 73.

2. *ibid.*, 61.

3. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

4. C.G. Hey, *The History of Hazelwood School, Birmingham, and its Influence on Educational Developments in the Nineteenth Century*, Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wales, 1954, 267-268.

5. W.B. Stephens, 'Illiteracy and Schooling in the Provincial Towns, 1640-1870', in D. Reeder (ed.), *Urban Education in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1977, 30-31. (Stephens calls him 'Sargent'.)

and his contribution to the Educational Conference of 1856.¹ He heralded the arrival of the new assistant commissioner by initiating an acrimoniously entertaining exchange of views between himself and Lord Lyttelton in the local press, a correspondence which he later took the trouble to publish.²

Green had therefore been working in the area for just over a month, in the knowledge "that one must fall foul of certain people",³ when Sargant warned the people of Birmingham that, although Royal Commissions often performed useful functions, their greatest peculiarity was their power to appoint "Assistant Commissioners." A good commissioner could do within his circuit "what de Tocqueville did for a continent." But "a fanciful, or prejudiced, or perverse" commissioner could do great mischief: his manner might repel the timid; his presuppositions distort the evidence offered.⁴ Sargant had taken his tone, perhaps, from another former pupil of Hazelwood, Toulmin Smith, whose attacks on bureaucratic infirmities had been part of the Radical re-groupings of the 1850s.⁵ But his immediate stimulus was a rash attack upon educational standards in Birmingham by Lord Lyttelton who had said, in an address at the Birmingham and Midland Institute, that the education of the Working class in the town was "as bad as that of any part of the country."⁶ Lyttelton, freely interpreting limited evidence in the Report of the Children's Employment

1. W.L.Sargant, 'On the proposed Middle-class Examinations as a means of stimulating the education of the lower classes', in A.Hill (ed.), op. cit., 334 ff.

2. W.L.Sargant, 'Lord Lyttelton and Mr. William Lucas Sargant, on the Education of Birmingham, and on Commissions of Inquiry', Birmingham, 1865.

3. Nettleship, op. cit., 61.

4. Sargant, op. cit., iii-iv.

5. For Toulmin Smith, see Olive Anderson, Victorian Studies, op. cit., 231-242.

6. Reported in Birmingham Daily Post, 28 November 1865.

Commission of 1862, had spoken undiplomatically, especially since his remarks coincided with the inquiries of a salaried official of his own Schools Inquiry Commission. Similarly intemperate outbursts were to create more serious trouble four years later.¹ Sargant was exercising his undoubted gift of irony when in his first letter he attributed to Lyttelton "a coolness of temper".² Although the noble Lord had concentrated on Birmingham's labouring population, Sargant managed to draw the controversy in to the current area of concern by associating Lyttelton with some remarks of the Birmingham Anglican Dr. Miller who had criticised the level of education attained by the middle classes.³

By the close of the correspondence Lyttelton had saved part of his face. Nevertheless Sargant was still able to write a preface which advocated that Assistant Commissioners should publish their evidence and opinions in local newspapers. "The neighbourhoods aggrieved might then offer counter-evidence, or might dispute the accuracy of the inferences." The Commissioners would judge between the two parties, thus sparing the community "the calamity of authoritative slanders."⁴ All in all, the preface to Sargant's work constitutes a classic moderate statement of the case of locality against impersonal central authority. It may well have been to Sargant, among others, that Green referred when he recorded that "some people here profess

1. See above, ch.V, for Lyttelton and Hobhouse at the S.S.A. in 1869.

2. Sargant, op. cit., 1.

3. *ibid.*, 17.

4. *ibid.*, vi.

displeasure with the want of publicity in my enquiries." In 1863, on Jowett's advice, Green had reluctantly turned down the offer of the editorship of the Times of India, at £1,200 a year¹; perhaps it was this thwarted ambition which helped him, after initial difficulties, to make friends "with most of the newspaper writers" in Birmingham.² His hob-nobbing with the press, and having to "poke into back-shops and small manufactories" suggest that he brought to his official task an air of informality which may have pleased local commercial men.

The government of King Edward's School in Birmingham had been the subject of intermittent controversy long before Green visited the town. But organised resistance to the monopoly of the closed corporation of Anglican school trustees seems to have been another of the activities which owed its origin rather more recently to the proposal to establish a Royal Commission to inquire into endowed schools. The oral evidence of witnesses relating to the School, given to the S.I.C. in July 1866, was supplemented by three appendices of printed documents supplied by a committee variously called "the Free Grammar School Association", "The Grammar School Association", and "The School Reform Association", along with a Memorandum prepared by the Governors.³ The Town Council also took an active part in discussing the School at this time, though their membership and policies overlapped those of the Association.

1. Nettleship, op. cit., 61.

2. *ibid.*, 61.

3. S.I.C., V, Minutes of Evidence, Deputation from Birmingham, Appendices A to D, 1006-1023.

The "Association" came into being at a general meeting convened by thirty-three leading citizens in November 1864. A Committee was appointed to inquire into four matters : the extension of the benefits of the foundation; changing the mode of selecting pupils; improving the method of appointing governors, and revising the existing system of education.¹ The motive for instituting the new body was made explicit : since a Royal Commission had been appointed, the Association was being formed "for the purpose of preparing evidence to submit to the Commission." Among the leading members were George Dixon and W.L.Sargent.

In May 1865 the Town Council, apparently acting independently, but along similar lines, addressed a memorial to "the Endowed Schools Commission" (sic) indicating suggestions for changes in the governing body of the School. The Commissioners, through Roby, replied that they would give the Council an opportunity to furnish further information. The councillors, for their part, hoped that the Commission would hold a "public sitting" in Birmingham.² This was never to occur, but leading members of all parties were later transported to Whitehall to give formal evidence before the Commissioners.³ There were eight witnesses from "the town of Birmingham", and four from the Governors of the School, one of whom was Charles Evans who had given evidence previously on his own account.

According to the evidence of the Association, their commissioned report had been presented to a general meeting on

1. *ibid.*, 1007.

2. Birmingham Daily Post, 26 May and 31 May 1865.

3. S.I.C., V, 957-1006.

5 June 1865.¹ This was after Green had begun his inquiries in the town. His arrival may have accounted for the hectic activity of the Association during the early days of June : they held five meetings between 4 and 16 June.² Relations between the Association and the Governors would seem to have been sufficiently amicable for a conference to have been arranged for all parties, including a deputation from the Town Council, on 13 October 1865.

The Report of the Association, which was the basis for discussion at this conference, comprised nine clauses. They found the mode of election indefensible : because of its exclusiveness there was constant danger of expensive litigation between the Governors and the Town Council over proposals for extending the scope of the School.³ They welcomed the recent introduction of competitive entry for scholars, to augment the continuing system of election by patronage; but even here they suggested that competition was prejudicial to less able boys.⁴ The schools of the foundation ought to be much enlarged; and in aid of this object they thought that many parents would happily pay capitation fees. They welcomed signs of improvement in the conduct of the commercial school, but regretted that the headmaster, Evans, had abandoned his predecessor's practice of entering boys for the 'Locals'. In the light of the leading role played by Birmingham non Bible

1. *ibid.*, 1007. Birmingham Daily Post also carried a verbatim account of this report, 3 June 1865.

2. Birmingham Daily Post, 3, 6, 7, 10, 13, 17 June 1865.

3. S.I.C., V, 1008.

4. *ibid.*, 1009.

Sargant in the encouragement of these examinations, Evans's action would seem to have been inpolitic. The Association thought the curriculum too classical, and they considered that the elementary schools of the foundation educated the children of "the smaller shopkeepers and mechanics", rather than their legitimate objects, the children of the poor. The requirement that the master had to be in holy orders ought to be abandoned.¹

On 14 October the Birmingham Daily Post carried a report headed "The Reform of King Edward's School — Deputation to the Governors", giving an account of the meeting at the Chamber of Commerce. The leading personalities from all three parties were supported by the presence of Matthew Davenport Hill. George Dixon, of the Association, claimed that it represented "the intelligence of the town". But he also showed moderation in expressing the Association's pleasure at the conciliatory election of "their late able chairman", W.L.Sargant, to a vacant governorship of the School. The Governors were evidently carrying on a holding operation while waiting for evidence of the determination of the S.I.C., and their choice of Sargant was, in this context, a master-stroke. Hill, for his part, remarked that the Council representatives demonstrated the unanimity of feeling in the town on the matter of self-election. Support for the Town Council and the Association could therefore be called "universal", especially since Church and Dissent were represented on the Association. The leading Anglican of the town, Dr. Miller, rector of St. Mary's, who was to resign as a governor in 1866, could not attend the meeting. But his evidence later to the S.I.C.

1. *ibid.*, 1010.

made it clear that there was in fact no statutory restriction upon the composition of the governing body, and no prohibition against nonconformists. If the question of electing governors were settled, "it would have a pacifying effect."¹

This was the local activity which continued during much of Green's first official visit to the town. It is interesting that Birmingham provided the only instance of a direct approach to the Commissioners by a coherent body of local citizens and officials while the S.I.C. was sitting.

Green prepared two major reports for the S.I.C., the first of which dealt with King Edward's School, one of the eight great endowments which engaged the special attention of the Commissioners. The second report related more generally to the schools of Staffordshire and Warwickshire. In both cases his comments displayed consistent moderation, particularly towards the dissenting interest : though his remarks upon the defects of existing provision were scathing where he thought necessary. He certainly showed no marked favour to his Rugby 'senior', Charles Evans. He dealt equitably with the composition of the governing body. Because of the custom of co-optation the trustees represented "the upper and more select section of society in Birmingham", politically conservative, and Anglicans in belief. Their trusteeship had, however, been lately fair to all, and could be criticised only for its being "an effective power on the side of maintaining the status quo." The Dissenting congregations of Birmingham, whose members were excluded from

1. S.I.C., V, 958.

trusteeship, contained "many persons of intellect and education" whose educational efforts had been diverted to the Midland Institute and the public libraries of the town. "Social and municipal distinctions have not coincided, and hence the Board (of trustees) has been an object of public animosity, irrespective of the manner in which it has exercised its function."¹ Yet Green had been unable to find any cases of gross injustice to Dissenters, who patronised the School in large numbers. His chief desire was for the removal of the governors' rights of patronage which permitted them to nominate pupils for admission.²

His remarks upon the fair treatment have the ring of truth, especially since they accord with his own views upon the admission of Dissenters to Oxford on equal terms with Anglicans. Also, his opinion confirmed the findings of the previous headmaster, Giffard, which he had expressed in a paper delivered to the Social Science Association at Birmingham in 1857.³ Similar views about the relative absence of the religious problem among parents were uttered by prominent witnesses to the S.I.C.⁴ Certainly these opinions reinforced an earlier speculation by Temple that the application of conscience clauses to previously exclusive foundations would have a liberating effect upon the provision of middle-class education in endowed schools. Of the religious question in

1. S.I.C., VIII, 91-92.

2. *ibid.*, 93-94.

3. Transactions of the Social Science Association, 1857, 130-134; see also above, ch. VI, 347.

4. S.I.C., IV, evidence of Dr. Howson, Principal of Liverpool Collegiate Institution, 291-292.

the elementary schools Temple had told the Newcastle Commissioners that he thought "it hardly exists at all in the minds of the parents."¹

Green ended his Birmingham report in a conciliatory way by expressing his obligation to all those who had provided him with information : "it was a great advantage to me to meet with so much intelligent opinion on education, as I found at Birmingham." But he hoped that the great wealth of the foundation might be applied, not only to providing a thorough English education, but also in making the Grammar School "act as a university to the district."² This latter idea of the School as, more accurately, a High or Central School for the region around, was one which he developed more fully in his General Report, and one which may have derived largely from his conversations with Charles Evans, whose evidence to the S.I.C. included strikingly similar proposals.³

Green's General Report on the two counties covered a wider range of issues. He divided the endowed schools into two classes : those which did or did not profess to give an education higher than that provided in elementary schools for the poor. His short way of dealing with defects in provision and in the curriculum of the grammar schools was to suggest that, in relation to most of their pupils, the grammar schools had hardly begun their task, since most boys left before they had acquired even the elements of a liberal education.⁴ English,

1. Popular Education Commission, VI, 338.

2. S.I.C., VIII, 145.

3. See above, ch. II, 95, for Evans's opinions.

4. S.I.C., VIII, 149.

French and occasionally German were the main subjects of an 'English' curriculum, and seemed to be attractive to parents of the middle class below the professional men; but, as far as Green was concerned, they were "comparatively poor" as instruments of a liberal education.¹ And it was impossible for the smaller grammar schools to operate alternative systems of education alongside their classical departments.²

The 'commercial' parents had, in most cases, received only a brief education themselves. Consequently their educational aspirations for their children were usually limited. Professional parents, on the other hand, ensured that their households contained suitable books which might encourage a love of learning in their children.³ Dissenters were often discouraged from obtaining a lengthy education for their children because of the restrictions which still applied to university entry.⁴ London University examinations, which might have seemed attractive, could hardly be a stimulus to sound work in the grammar schools, since the masters were usually unfamiliar with or prejudiced against them.⁵ For these reasons there was no evidence of the mixing of classes in the grammar schools of the area. The only school he had found which satisfactorily mingled social classes was the Grammar School at Loughborough in Leicestershire.⁶

Green demonstrated that within the region there were large

1. *ibid.*, 150, 186, 204.

2. *ibid.*, 153.

3. *ibid.*, 169.

4. *ibid.*, 172.

5. *ibid.*, 173.

6. *ibid.*, 162. See also Green's report on Loughborough in S.I.C., XVI, 58-62.

numbers of the population with no endowed schools close to their homes, particularly in the iron and pottery district of North Staffordshire. In the Black Country there were four schools with a total of 1,500 pupils, serving a population of about 800,000. Yet even in that area, market forces had not created a sufficient supply of private and proprietary schools.¹ In the countryside farmers only very rarely sent their sons to local grammar schools; usually they patronised inferior private schools in the smaller towns.² The grammar schools would "kill" such educationally impoverished private institutions even though they continued teaching Latin; and Green's recipe was simple :

The means of reconciling the opposite wants of classical and commercial education are to be found..(1) in the exaction of larger amounts of elementary knowledge at entrance to the grammar schools than is now required at best, (2) in such postponement of Greek as would render it possible, without trenching on time given to Latin, to secure that the average boy should be perfect in arithmetic, and able to write English correctly by the age of 14 at latest. After that age a bifurcation might be allowed either, where the staff is strong enough, at the grammar school itself, or at upper schools to be founded for the purpose. This plan..I believe to be the only one by which commercial requirement can be satisfied and at the same time the way kept open to higher learning, without sacrificing the great advantage of uniformity of system. The words 'arithmetic' and 'Latin' should be graven on the heart of every grammar-school master. The one represents the primary condition of popularity with the commercial class; the other the wicket-gate through which must pass every boy, not endowed with special gifts or the subject of some uncoventanted mercies, who is to attain an appreciation of anything high and remote in the intellectual world.³

In his final summary Green suggested that, where appropriate, two small and otherwise useless endowments might be

1. S.I.C., VIII, 166.

2. *ibid.*, 170.

3. *ibid.*, 191.

amalgamated : he took as his example Bradley and Church Eaton, Kewchapel and Audley, all of which were in Staffordshire. In each case "the utility of some interference from without can hardly be questioned";¹ though he thought that local gentry and farmers would often resent the conversion of endowments from elementary to middle-class education.² He also foresaw the allied accusation that such conversion would constitute an injustice to the poor :

Education is thought to be an affair of classes, and all classes above the poor, it is said, can afford to pay for the teaching suitable to them. It is not yet a recognised idea, that educational endowments can be so worked as in some degree to efface demarcations of class, to give a freedom of self-elevation in the social scale other than that given by money, and keep 'the career open to talents'.

The poor were thought to be interested only in primary education, and since this was not yet supported wholly or largely by taxation, it was seen to be the one proper educational object of charitable bequests. "For a single man to be found having views about better education for the middle class a hundred may be found having views about the education of the poor."³

He also proposed a system of grading schools according to a two-tier pattern. The similarities between his scheme and Charles Evans's advice to the S.I.C. suggest that there might have been some collusion between the two former acquaintances during their discussion in Birmingham.⁴ Green wanted one high school to be created in each of the counties of Warwick and

1. *ibid.*, 215.

2. *ibid.*, 232.

3. *ibid.*, 232-233.

4. For Evans's scheme, see above, ch.II, 95.

Stafford, with a boarding fee of about £40 a year. Exhibitions for county boys should be available at £25 a year. Such schools would be justified for two reasons : firstly the ordinary grammar schools would not all be able to prepare boys for the Universities, and exceptional boys in small schools would lack competition. Secondly high schools "would make it possible to simplify the work of the small grammar schools, and remove the educationally unsound division of schools into classical and commercial departments."¹

After the grammar school system had been "fairly put on its legs" by the action of the central authority, there would be the question of whether the trustees should be left alone, or whether "county boards" should be established. Green saw advantages in the latter proposition. It might bring the grammar schools more systematically into relation with the elementary schools, which might then be seen by the farmers as useful for the education of their sons; and it would certainly facilitate the reapportioning of endowments, (though, presumably, he also saw this as a function of the central authority).²

Green's reports were published in 1868. The total area which he covered -- he inspected Leicestershire, Northants and Buckinghamshire in 1866 as part of the second phase -- was perhaps the most varied of all those examined by the assistant commissioners. His introduction to public affairs had taken him through the Potteries and the Black Country,

1. S.I.C., VIII, 226.

2. *ibid.*, 234.

across the rich, aristocratic uplands of the central Midland counties, and into the heart of industrial Birmingham; he witnessed the chaos of Coventry charities, and the trimness of Loughborough Grammar School Reformed. He had assessed the wealth of possibilities for development out of one foundation in Birmingham, and expressed distaste for the octogenarian master of Aynho, Northants, with his five pupils, one suffering from St. Vitus' Dance, another almost dumb.¹ Unlike Fitch, Bryce and Fearon, who examined largely urban areas, Green did not follow slavishly the clear prescription set before him in the Instructions to Assistant Commissioners. Eschewing his colleagues' employment of sub-headings, he followed a more meandering, discursive course, and many of his important judgements and comments are scattered at random throughout the texts of his reports. Some of his important comments on topics like amalgamation of endowments are tucked away in his reports on individual schools.² His main concern was not to establish a rigid definition of "the middle class" in relation to a precise pattern of graded schooling, nor to supply details of mismanagement by trustees; rather he set out to describe what was taught in the schools he had seen, and to relate his evidence of inadequacy to his own notion of what a liberal education ought to be, while acknowledging at all times the practical possibilities for reforming the existing schools. In this and in his other general proposals outlined above, Green demonstrated his close affinity with the views

1. S.I.C., VIII, 365.

2. See, e.g., his remarks on the school at Blakesley (Northants) in S.I.C., XII, 316-317, in relation to the schools at Towcester and Green's Norton.

upon middle-class education of Frederick Temple who had first suggested his appointment as assistant commissioner.¹ Green made no resoundingly definitive statements which could be taken up as aphorisms for inclusion in Volume of the S.I.C. Report; he was not to enjoy the celebrity in this respect of Fearon whose classic definition of the middle class was used so prominently.²

In May 1877 a lecture "On the Grading of Secondary Schools" by T.H.Green was published in the Journal of Education. It was the text of an address he had given to the Birmingham Teachers' Association at King Edward's School in the same year.³ Like many of those who expected much to result from their labours on the S.I.C. Green had been disappointed by the dashing of hopes in the 1870s. He said, clearly referring to Temple :

There was no statesman for whom it was worthwhile, or who had the leisure if he had the inclination, to push the scheme for reorganising our superior education through in detail. The head that conceived could not also command the hand to execute it, The fortune of English public life has always been celebrated for putting the round man in the square hole, and, in this case, having excluded the author of the scheme in question from the possibility of becoming a minister of education, it made him a bishop in the most backward corner of England.⁴

Overcome in this case by despondency rather than unwanted passion, Green was wrong when he suggested that Temple had been pushed away to Exeter in 1869. According to Temple's

1. See above, ch.VI, 319ff, for a discussion of Temple's 'National Education' (1856).

2. S.I.C., VII, 237; see also S.I.C., I, 18-19.

3. R.L.Nettleship, Works of Thomas Hill Green, iii, London, 1888, vi. The paper is at 387-412.

4. *ibid.*, 388. The underlining in the quotation has been added for emphasis.

biographer, Gladstone had offered him the choice of Bath and Wells, Oxford and Manchester, but Temple's West Country attachments prevailed : "They know me and I know them"; and so he chose Exeter.¹ But in identifying Temple as the "author" of the Schools Inquiry Report Green was substantially correct.

The S.I.C. heard their last witness on 5 July 1866.² The first sixty-eight of their meetings had been devoted to devising procedure and taking evidence. Of these Temple had attended thirty-five.³ The demands imposed upon him by the administration of a great school might account for what could be considered intermittent attendance. But he did not miss any of the remaining fifty-seven meetings of the S.I.C. which were occupied with the stern business of designing and drafting the Report. Although Roby stated that Temple drafted his contributions "chiefly...in his school vacations,"⁴ the evidence points to the conclusion that his desire to shape the ends of the Commission outweighed his interest in the more mundane job of listening to witnesses. And after reading between the lines of Roby's adulatory account of Temple's work on the Commission, it is possible to suggest that much of what he incorporated in his contribution to the final Report did not depend very heavily upon the evidence of witnesses or assistant commissioners. For while Roby was concerned to say that no one "could have been more willing to listen to the suggestions

1. E.G.Sandford(ed.), Memoir of Archbishop Temple by Seven Friends, London, 1905, 273.

2. S.I.C., V, 1006.

3. H.J.Roby, 'The Schools Inquiry Commission', in E.G. Sandford, op. cit., 136.

4. ibid., loc. cit.

of others, and allow full weight to them", he also suggested strongly that there was a clear line of direct descent from Temple's 'Oxford Essay' of 1856 to the main propositions of the Report. An insight into Temple's cajoling strength of purpose is provided by a letter he wrote while on summer vacation in the Lake District in September 1866, to Acland, his old colleague in the 'Locals' initiative. Ostensibly he wanted Acland to come to Rugby to talk about "the whole subject" of the S.I.C. But already he was uttering opinions :

In regard to our recommendations, I think we have two things to do : to organise what we have got, i.e., the endowed schools; and to create what we have not got, a system of schools for the lower Middle Class... In doing the first we ought to do something about the second. But not all. And my idea is that Rates should supply and keep in repair the Buildings where Endowments were not at hand to do so.¹

Temple's neat encapsulation of two large proposals sounds fresh and apposite; but each of these principles was derived directly, though not of course verbatim, from similar statements in 'National Education' published in 1856.² Ten years and a welter of detailed official information had not blunted the edge of his earlier opinions. And looking forward to the final Report, it is evident that he was able to incorporate these important judgements in the recommendations of the S.I.C.³

The group which came together to devise the Report in the Autumn and Winter of 1866-67 was rather more select than the original list of Commissioners. Peter Erle, Dr. Storrar and Thorold appear to have attended the discussions very infre-

1. A.H.D.Acland, op. cit., 262, letter from Temple to Acland, 12 September 1866.

2. See above, ch.VI.

3. Rate-support is dealt with in S.I.C., I, 654-659; the importance of the lower middle class (third grade), I, 20.

ently. Stanley and Northcote ceased to appear after becoming Cabinet ministers under Derby and Disraeli in July 1866.¹

Edward Baines, though his presence might have been considered a hindrance to open discussion, continued to attend with some regularity up to the last.²

From what is known of Temple's character and his mighty capacity for work, it might be presumed that the meetings were burdened by a Victorian intellectual gravitas, the room in Victoria Street draped with Bible-black. But to judge from accounts by Acland and Roby the proceedings were often characterised by a gaiety which was guaranteed by Lyttelton's flashes of levity and Acland's bluff humour. Temple, "the leading spirit", according to Roby, though invariably businesslike, "took his part in any pleasantries to which discussion gave rise...and enjoyed the work."³ Acland told his wife that "we have a great deal of fun...I am always coming down on the Head Master (Temple); he takes it very well." Lord Taunton, having completed a paper which the others called "his tail", asked if he should read it : "No! Swish it", said Lord Lyttelton."⁴ Such levity, however, must have only briefly masked the very serious and demanding work which was undertaken by this most able group of amateurs. At an early stage Lyttelton was aware that the burden of producing the Report was to be carried by a few. He wrote to Gladstone, as

1. Sandford, *op. cit.*, 134, 137.

2. Information relating to attendance is taken from the Times for the two quarters October-December and January-March 1867.

3. Sandford, *op. cit.*, 134, 137.

4. A.H.D.Acland, *op. cit.*, 265, letter to his wife, 1867, (otherwise undated).

they prepared to begin, that "the Commission...(perhaps because of a lay-over) is very slack." He identified no more than three or four members, and said that he felt like cutting and running "at this critical moment", but that it was out of the question. He had served on Commissions almost continuously for six years, without once missing a session, and he found then "great...unpaid bores". But they were the only quasi-official work he would ever do, and "I cannot think of shirking it."¹

Temple took upon himself the task of drawing up a preliminary skeleton of the Report, which, according to Roby, "was discussed and in the main adopted."² Judging by isolated pieces of evidence, it seems that some of the main protagonists — Taunton, Temple, Lyttelton and Acland — then prepared papers on topics closely related to those in the Temple 'skeleton'. Finally, the seven chapters were apportioned to appropriate members of the quorum. Roby as Secretary undertook the more unexciting task of preparing Chapter II on the state of the schools, and Chapter IV on the law affecting their administration; though Temple, significantly, wrote the highly critical section on private schools in Chapter II, thus taking on the mantle of Thomas Arnold. Acland, who had prepared a useful paper containing memoranda on the statistics of middle-class education,³ wrote parts of

1. Gladstone Papers, B.M.Addl. MSS, 442339, f 336, letter from Lyttelton to Gladstone, Hagley, 22 July 1866. Taunton attended 111 meetings, Lyttelton all but the last four, Acland 110. Betty Askwith, *The Lytteltons: a family chronicle of the Nineteenth century*, London, 1975, sheds little light on the work of the S.I.C., but does account for "unpaid": Lyttelton was in financial difficulties at this time.

2. Sandford, *op. cit.*, 135.

3. See ch.I.

Chapter III on the local distribution of endowments, a topic which he had suggested including. He, too, from his close involvement in county politics, and his intimate connection with the economic fabric of rural society, was considered the most appropriate person to prepare the section of central and local administration. Lyttelton, despite being "troubled with some rheumatism or neuralgia in my arm,"¹ wrote the contentious Chapter V on the eight large endowments, and Chapter VI on girls' education. In a typical jeu d'esprit of his, in 1867, Lyttelton wrote,

Births

At 21 Carlton Terrace, on July 11th, after a painful and protracted labour, Lord Lyttelton of a child on Girls' Schools. Friends at a distance will be glad to hear that this long expected event has taken place and that parent and child are charming well.

The Infant Chapter has a strong likeness in features and deportment to its parent. It is uproarious — squalls incessantly — and hopes to make much noise in the world.²

This belied the truly serious and undiplomatic tone of the conclusion to the chapter, where he commented upon "the apathy and want of co-operation, often the active opposition, of too many of the parents." Typically, and perhaps unconsciously, he revealed his lack of experience in day-to-day politics.³

But the most suggestive parts of the Report — Chapter I, on the kinds of education desirable, and Chapter VII giving the recommendations — were wholly the work of Temple; though Roby was careful to point out that these were, like other parts

1. Gladstone Papers, op. cit., letter to Gladstone, 2 February 1867.

2. Quoted in B. Askwith, op. cit., 154-155.

3. S.I.C., I, 570.

of the Report, "very carefully discussed."¹ Temple supplied the ideological framework for the Report, and contributed its most important passages. His energetic application was evident in other ways too. It has been suggested that, in helping Roby to complete Chapter II, Temple wrote continuously for thirty-six hours, "having tea brought to him at intervals, and the printer's devil in constant attendance."² His pre-eminent position at this stage in the Commission's life is illustrated by Lord Taunton's remark to Roby, that if, in going over the Report for presentation to the Queen, the Secretary found anything needing amendment, he need not call a meeting: Temple's approval would be sufficient.³ This was a particularly distinguished tribute, considering Taunton's vast experience in the executive branch of government.

Temple's position as primus inter pares in the drafting group might have caused difficulties. But his relationships, even friendships, with the others can be traced back well before 1864. Nevertheless, within the group there were clear lines of division. On one side Acland and Hook were long-serving helpmeets of the National Society, tracing their co-operation back to the 1838 meetings of the Society.⁴ Lyttelton had been a supporter of the Society over the same period. Taunton is not known to have had a direct connection with the Society at national level, though he supported its work locally in Somerset. On the other hand, Temple and

1. All the information about the apportioning of chapters is taken from Roby's contribution to E.G.Sandford, op. cit., 135.

2. *ibid.*, 135-136.

3. *ibid.*, 136.

4. See above, ch.III, 107.

Forster comprised a party of religious conciliation. There remained, among the hard-core Commissioners, Edward Baines. The author of the Letter to the Rt. Hon. Lord John Russell seemed hardly to match such a company; and he stuck to his task, attending five of the last seven meetings. But Baines's energetic radical temperament and zealous nonconformity were perhaps not so out of place. Temple, in the inherited tradition of Arnoldian radicalism, had ever favoured the adoption of conscience clauses in elementary schools; and Forster was a nonconformist by upbringing and inclination. It is possible to imagine these three — Baines, Temple and Forster — in concert, presenting an amicably conciliatory front to the more exclusive, less Erastian principles of Acland, Hook and Lyttelton. Baines was also consorting with Liberals such as Forster in a different arena : in 1867, partly as a result of new statistical evidence produced by the Manchester and Salford Educational Aid Society and revelations at the Manchester meetings of the Social Science Association, Baines, along with Miall, had declared a change of heart, believing now that a national system of State education should be accepted.¹

Acland and Lyttelton had moved to a new position from a different direction. Both, in separate ways, had kept pace with Gladstone's movement away from his Church and State position of 1838. On the other hand, both Lyttelton and Gladstone, as has been shown, had maintained an interest up to 1864 in the work of Nathaniel Woodard. Lyttelton's position

1. See G. Kitson Clark, *Churchmen and the Condition of England*, London, 1973, 135-136.

in 1855 had been that of a staunch supporter of a system of Church schools. He wrote that he deprecated all attempts in elementary education by which religion was excluded, or was compromised. The separation of secular and religious elements in education were then anathema to him.¹ Since he published his 1855 opinions again in 1864, it may be presumed that he still held them in the latter year. In name at least both Lyttelton and Acland had been involved in the revived middle-class work of the National Society during the early months of the S.I.C. in 1865.²

The section on the "Necessity for a Conscience Clause" in the Report was written by Temple.³ It contained evidence from Fitch, Bryce and Green, suggesting that such arrangements worked well, encouraging the attendance at good schools of boys whose parents belonged to other sects. Bryce demonstrated that middle-class Church schools in Lancashire were "habitually attended by Nonconformists, and Nonconformist schools by the children of Churchmen... There is so far as I could discover, no religious difficulty at all."⁴ Fitch had found "the religious difficulty" only in the elementary schools: "In schools where boys pay good fees there is little or no religious exclusiveness. Dogmatic instruction in the principles of the Church of England has come to be regarded by the poor as a penal infliction from which their richer neighbours may purchase exemption as a privilege."⁵

1. Lord Lyttelton, *Ephemeris*, London, 1874, 117.

2. See above, this chapter, 508.

3. S.I.C., I, 143.

4. S.I.C., IX, 513, 510.

5. *ibid.*, 185.

It is impossible now to determine the part played, if at all, by Temple in bringing Lyttelton to a new point of view. The evidence of assistant commissioners might have been sufficiently potent on its own. Lyttelton, however, provided an Appendix on the Conscience Clause whose style is so individual and whose argument so convoluted that one is convinced that he achieved his conversion unaided.¹ Making the significant allowance that he was considering "the education, not of the Lower, but of the Middle Classes", and taking into account the correlative factors of parental responsibility and the difference between the moral roles of boarding and day schools, he acknowledged his acceptance in principle of the Conscience Clause. But, with ironic logic, he proposed that, just as parents should have the right to withdraw their children from any religious instruction or observances, so they should also be able to obtain the child's exemption from "any given part of the school work."

Acland supported Lyttelton's brave public declaration, albeit in privately printed letters which he sent to Gladstone, among others. It seems that he did not wish to damage the continuing work of the National Society by making public statements. He wrote,

I am not one of those who entertain the opinion that the National Society has done its work, and that its services are no longer required by the Church. The functions of the State in the Education of the Nation are becoming every day more clearly recognised : probably at no distant period they will be much expanded. The legitimate claims of all ranks and denominations to some share in the advantages of public institutions will not longer be resisted. The Church of the Nation may ere long have greater need than now for united voluntary action, and for some metropolitan centre for its internal organisation.²

1. S.I.C., I, Appendix I, after 661 : five-and-a-half pages.

2. Gladstone Papers, B.M. Addl. MSS 44608, printed letter from Acland, dated 19 February 1868.

This letter was circulated a week before the publication of Volume I of the Report. In an earlier letter in May 1867 to the Archbishops and Bishops, Acland declared his belief in "absolute liberty in teaching" and "absolute right of withdrawal" as moral obligations of the teacher and parent respectively.¹ It was presumably at that point, comparatively late in the work of the S.I.C., that any discussions relating to the Conscience Clause took place. The removal of the Conscience Clause issue was essential for the smooth progress of the other main proposals of the S.I.C., and it is significant that, in the case of Lyttelton, it was thought necessary to make a distinction between the limited rights of the poor in the matter and the new freedom of the middle classes in relation to their choices in the schooling of their children. Here the S.I.C. were operating a qualified kind of radicalism at a critical democratic moment.

The deliberations of 1866-67 led directly to the Recommendations of 1868. Between 29 February and 4 March 1868, the Times published a three-part summary of the Report. The only extensive comment took the form of a somewhat negative congratulation of the Commissioners on their having accomplished such a massive labour so comprehensively.² The final article ended with a quotation from the Report :

1. ibid., printed letter dated 23 May 1867.
2. Times, 2 March 1868.

We believe that schools, above most other institutions, require thorough concert among themselves for their requisite efficiency; but there is in this country neither organisation nor supervision, nor even effective tests to distinguish the incompetent from the truly successful; and we cannot but regard this state of things as alike unjust to all good schools and schoolmasters, and discreditable and injurious to the country itself.¹

A summary of the Taunton Commission's recommendations are reproduced in the form of an appendix below.² They represent the immediate application of Temple's analytical and synthesising skills to an immense problem. But they also mark a point of consummation in a process of debate which had been conducted since the early years of the century. It is possible, with some accuracy, to place each of the recommendations in a particular context of development. W.L.Burn's comment, that the Report was "infinitely more radical than anything that had come to pass in the interval", since its publication, in the field of secondary education,³ misleadingly suggests that there were radical elements of originality in what the Commission proposed. For, in terms of ideas, they produced little that was new. The novelty of the Report lay in the proposal that a government ought to act upon their recommendations. It was, as Burn says elsewhere, "a remarkable radical-collectivist document."⁴ But most of its ideas had a long history in either theory or practice.

The notion of creating a permanent central authority was rooted in a series of suggestions dating back, in Britain, to

1. Times, 4 March 1868.

2. See Appendix I.

3. W.L.Burn, The Age of Equipoise, London, 1968 edition, 202.

4. *ibid.*, 201.

the remarkable Irish Report of 1791¹, and the Irish Endowed Schools Act of 1813, to Arnold's exhortation of 1832, and, more recently, to the Newcastle Commission's demand for an Education Department with enlarged powers of supervision. The provincial or county boards proposal had some non-educational precedents, but could be seen as a reproduction of similar agencies suggested for Ireland and, more importantly, as an equitable modification of the diocesan and county boards which had been operating intermittently in some parts of the country since 1838. The Newcastle Commission had also suggested the institution of local county and borough boards, and it is surprising that the S.I.C.'s similar proposals have been consistently interpreted as a radical innovation despite that recent precedent. The main difference between the two was that the Taunton proposal was nearly incorporated in a piece of immediate legislation. The tripartite grading of middle-class schools suggested by Taunton lay at the end of a chain of ideas which can be traced back to agriculturists in the earliest years of the century, and to a series of experiments which had the Sussex schools of Woodard and the Liverpool Collegiate Institution as their chief exemplars. The involvement of the Universities in the proposed Examinations Council owed much to the increasingly successful incursion of Oxford and Cambridge into the field of middle-class examinations. The attack upon cy pres which the S.I.C. wished to mount was the fulfilment of a strategy which had been gathering since, once again, the Irish Act, 1813, and which had grown through the Charity Commissions of 1818 to 1853. Again

1. See above, ch. IV.

Newcastle had supplied a strong precedent.

"How ridiculous it will seem in years to come appointing a lot of Squires and a stray lord or two to gather promiscuous evidence on an intricate professional question, and sum up, and pronounce inflexible judgement on it."¹ Edward Thring's judgement on the S.I.C. may seem rather uncharitable, especially because of his earlier friendship and co-operation with T.D.Acland.² Yet his comment nicely points Burn's more balanced description of the Commissioners as "men substantially representative of upper and upper middle-class Liberalism."³ In 1864 Temple had expressed to Granville his anxiety about the West Country bias of the list of names he was proposing for the new Commission. And the nucleus of the West Country group represented, in a Liberal way, the fertility of the rural counties as a seed-bed for radical proposals in the territory of middle-class education. They were essentially men of the English landed interest whose experience of affairs was based upon their traditional influence in county society, though they were extraordinary members of that society because they were trying to come to terms with elements of stress and change within it. Despite their relative ignorance of life in large urban communities outside London, they had acquired a new characteristic which separated them from the conservative traditions of the countryside in which their wealth was largely

1. G.R.Parkin, *Edward Thring, Head Master of Uppingham, Life, Diary, and Letters*, London, 1900, 146.

2. See above, ch.II, 74.

3. W.L.Burn, *op. cit.*, 201.

based : they were men of the post-Northcote-Trevelyan era; ,
 men of what John Roach has called "the new world" of Jowett,
 in which University education was seen primarily as a preparation for effective public service.¹

Yet these new men seem to have avoided, in a self-conscious way, the issue of technical education, which might have been taken as a synonym in the 1860s for lower middle-class education in the larger towns. In their recommendations they touched upon the subject only once in the main text :

Nor do we think any better or wiser encouragement could be given out of the endowments to the technical education, for which there is at present so earnest a demand, than to permit the holders of exhibitions to take them to technical schools.²

But even this remark applied to the higher reaches of technical education, in the schools of mining and engineering.

It could be said that there was no member of the S.I.C. who was capable of writing, or who had the inclination to write, an informed paragraph on the subject of technical education. Their omission of serious consideration of the subject is nevertheless surprising in the light of the heavy emphasis they placed on the need to provide appropriate schools for the lower middle classes. The only oral evidence they received on matters relating to technical education came almost accidentally from Henry Moseley, who had been called largely in his capacity as an authority on examinations. Moseley's Bristol Trade School was, at this time, a unique experiment in curriculum

1. J.P.C.Roach, 'Victorian Universities and the National Intelligentsia', British Journal of Educational Studies, III, 2, December 1959, 148.

2. S.I.C., I, 602-603. There is also a brief footnote at 85 in Volume I which refers to the report of the British Association committee.

innovation and vocational training.¹ It is ironic that one of the most successful schemes published later by the Endowed Schools Commission was the re-vamping of inefficient trusts in Keighley for the purpose of establishing a trade school.²

The S.I.C. seems to have been unaware of the true nature of the "so earnest" demand for technical education until a late stage in their proceedings. Despite letters which were received in 1866 and 1867 from P. Le Neve Foster of the Society of Arts, on education in France, and from J.C. Buckmaster on science education,³ the S.I.C. seems not to have wished to be informed on the subject. In Volume II of the S.I.C. Report there were two large documents, printed independently of the Commission, and at the request of the House of Commons. These were Bernhard Samuelson's seminal letter on Technical Education in various countries abroad, addressed to the Conservative Vice-President, Lord Robert Montagu,⁴ and the consequent Copies of Answers from Chambers of Commerce to Queries of the Vice-President of the Council as to Technical Education. Yet both these documents arrived too late for consideration in relation to the writing of the final report of the S.I.C.

This apparent reluctance, on the part of the Commission, to consider the subject of technical education underlines the significance of the rural concept of middle-class education which was central to the Commissioners' presuppositions. It can also be seen as foreshadowing the deeper division which was to be engineered between technical and secondary education in the early years of the Board of Education after 1899.

1. See S.I.C., IV, 198-210.

2. See below, ch. XI, 596.

3. S.I.C., II, 89; 81.

4. *ibid.*; the letter is paginated separately in Volume II.

CHAPTER XI

Response : the Work of the Endowed Schools Commission

The most striking feature of the passage of the Endowed Schools Bill was the general passivity with which it was accepted by members of both Houses of Parliament. The reform of endowed schools at that time, as in 1864-5 when the S.I.C. had been set up, was not a contentious issue, and did not seem about to become a 'party' question. It has already been noted that two leading members of the 1866 Derby administration, Stanley and Northcote, withheld their signatures from the S.I.C. Report, not because they disapproved of any of its recommendations, but because they did not wish to commit the new Conservative administration to indirect support for the Report in principle.¹ But it is often forgotten that the first Endowed Schools Act, which received the Royal Assent in June 1868, was passed by Disraeli's Government.²

The preparation of the 1868 Act had been set on foot by Taunton in the Lords. In April he had asked the Lord President of the Council, the Duke of Marlborough, whether the Conservative Government intended tackling the basic problem of limiting endowed schoolmasters' freehold tenure of office, which was a hindrance to any future programme of reform in the schools : a bill of a single clause, he said, would be sufficient.³ In reply Marlborough agreed that "no new interests should be created pending legislation on this subject" (of endowed schools), and he reported that he had been in communication with the Home Secretary, Gathorne Hardy, with a view to introducing a Bill which would limit the future interests of headmasters newly appointed, "so that Parliament might be left free to deal with the matter in the next session." He promised that

1. See above, ch.X.

2. 31 and 32 Victoria, c.32; Hansard III Series, 31 and 32 Victoria, 1867-68, CXCI, 20.

3. Hansard III Series, 31 and 32 Victoria, CXCI, 1732.

such a measure would be prepared "at once."¹ There were no further debates on the 1868 Bill. It is therefore fair to say that a sequence of events which led to the creation of a measure whose implementation caused such controversy, was officially initiated by a Conservative Government. A little over six years later the next Conservative administration was to staunch the controversy by amending the 1869 Endowed Schools Act.²

The unanimity of the S.I.C., expressed in their Report, was represented by Forster when he introduced the 1869 Endowed Schools Bill at its first reading in February 1869. The Commission, he said, had been composed of "gentlemen of different political and religious opinions, who had been fortunate enough to present an entirely unanimous Report."³ He referred briefly to the exclusion of Provincial Boards from the Bill, and outlined the features of the temporary Commission which it was designed to set up. In reply Cathorne Hardy regretted the haste of the first reading, and Lord Henley hoped that the second reading would not be pushed through too quickly. But Hardy believed that, "after the Report of the Commissioners, it would be idle for anyone to place himself in antagonism to such a proposal" as the motion for this Bill.⁴ Lord Robert Montagu, until recently the Conservative Vice-president, also asked for longer time in which to discuss a measure which, if it were effective, "would determine the character and therefore the future history of the people of this country." When Liberals greeted this remark with cries of "Oh! oh!", he provided an impromptu revelation of the way in which at least one leading politician viewed the attempt to create a system of secondary schooling :

1. *ibid.*, 1783.

2. See below, ch.XII.

3. *Hansard III Series*, 32 Victoria, CXCIV, 113-114.

4. *ibid.*, 116.

Well, what was the object of the Bill if it was not to improve, or to alter the character of the people? What was the meaning of it, if not to improve and extend education throughout the country; and what was education, but a raising of the character and enlarging of the mental capacities?¹

Forster eventually capitulated over the charge of undue haste, and delayed the second reading until 8 March. Nevertheless he could not resist making the ironical suggestion that Mr. Walter, M.P., would still have insufficient time to read all twelve volumes thus far published by the Commissioners.² This remark was revealing, since it underlined a point which may have escaped the notice of many M.P.s: that nine volumes of the findings of the S.I.C. — albeit assistant-commissioners' reports rather than substantial proposals — remained to be published when the 1869 Bill was first introduced. In connection with their policy over endowed schools this may be regarded as the first political oversight committed by the Liberal Government, and is perhaps a reflection of the effect of the crowded calendar of legislation which the new administration had hastily prepared.³ The withholding of local information may not have had a profound effect upon the course of the 1869 debates. Nevertheless the fact remained that in many localities at this time there could be no precise knowledge about what the S.I.C. had thought of the local school.

The second reading of the Bill took place, later even than conceded, on 15 March. In his extensive speech Forster adhered very closely to the pattern of S.I.C. recommendations. He referred to the tripartite grading of the middle class which the Commissioners had adopted, and repeated their view that "the most important grade" was the third: the

1. *ibid.*, 117.

2. *ibid.*, 122.

3. For consideration of this other legislation, see below, chapter XII.

"sons of small farmers, small tradesmen, and shopkeepers or of superior artisans." He briefly commented upon the relative poverty of scientific and linguistic education in England as compared with Germany or France, and he was able to reinforce his arguments by reference to petitions he had received that very evening -- from the B.M.A. and the Council of Medical Education -- which had complained of the incompetence of students from the grammar schools attempting to enter the medical profession.¹

Forster was careful to anticipate opposition to the general terms of the Bill which might arise from the supporters of 'good' schools. After describing the inadequacies of the worst schools he said that, after introducing the Bill he had received objections to it, "not by the bad schools -- they never come near me -- but by some of these good schools." They were necessarily anxious; but he wished to assure them that "it is not for the good schools that the Bill is framed...schools which are well managed need fear nothing from the operation of a Bill which is to introduce good management."² Yet he had earlier slipped in the qualification that some schools failed, not from want of exactness or zeal, but rather from the system not meeting the necessities of the time, "which require something more than a classical education."³ Forster was hedging his bets : he was also careful to explain that exempted schools could not be named in the Bill. But the opponents of the Act, as it was subsequently applied, remembered his explicit guarantee to 'good' schools. In any case his guarantee hardly accorded with his promise to "reform the whole system" of endowed schools, which he made in the same debate. He seemed to be agreeing with Robert Lowe when he said that if such reform proved impossible, "I should be inclined to

1. Hansard III Series, CXCIV, 1869, 1357-1358.

2. This was one of Forster's mistakes. He was later reminded that he had also promised Bristol trustees that the Act would not interfere with the management of their schools.

3. Hansard III Series, CXCIV, 1362.

agree with some persons of great weight and authority, that with the view of promoting education throughout the country, we had better ignore the Endowed Schools; that if we cannot reform them we had better lose sight of them and go on as if they did not exist."¹

The weakest section of Forster's speech was that in which he discussed the possible complaint that the Bill might be seen as licensing the robbery from the poor of charitable resources for their education. Echoing the S.I.C. he said that "the poor are not confined to one class." There was "many a struggling clergyman" who found it hard to provide his children with an education without which he felt that they would "lose their place in society". There were many below the clergy — civil servants and tradesmen, for instance — for whose children something more than an elementary education was "a necessity of life". These people were hit by the Chancellor's direct taxation and consequently had a right to be considered.² His strongest line of argument on this topic was a negative one : that gratuitous admission to endowed schools was by favour, and that "it rarely happens that the working man's child comes in." The preferable alternative was admission by merit, with free boys entering by open competition.³ On the other hand he wished to create "the power to prevent the rich seizing hold of the results of the reforms now proposed."⁴ He was able to report, quoting the headmaster of Birmingham, Charles Evans, that in that very month the system of nominations had been voluntarily abandoned in that School; and he declared his own belief in "a ladder by which the clever boy may mount to the highest education."⁵

Forster countered the possible charge that the Bill was an express-

1. *ibid.*, 1363.

2. *ibid.*, 1365-1366.

3. *ibid.*, 1366.

4. *ibid.*, 1367.

5. *ibid.*, 1368.

ion of central government interference firstly by mounting a mild attack upon Chancery and the Charity Commission. In the Bill the Government had decided to appoint a body which was "most likely to be under the greatest sense of responsibility to local and public interests. Public opinion is, after all, the best check in this country."¹ It is ironic that organised, if ill-informed, public opinion was later to be used as a lever for bringing down the 1869 Act. Yet it is difficult to see how Forster hoped that his statement might head off anxieties about central interference by the temporary Commission appointed under the Act. Certainly schemes prepared by the Commissioners would have to be laid on the table of the Commons; but "local" interests were not ostensibly taken account of by the Bill in any way. His reference to localities did enable him to express his own view about local authorities. He said that he still believed in the principle and the possibility of creating Provincial Boards, "if we could find such a constituency as we required."² All that remained of the 'local' proposals was the opportunity for local objections to be registered against the Commissioners' schemes. He also referred to the omission from the Bill of the S.I.C. proposal to provide an agency for inspecting middle-class schools. Forster hoped that "in perhaps four or five years" the system might be completed, when such a proposal would be reviewed again. More generally he said,

...we may expect that a change will be made in elementary education in two or three years, and when that is settled we may more completely define what the powers of the central government ought to be in regard to education, and how they ought to be exercised, and we may hope to find some means of creating local representation and a local constituency in educational matters.³

The same forward-looking compromise characterised what he said about

1. *ibid.*, 1370.

2. *ibid.*, 1371.

3. *ibid.*, 1372.

a further omission from the Bill : the S.I.C.'s proposal that municipal secondary schools, wherever necessary, might be funded initially out of local rates. He acknowledged that there were great differences of opinion over the question of rates.¹ Nevertheless it is worth reflecting on the fact that he was speaking only a year before the passage of another Bill, also introduced by him, which provided for the financing of elementary schooling by means of a local rate. Also, in July 1868, a Select Committee had reported upon "County Financial Arrangements", recording their desire that local rating should be placed upon a more representative footing.²

The religious question, he thought, was "far less of a difficulty" than it was supposed to be. In this respect he was transmitting a general and optimistic opinion uttered by the Newcastle and Taunton Commissioners and held by Temple since his earliest involvement in the educational affairs of the country. Forster was able to reinforce his opinion about the necessity for conscience clauses with substantial evidence. He said that the S.I.C. had long debated it, and that Hook, Thorold and Lyttelton had all played their parts in the discussions. In addition he could say that the principle of the conscience clause had already been adopted for years : "it is included in every school scheme sanctioned by the Court of Chancery". There existed, also, Cranworth's Act of 1860, and stern advice of Page Wood to the S.I.C.³ Despite this convincing range of evidence, tenacious opponents might have driven Forster to accept that Chancery rulings had not been as uniform as he implied.⁴ His final moderate qualification was that purely denominational schools would be exempted according to the terms

1. *ibid.*, 1373.

2. See above, ch.II, 108. Also, Report from the Select Committee on County Financial Arrangements, 13 July 1868, iii.

3. Hansard III Series, CXCIV, 1375.

4. See above, ch.V,

of the Act.¹

The religious question provided Forster with an opportunity for a brief attack upon the City Companies. He noted that Mr. Crawford and Alderman Lawrence, the M.P.s for the City, had presented petitions on the religious question from certain Companies; and he remarked that "the lasting success" of those Companies had been "very much owing to the way in which they had looked after their own interests", as well as the interests of those under their protection.² This last remark could have been taken as a warning to the Companies that their trusts were among the Government's proposed targets for early activity by the new Commission.

He dealt with Part II of the Bill very briefly. Local inspection had been postponed. Also the Government had rejected the idea of normal schools since they might prove to be a hindrance to "the free action of opinion." But the Bill did provide for an Examination Council which would enable teachers to be certificated by a competent educational authority. Anticipating the direction from which opposition might come, if not its intensity, Forster admitted that in his consultations with masters of endowed schools he had "heard doubts expressed with respect ...especially...to the Council of Examinations". But these, he felt, were due to "misapprehension of our intentions". The H.M.C., which has been studied intensively by historians, was, however, later founded on these 'misapprehensions'; and the Endowed Schools Commissioners were later to report upon more general public misapprehensions and lack of preparedness for the 1869 Act.³

Taking up the theme propounded in the context of the S.I.C. by Bernhard Samuelson,⁴ Forster devoted the last section of his speech to

1. Hansard III Series, CXCV, 1375.

2. *ibid.*, 1379.

3. See below, ch.XII.

4. See above, ch.X.

technical education. He cited his own constituency, Bradford, as an instance of a great manufacturing district where the middleman was scarcely ever an Englishman : he was usually a German or a Frenchman. He admitted, however, that although there was "a great cry" just then for technical education, there was also a danger of "putting the cart before the horse". Before a system of technical education could be created it was necessary to provide a grounding in the elements of science. Also political factors had to be taken into account : in the last two years, since the 1867 Reform Act, "we have brought new social forces into play that must affect the interests of the country". New powers had been conferred on the labouring class. "Who", asked Forster, reviving the great question of the early 1830s,¹ "are likely to lead that class ?" The answer he offered was, "those belonging to it who have most talent." Therefore it would be important to enable the most talented of working-class boys to rise by means of education.²

Finally he entered a plea for acceptance of the Bill on the radical premise that it was designed to meet the needs of a new order of society :

...new ideas have power -- this new central idea, bringing many others with it, that no special class is to guide the destinies of England -- that not the aristocracy, nor the bourgeoisie, no, nor yet the working class is to govern England -- but that England for the future is in truth to be self-governed; all her citizens taking their share, not by class distinction, but by individual worth.

The vision which he was presenting was of a society dominated by the principle of the career open to talent, translated into the phrase which Forster borrowed from Carlyle -- "the tools to him who can use them".³ The peroration of his speech was an extraordinary enunciation of a radical idea of social engineering. But its lack of balance was

1. See above, ch.I.

2. Hansard III Series, CXCIV, 1381.

3. *ibid.*, 1382.

equally extraordinary, for he disposed of the real 'engineering' — the promotion of technical education — in a few brief sentences. The relative absence of the consideration of technical education from the work of the S.I.C. was an indicator of the social aims which lay behind their apparent radicalism : society was still to be held within a strait-jacket of gradual change which might prove acceptable to the ruck of the middle classes themselves. The omission of Provincial Authorities from the Bill and of a strong representative element from most of the later schemes of the Endowed Schools Commissioners revealed the S.I.C.'s and the Liberal Government's conservatism in the face of democratic forces which were beginning to stir in municipal towns after 1867. In his speech Forster was showing how confined he was by a Whiggish traditional concept of a stable society founded upon the idealised model of the rural county.

On the other hand it is possible to see his speech as a brave one, despite its compromises. It hit all the main targets of the theoretical reformers since the time of his father-in-law, Thomas Arnold, and he managed to end it with a declaration of apparently radical intent. He also displayed some personal courage, since at one point he admitted to a feeling of inadequacy : he wished that the handling of the Bill "had fallen into the hands of one who possessed that culture which it has not been my good fortune to receive."¹ The man whom Robert Lowe had thought lacking in education was at least showing honesty in fulfilling his public duty.²

It is historically impossible now to reconstruct accurately the sequence of decisions which comprised the drafting of the 1869 Bill. We do know, however, that Forster was closely assisted in the work of

1. *ibid.*, 1380.

2. For Lowe's brutal estimate of Forster, see above, ch. IX, 44-2.

preparation by Lord de Grey, one of the radical aristocrats Gladstone had included in his Government.¹ But there are two pointers to the direction which the Cabinet discussion took. The first flare which lit up the Liberal education programme was fired in December 1867. The Times noted that, upon the back of Parliamentary reform, "Lord Russell invites us to begin a still greater revolution."² The former Prime Minister put forward four Resolutions in the Commons, nicely timed to coincide with the publication of Volume I of the S.I.C. Report. The first of these was bland and dealt with elementary education. The third dealt with the Universities and their "superfluous amount" of property. The fourth proposed the appointment of a Minister of Education. It was the second resolution, however, which drew most of the Times' fire : Russell proposed that charitable endowments should be applied to Middle-class education; and this was seen as a fundamentally contentious question. The leader writer conceded that, "on the whole, public opinion is ready to believe the worst of endowments," but warned that every endowed school would have its stout defenders. "The worst the stoutest, for the parasite of a corrupt institution is always resolute, and almost always invincible." A clearer admonition to would-be reformers of endowments could not have been framed. "The established facts, presumptive authorities, existing usages, powers that be, persons in possession, and communities or classes that have won dominion for themselves", all of which the Times identified, were to comprise the generating nucleus and the tendrils of opposition to the work of the Endowed Schools Commission. In an article published in the same paper on the following day the hope was expressed that the difficult question of education would be shelved : "there are some subjects so important that the

1. Times, 20 May 1869, 'A Great Educational Meeting at Leeds'.

2. ibid., 2 December 1867.

efforts of politicians to appropriate them must prove unavailing, and Education is such a subject."¹

The Liberals' general programme for education had thus been moved by Russell. The Liberal Cabinet's brief for discussion of the Endowed Schools Bill was prepared by Roby, the former Secretary of the S.I.C., in the month when Gladstone's first administration took office.² The memorandum he prepared followed closely the S.I.C.'s analysis of existing provision and their suggestions for reform. The pencilled marginal comments suggest that Forster had reviewed the document before it was submitted. Yet it did contain some interesting deviations from the proposals of the Report. In its second section, headed "The Remedies proposed by the Commissioners", it outlined the need to substitute for the action of Chancery "the action of Commissioners with the tacit consent of Parliament"; an arrangement similar to those made in connection with the Oxford University Act and the Public Schools Act. Secondly, the section "Machinery Suggested by the Commissioners" stressed that it was important for the work to be done quickly, and simultaneously; that the needs and wishes of the localities should be fully considered and local opinion heard; and that the work of reform be undertaken by "Commissioners or Provincial Boards." The "or" in the last proposal suggests that a preliminary discussion had taken place at which the S.I.C.'s uncompromising recommendation of local boards had been modified to produce a clear alternative. This decision was probably the result of their taking into account the findings of the Select Committee on County Finance.³

1. *ibid.*

2. Gladstone Papers, B.M. Add. MSS., 44608, written memorandum from Roby to Gladstone, 17 December 1868.

3. See above, ch.II, 108.

The Endowed Schools Bill, at its first and second readings, failed to arouse strident opposition or to produce 'party' feeling. Dissent, as it was represented in the Nonconformist, had few complaints to utter. An editorial in that journal mentioned Forster's "brief and business-like speech", and commented that the Bill would have "to establish its own merits in the public regard; and has succeeded in doing so to a much greater extent than was probably anticipated." The writer acknowledged its provisional character, but thought that it was "exceptionally good", and, "within its own limits, bold and decisive"; but that it ought to escape the charge of being revolutionary. "We regard the measure as having provided adequate agency for the reorganisation of Endowed Schools." The provisions for freedom of conscience were particularly acceptable. A long paragraph was devoted to a description of "the restrictions upon the exercise of the ample powers of the three Commissioners." Finally, the Bill was commended as making "a large contribution towards sound, useful and cheap education for the middle classes."¹

There must have been many privately expressed doubts about the Bill, even in Liberal circles. One of the most surprising came from James Bryce, a former assistant commissioner to the S.I.C. In a moment of Anglican defensiveness he wrote to a friend early in 1869 saying that Forster's Bill was, in his opinion, "very dangerous." It was really "complete and undisguised denominationalism." Perhaps reflecting current anxieties about the extreme character of Gladstone's Irish policy, he added that, if the Endowed Schools Bill were applied to Ireland, "you hand over the schools to the priests, against whom I long

1. Nonconformist, 24 February 1869, 'Mr. Forster's Endowed Schools Bill', 180.

to draw the sword of the Lord and of Gideon."¹ A more balanced estimate of the Bill's character in relation to the problem of religion was provided later by Lyttelton who, as Chief Commissioner writing to Gladstone, could say that "Our own Act is so precise in its dealings with the religious question that it nearly, though not quite, excludes all occasion of controversy." He thought it "a perfectly just Act."² It is only fair to say that Lyttelton was comparing the 1869 Act with the 1870 Elementary Education Act. Nevertheless, since he himself had travelled so painfully along the road to greater freedom of conscience, his words may be said to carry more weight than Bryce's immediate reaction. Also he was considering the dissenters' reaction to the Act, rather than the feelings of militant Anglicanism which had yet to reveal themselves fully.

The pages of the Nonconformist also provide a partial depiction of the political context in which the 1869 Bill was set. Forster's measure was considered important enough to merit only one leading article. Yet in the same volume the Irish Church Bill, much closer to the heart of dissent, was treated to eighteen separate articles and reports during 1869 : it was tracked carefully through each of its stages in minute detail. The Annual Register for 1869 reinforced this picture, stating that although the Government had wished to breach the subject of "National Education", it had had to postpone it in consequence of "the pre-engagement of the time of Parliament" by the Irish Church Bill. Yet the session had not been "wholly barren of educational legislation" since Forster had been able to present his Bill based upon the recommendations of the S.I.C.³

1. Bodleian Library, Bryce MSS, 9/140, letter to Freeman, 13 March 1869, i.e. two days before the second reading of the Bill

2. Gladstone Papers, B.M. Addl.MSS, 44239, f.336, letter of Lyttelton to Gladstone, 24 October 1870.

3. The Annual Register, 1869, London, 1870, 148.

Other, more strikingly controversial measures were catching public attention. The Irish Church Bill was introduced on 1 March 1869, between the first and second readings of Forster's measure. The first Irish Land Act became law in 1870. In the same year came the second phase of Civil Service reform. In 1871 the University Tests Act was passed. All these measures had revolutionary implications and, for the time being, drew the fire of opposition to the Liberal administration. Behind this screen the Endowed Schools Act enjoyed the brief pleasure of escaping relatively unscathed. One commentator upon this period, Macoby, suggested that Forster's Bill embodied "the lines on which Gladstone's Government proposed to work."¹ This was essentially true: the Bill contained contentious items such as the reform of endowments, the competitive principle, the destruction of Church monopoly, the conscience clause, or freedom of conscience, and the interference of the central authority in local affairs. The Irish Act virtually destroyed Anglican endowments; the Civil Service reforms asserted the competitive principle, and the University Tests Act effectively established religious toleration at the ancient Universities. Between each of these measures and the Endowed Schools Bill there were direct relationships of principle. Yet, in the interval between receiving the Royal Assent and its implementation the Endowed Schools Act enjoyed comparative immunity from criticism. By 1874, however, it has been traditionally suggested, the Act lay in ruins, the victim of vast and varied opposition.

Certainly in Committee Forster's Bill suffered only mild emendation. The 1869 Select Committee consisted of 22 members. Among the most prominent were the Conservatives, Montagu, Howbray, Pakington,

1. S. Macoby, *English Radicalism, 1853-1886*, London, 1933, 152.

Northcote and Adderley : a more liberal group of Tories it would have been difficult to find. The Liberals were led by Bright, Acland, Dillwyn, and Mally. On the 'opposition' side Northcote's belief in the principles underlying the S.I.C. Report must have helped to harmonise the discussions. The London lobby was represented by Alderman Lawrence and Mr. Talbot.¹ Both these gentlemen found themselves in a minority of two in the voting over an amendment to Clause 10 which, if it had passed, might have protected the City and its Companies against the Act.² The relative calmness of the Committee's proceedings might well have encouraged Hobhouse in his desire to mount an early attack upon the corrupt trusteeship of the City and Company charities. Minor amendments were made; but the only prolonged discussions seem to have occurred over the issue of religious toleration in Clause 15. Even in this case the weight of voting lay with the framers of the Bill.³

In the Commons the deliberations over amendments to the Bill were similarly brief.⁴ It is true that Eeresford Hope briefly attacked the conscience clause as it stood;⁵ and that Mr. Chambers, on behalf of the City, foreshadowed later opposition by suggesting the addition to Clause 10 (relating to the reform of governing bodies) of the words

provided always that the Commissioners shall not exercise such power in the case of any governing body of an educational endowment of any guild or corporate body of the City of London unless the Charity Commissioners...shall...report to the Commissioners in writing that such educational endowment has been mismanaged.⁶

Also the Tory, Mr. Mowbray, touched a tender spot when he demanded that, as had been the case in the Bills of 1854 and 1856 for the reform of

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Bill, 11 May 1868, ii.

2. *ibid.*, 13 April, 1869.

3. *ibid.*, 23 April, 1869.

4. Hansard III Series, CXCV, 14 June 1869, 1744-1783.

5. *ibid.*, 1765.

6. *ibid.*, 1748.

Oxford and Cambridge, the Commissioners should be named in the present Bill.¹ Yet even this contentious question was turned aside without difficulty. It is interesting that the reply to Mowbray was made by Gladstone, not Forster. Perhaps the Prime Minister was aware that the subesquent appointment of his brother-in-law, Lyttelton, as Chief Commissioner under the Act would become a sensitive issue; and he was able to remind Mowbray that the Commons Committee had voted in favour of the present plan, "according to which the names of the Commissioners were not inserted in the Bill." He implied that this practice reflected the Government's intention of being wholly responsible for the operation of the Act. Of course, it also enabled the later opponents of the Commission to indict its work later as a 'party' affair.

The Endowed Schools Bill was cast in two parts, the second dealing with the Council of Examinations. (See Appendix II.) During the Committee stage, without explanation, it was divided and Part I was treated as a separate Bill, the supposition being that Forster expected Part II to be passed at a later stage when the legislative programme was not so crowded. He still clung to his expectation in 1873.² He explained the division of the Bill, not in the Commons, but at a meeting in Leeds in May 1869 before the measure received the Royal Assent. Speaking in the presence of Mundella and Baines he said that the Select Committee had thought it wise to divide it "because there had been a great deal to do in Parliament; and he had been afraid that want of time would prevent the Bill being carried through in its entirety."³

1. *ibid.*, 1746.

2. Report of the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act (1869), 1873, Forster's draft Report, iv.

3. *Times*, 21 May 1869. The Bill had been divided in 10 May: see the Report of the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Bill, 1869, 11 May. This date was at a late stage in their proceedings, thus seeming to confirm Forster's point about urgency.

Forster's Leeds speech revealed the part which the 1869 Bill had to play in the Liberals' overall scheme for education. He said that it was the duty of the Government, when dealing with education "to consider the question as a great whole", and "to turn the Universities and the endowed schools into great national institutions", to which "all parties and creeds would have access."¹ He said that the Government intended dealing with elementary education too; but he explained that, unless the grammar schools were made "teachers of what was wanted", they would no longer be schools "in which the cleverest boys of the working classes could be brought up." The time would come when, in all National and British schools, there would be exhibitions "by means of which the cleverest boy would be able to ascend to the greatest position."² He selected for special praise in this respect the work already done at Birmingham, and "under Dr. Vaughan", the former headmaster of Harrow, in Doncaster where the Corporation had already voted money to finance ten exhibitions to the grammar schools. He looked forward to the time when there would be elementary schools serving the whole population; when "we should have good secondary schools for all those who could keep their children at school up to the age of 14 or 16 or 18"; and when the Universities should "fulfil the wants of this age as much as in the Middle Ages they fulfilled those wants, and be the houses of learning for all the scholars of the country."³

1. Times, 20 May 1869. There were two reports of the Leeds meeting.

2. ibid.

3. ibid., 21 May 1869.

Continuing on its relatively placid course the Endowed Schools Bill became law on 2 August 1869.¹ It is clear that the Government intended to conceal the names of the three Commissioners until the Bill had been passed. On the following day, in fact, the names of Lyttelton, Hobhouse, and Robinson were announced, with Roby as their Secretary. They held their first meeting in Whitehall on the same day.² The appointment of Lyttelton as Chief Commissioner was evidently the work of Gladstone himself, and the noble Lord was even more reluctant to serve in 1869 than he had been in 1864.³ The matter had been broached to Lyttelton at least two months before the announcement of his appointment. In June 1869 he wrote to Gladstone that he was "very flattered by the wish of the Government that I should be first Commissioner." His letter showed that his choice must have been widely known even at that stage because he said that it was "perhaps not very unlikely that rumours of the kind should reach one, as they have, from time to time." Nevertheless, having thus had the opportunity to consider the matter, he had decided not to accept. His grounds were partly personal : the family wished to go to Rome; but also he thought that, on principle, former members of the S.I.C. should not serve on the new Commission. The earlier Commission, he said, had been committed "to a great many very strong and sweeping views"; both in principle and in detail, on the very questions with which the new Commissioners would have to deal. He foresaw that one of the most urgent issues would be that of the wealthiest endowments; and he would find it difficult to deal with those with a mind "free from previous conclusions"; particularly since he himself had written the S.I.C. chapter on the great endowments. He quoted Charles Evans,

1. See Appendix III for a reproduction of the terms of the 1869 Act.

2. Times, 4 August 1869.

3. See above, ch. IX, 106.

headmaster of Birmingham, who had recently been reported as saying that he hoped the new Commissioners would be "persons free from any bias, or appearance of such."¹ There is no further record of Lyttelton's change of heart; but it seems likely that it was Gladstone who managed to alter his decision during the next two months.

If it is accepted that the S.I.C. recommendations were approved by two 'liberal' Tories like Stanley and Northcote, and that the passage of the Bill was relatively peaceful, then the Endowed Schools Act was not an immediately contentious document. Its aim was made quite explicit: it was to promote the greater efficiency of endowments by putting a liberal education within the reach of all classes.² The Act did not apply to Choir Schools and Cathedral Schools, to the nine Clarendon Schools, or to endowments under fifty years old. The Commissioners who implemented the Act could override *ex pte*; they could augment and amalgamate existing trusts, and apply non-educational endowments to education. It was their duty to prepare schemes which could include the appointment of new governing bodies. In addition it was no longer required that masters of endowed schools be in holy orders. The Bishop's power to license was abolished. Clause 12 of the Act provided for the extension, where possible, of the benefits of endowments to girls' education.

These were considerable powers; and for this reason the most important issue raised by the Act was the authority of the three-man Commission. It is hardly surprising that Gladstone should have delayed naming the Commissioners until the Act was passed. The Nonconformist had spoken of restrictions on the Commissioners' powers. There was the

1. Gladstone Papers, B.M. Addl. MSS., 44239, f.336, letter from Lyttelton to Gladstone, 15 June 1869.

2. Endowed Schools Act, 32 and 33 Victoria, c.56, Preamble.

question, too, of trustees' rights. If an endowment produced a gross average income of more than £1,000 p.a., then the trustees had the right, in the first two months after the passing of the Act, to give notice of their wish to prepare their own draft scheme for the charity. If this was accepted by the Commissioners and by Parliament, it became law.¹

In the cases of schemes prepared by the Commission the draft should be published and available for public comment for three months. An inquiry could then be held. Having taken any objections into account, the Commissioners might submit the final form of the scheme to the Committee of Council for its approval. Finally the scheme would become law after lying forty days on the table of the Commons.² Despite these limitations the Commissioners' powers were greater than any which had formerly been applied to educational endowments. Any doubts which might have been entertained about the new authority by potential opponents of the Act must have been confirmed as soon as the name of Hobhouse was announced. His radical views upon the reform of endowments were already well known to interested members of the public.³ The conjunction of his name with Lyttelton's must have reinforced the view that the Liberal Government had printed a licence for iconoclasm. Theoretically the three-man Commission could have created a completely new system of secondary education using the existing financial resources of endowments. In practice they may have seemed to Forster a clumsy substitute for the provincial authorities which the S.I.C. had recommended.

Yet it can be argued that the opposition to the operation of the Act, though considerable, was not overwhelming; that the Commission achieved a great deal during a relatively short span of time — in the first

1. *ibid.*, clause 32.

2. *ibid.*, clauses 33-41.

3. See above, ch. V.

instance they were granted only three years in which to accomplish a massive task: that opposition, when it came, was largely stage-managed rather than spontaneous; that the Commissioners were given assistance of a remarkable kind, as well as resistance; and finally that the abolition of the triumvirate, and its replacement by an extended Charity Commission, was immediately caused by an attempt to deal with a clash of personalities within the Tory party.

The first point to be established is that the Commissioners themselves, and their assistants, worked very efficiently. A general validation of this judgement can be obtained by examining the density of correspondence, draft schemes and memoranda contained in their files at the Public Record Office. The complex process of drafting and submitting schemes, and finally gaining the Royal Assent, was achieved in 245 cases before the Commission was abolished in 1874. Allowing for the fact that these schemes applied to charities — there were many cases of amalgamation of two or more charities for the purpose of strengthening a single institution or creating a new one — this is a remarkable record of endeavour.¹ 69 schemes were approved in 1872 alone. By the time the 1873 Select Committee had published its Report, 317 schemes existed in their final form, though not all of these had been approved.²

The Commissioners worked as the Act prescribed. The staff of the Office was not numerous. Each of the Commissioners had one assistant; and Roby was the assiduous Secretary, replacing Hobhouse as third Commissioner in March 1872. Stanton, like Fitch, a former assistant commissioner under the S.I.C., worked with Lyttelton; Fitch assisted Hobhouse, largely in the West country; Robinson was aided by D.R.Fearon.

1. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners...31 December 1874; figures derived from Appendix A and 3-4.

2. Select Committee...(1869), 1873, 2.

In addition Latham worked for Lyttelton, and occasionally for Robinson; and there was a part-time assistant, Elton, who helped Lyttelton.¹

Before his appointment as assistant, Joshua Fitch had published an article on educational endowments in Fraser's Magazine for January 1869. He said that the poverty of endowments, and their particular locations in the country were minor problems compared to their "educational condition", and that the questions still to be asked were, 'How many scholars are taught?' and 'What is the worth of the instruction they receive?' He proved to his own satisfaction that the S.I.C. reports on individual schools had been accepted by the public, since "scarcely one instance has occurred in which they have been called in question, and not one in which they have been refuted."² This was hardly surprising, in a number of cases, since at the time he was writing not all the local reports had been published.³ Speaking of the founders' intentions, he was somewhat more obscure than Hobhouse had been, but equally vituperative :

Consider this — ... much of the education of the country, and many of our most important public and social interests, are regulated by a confused code of laws, which has never been sanctioned by the supreme legislature, but is the creation of a number of amateur statesmen (the founders), many of whom were not wise, few of whom possessed any political foresight, and all of whom were completely destitute of any sense of responsibility to the public.⁴

He hoped it would not be too long before people saw the wisdom of "restraining the power of private persons to tamper with any...of those great national interests, such as education and the relief of the poor, which demand organisation and fixed principles."⁵ These sentiments

1. *ibid.*, 1.

2. Fraser's Magazine, Vol. LXXIX, No. CCCXIX, Joshua Fitch, 'Educational Endowments', 3-4.

3. See above, this chapter.

4. Fraser's Magazine, *ibid.*, 10.

5. *ibid.*, 11.

accorded well with those of Hobhouse, with whom Fitch had been appointed to work; but they would hardly have encouraged a general belief in the Commission's ability to work in a politically neutral way.

The Commissioners worked in distinct areas : Robinson in the North, in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and in the area from North Wales across to Lincolnshire; Lyttelton took care of the Midland counties; and Hobhouse was responsible for the South of England. The geographical plan of action established by the Commissioners meant that they began with the West Riding, and Somerset and Dorset, and then proceeded to deal with North Wales, Essex, Staffordshire and Devonshire.¹ But this plan, as will be demonstrated later, was distorted by their desire to deal with hospital schools, with the great endowments, and by the implications of Forster's 1870 Act.²

In the Commissioners' Report, published in 1873, Lyttelton and his colleagues congratulated their staff upon their ability, zeal and diligence. They said, "we venture to think that no department of the public service can have been more fortunate in its subordinates than that of which we have been the heads."³ Certainly, the original Commissioners, and later Roby, seem to have worked together harmoniously. On many of the draft schemes there is still pencilled evidence of their cross-consultation over difficult topics. In 1870, before the concerted opposition to the Commission began to reveal itself, Lyttelton wrote to Gladstone of his "excellent and most able Mr. Hobhouse" who was "strongly anti-ecclesiastical"; Robinson, he said, was equally able, and, "though not exactly anti-ecclesiastical,... somewhat latitudinarian and Erastian."⁴ But the very tolerance of the Commissioners'

1. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners,...1872, 7.

2. See below, chapter XII, and 1872 Report, 8.

3. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners,...1873, 7.

4. Gladstone Papers, B.M. Addl.Mss, 44239, f.336, letter of Lyttelton to Gladstone, 24 October 1870.

views on religious issues exposed them to attacks from opposite extremes of organised opinion. As time went on they were criticised for being an Anglican clique, by dissenters¹; and as despoilers of Church institutions by the party which created the National Church. The known views of even the moderate Robinson hardly aided them in these cases.

The work of the Commission was described at great length by witnesses like Roby, Lyttelton and D.C. Richmond — Roby's successor as Secretary — before the Select Committee of 1873. But by the time that Report was published, not only their mode of proceeding in particular cases, but the general principles according to which they worked, had been revealed by the publication of two documents as appendices to their own 1872 Report to the Privy Council. Appendix I comprised the 'Instructions to Assistant Commissioners' for making inquiries under the 1869 Act. Appendix II contained a further set of instructions, known as Paper F, for their guidance. But Paper F was also, more significantly, a 'public document', in that it was "a convenient explanation to persons interested in our proceedings."² This second document was the more controversial, since it revealed — in ways remarkably similar to instructions given to the 1865 assistant commissioners — how much the principles of procedure owed to the Report of the S.I.C., and how far, of necessity, they exceeded the specific terms of the 1869 Act.

In the preliminary instructions to assistant commissioners the course of action was outlined : communicating with the governing body in each case, and arranging meetings. But the most important feature of the initial discussions was that they were not to be public.³ At the first meeting the governors were to be informed of the main heads under

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act (1869), 1873; see evidence of Lyttelton, 28 February 1873.

2. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, ... 1872, 10.

3. *ibid.*, 41-42.

which the scheme would be discussed. These were, the general scope of the School; the constitution of the governing body; the restrictions, if any, on the powers of dismissing the Master; the allowance or non-allowance of boarders; the extreme limits of the ages of the scholars; the extreme limits of the fees; the extreme limits of the course of study; the stipend of the headmaster; and the proposed structure of exhibitions. These heads were to determine the pattern of scheme-making, not only under the Endowed Schools Commission, but also under the Education Department of the Charity Commission until 1899.

Paper F established the authority of the Report of the S.I.C. for much of what the Endowed Schools Commissioners had to do : "... the Commissioners have accordingly taken the recommendations of the Report as their principal guides on those points on which the Act itself does not speak."¹ This was perhaps the most controversial factor in the Commissioners' proceedings. It was seen as the assistant commissioners' duty to consult the Report of 1867 "to see how far and in what mode these principles are applicable to the actually existing state of facts, and to devise the best methods of applying them in each case."

The Act did not mention the tripartite grading of schools. This characteristic it shared with the 1944 Education Act. Nevertheless the Commissioners affirmed in Paper F their own right to grade and group schools. The tripartite classification was, they thought, "intended to meet the differing demands for education existing in society." Those who demanded school education up to manhood were "comparatively few" and their requirements would be met by the relatively small number of first-grade schools which ought to be created.

1. *ibid.*, 45.

The most numerous endowments will be applied either to the establishment of Third Grade Schools in which the course of study will be confined within narrower limits, and adapted to a still shorter term of school life, or will be used to work in with and assist the Primary and Elementary schools of the locality.

In their classification of schools the Commissioners were to be guided principally by the size of endowments, and by the numbers and occupations of the inhabitants. Cases in which the transplantation of schools from one locality to another would happen, it was thought, were going to be rare. But they did not think that the affiliating of one grade of school to another in a locality was a matter of priority. In this respect their mode of procedure did not seem to be in accordance with the principle of the 'ladder' which Forster had referred to,² and which had been described in Volume I of the S.I.C. Report. The first principle of grouping was "to so place schools of different grades that...all persons may have fairly within their reach some school of that grade which they require."³ This apparent fracturing of the 'ladder' was to cause problems particularly in relation to the views of headmasters. Appendix IV to the Commissioners' 1872 Report contained the extensive correspondence which took place between Lyttelton and the Universities over the exclusion of Greek from their entrance requirements. This would have opened the Universities to boys from Second Grade schools where Greek was not taught. All this correspondence took place in June 1870, a year after the Commissioners began their work.⁴ In January 1870 Lyttelton allowed a letter he had written on the subject of Greek and the grading of schools, addressed to the Revd. Hugh Fowler, master of the Gloucester Cathedral School, to be published in the Gloucester Journal.⁵

1. *ibid.*, loc. cit.

2. See above, this chapter.

3. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners,...1872, Paper F.

4. *ibid.*, Appendix IV, 60-65.

5. Gloucester Journal, 8 January 1870.

The most controversial idea enunciated in Paper F, however, was embodied in the Commissioners' statement that "there are modes in which indiscriminate freedom of admission injures Schools of a higher class more than lower ones." They therefore adopted as their maxim, "that there should be no gratuitous education except as the reward of merit." Despite their avowal that any existing privileges would not be indiscriminately ignored, this was treated by their opponents as the most extreme of their propositions.¹ It was a principle which was to bear most heavily upon the hospital schools in municipalities like Bristol and London.

The assistant commissioners' modes of working were determined partly by local circumstances; and among these were the accidental personal contacts which they already had in certain areas. In October 1869 the annual meeting of the Social Science Association was held at Bristol.² One of the papers given in the Middle-class section of the Education Department was by Joshua Fitch. It dealt with the Educational Council in the Endowed Schools Bill.³ The paper was read several months after the Bill had been divided in Committee, and with hindsight it can be said that Fitch was, in this instance, espousing a lost cause. However, one of those present to hear him was the Revd John Percival, sometime assistant at Rugby under Temple, and, on Temple's recommendation, Charles Evans' successor as headmaster of Clifton College.⁴

In the following year at the Newcastle conference of the S.S.A.

1. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, ..., 1872, 47.
2. Gloucester Journal, 2 October 1869. Extended report on the S.S.A. conference which ended on 6 October.
3. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1869 Bristol conference, London 1870, 375.
4. O.F.Christie, A History of Clifton College, Bristol, 1935, 23-26.

Percival himself presented a rather remarkable paper entitled 'By what means can a Direct Connection be established between the Elementary and Secondary Schools and the Universities ?'¹ He acknowledged that England was passing through "a period of unusual activity" with regard to all educational matters. Enquiry, discussion and reform had lately been applied to almost every grade of national education, so that there was every prospect of our soon having "an efficient and well-ordered system of national education." But, he said, "this system, has still to be created, for hitherto our activity has spent itself...according to our English fashion, on particular grades or departments of instruction without attempting the architectonic work of correlation." For Percival, therefore, the most interesting current question related, not to any particular branch, but to

...the organising of our whole system, and the co-ordering of different grades, so that forces now wasting may be economised, and the national life, which was never in greater danger of splitting into sections, may² be bound closer together by this most effective of all bonds.

The achievement of this end, he thought, would be facilitated by the appointment of "a Minister of Education", with responsibility for every grade, rather like von Humboldt sixty-two years before. The elementary schools might be linked to the middle-class schools by exhibitions. But the most pressing problem of alienation as he saw it lay in the comparative absence of communication between the Universities and the secondary schools. He said that the men who frequented the Universities were not those "who are directing the life of Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Bristol, or Birmingham", but the sons of country gentlemen, or men destined for certain professions. This was a question which touched the business class very closely, for it

1. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, 1870 Newcastle conference, London, 1871, 310-317.

2, *ibid.*, 310.

behaved, then to remember "that even in business they may fall behind if they, as a class, get separated from the highest culture."¹

In its context Percival's paper must stand as a document containing evidence of great vision and liberal determination. In his own career at Clifton he embodied, so far as he was able, the implementation of the kind of principle he was recommending at Newcastle. His educational interests ran widely. He gave his own first school a reputation for scholarship. He established, in one of the poorer parishes of Bristol, the Clifton College Ragged School in which Clifton boys taught as a species of social service.² When Bristol seemed likely to create a School Board he offered himself as a candidate, and he overrode the objections of the College Council in attaining his aim, on the condition that he never became chairman. Also, Percival might be seen as the leader of an influential group of Churchmen-educationists all of whom were resident in Bristol during the twenty years 1860 to 1880. J.P.Norris and Henry Moseley, two of the most active and thoughtful of the first generation of H.M.I.s, and both thoroughly interested in aspects of middle-class education, were Canons of Bristol Cathedral and members of the Clifton College Council; the Revd. Edward Girdlestone, also a member, was the incumbent of a Bristol parish and had been among the first private persons to make use of the new Charity Commission for the purpose of educational reform after 1853.³

Despite Percival's involvement in many aspects of local educational reform, there are grounds for appending a sceptical footnote. In 1870 Clifton did have a sound academic reputation; but, as a proprietary school, it was still afflicted by chilly financial draughts.

1. *ibid.*, 315.

2. William Temple, *Life of Bishop Percival*, London, 1921, 44.

3. See above ch.V, 276.

Percival's comprehensive schemes for Bristol education should be seen partly in the light of the College's initial difficulties and uncertainty about its future.

O.F.Christie in his history of Clifton records one master's memory of Percival : "he would 'stand out on the Downs and hear Bristol' as a prophet might listen to the sounds of a great city."¹ A letter which Percival wrote to Joshua Fitch, the latter in his capacity as assistant commissioner for the Bristol area, might well have been prompted by one of these moments of solitary reflection.

The letter was dated 27 March 1870, six months before Percival delivered his Newcastle paper. He said that the proposal he was about to make was based upon a recent suggestion which Fitch had made to him, perhaps during informal discussions at the Bristol S.S.A. meeting. He wished that Clifton might be incorporated into the "general scheme for the endowments of Bristol."² He presented a brief description of the College's statutes and more significantly of its financial position : "Our income depends entirely upon the charges for tuition." He evidently realised that Bristol, after the City of London, was the most wealthily endowed municipality in the kingdom. His plan was that some local charity money might be used for the incorporation of Clifton as an endowed school, as had happened in the town of Taunton by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners.³ The College would then stand as the first grade school for the City; the Grammar School, also by this time a healthy institution, would become the second grade school; and the hospital schools, led by Colston's, would provide the bases for a system

1. O.F.Christie, Clifton College, 38.

2. PRO ED 27/1263, Clifton College file, letter of Percival to Fitch, 27 March 1870.

3. S.I.C., XIV, 237.

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of third-grade and elementary schools. He thought that the College Council would have no objection to the proposal. He was perhaps optimistic when he said that such a suggestion emanating from him might arouse "some local jealousy", whereas anything proposed by the Commissioners would be accepted "as the wish of a higher power, against which some may perhaps reserve the privilege of grumbling, but to which they know they must submit."

Since the original suggestion seems to have originated with Fitch it is hardly surprising that he took it up wholeheartedly in his communication with Hobhouse, his senior colleague, while admitting that Percival "would like to see some element of permanence introduced into the Constitution (of the College) through the work of the Commission."¹

The remainder of Fitch's letter contained an interesting description of the breadth of his future inquiries in Bristol. First he intended consulting "the Inspectors of schools, of whom four or five are residing near this place"; he had already convened a meeting with "all the certified teachers of the City" for the purpose of sounding them out on the question of competitive entry to secondary schools for elementary pupils; and the Mayor had offered to convene a meeting of the Town Council which was still responsible for the Bristol charities, with the exception of Colston's Hospital which was in the hands of the Merchant Venturers' Company.² But, in spite of this ostensibly open mode of proceeding, Fitch did not have to disclose that his dealings with Percival were private and not to be disclosed to other parties in the City.

1. PRO ED 27/1263, letter of Fitch to Hobhouse, 16 May 1870. The letter was addressed from 11 Paynton Park, Clifton: presumably Fitch had taken up residence temporarily near Clifton College.

2. *ibid.*

Hobhouse considered the Fitch-Percival plan in great detail. The amalgamation of Clifton with local charities, he thought, was "a most desirable object".¹ Nevertheless he returned an open verdict, hoping that the matter would be further clarified by Fitch's discussions with other parties in the City. Canon Girdlestone,² a Vice-President of the College Council, also intervened hoping that the College might become part of the educational system of Bristol. Fitch, however, wrote to Girdlestone in August saying that the more they looked at the problem, the more difficult it became.

In November he wrote to Whitehall regretting that the amalgamation plan would have to be shelved. It is not clear precisely what led him to make this decision. But it seems that information about the 'secret' scheme had been leaked to the headmaster of the Grammar School, Caldicott. This should not have been surprising since, if Girdlestone was a party to the discussion, then it is fairly certain that Norris, Moseley, Matthew Davenport Hill and other members of the College Council, had wind of it too. Fitch's conclusion was that "there is good work for both Clifton on its present basis, and for the Grammar School."³

There can be little doubt but that the Fitch-Percival proposal soured the rest of the long negotiations over Bristol charities, the final schemes for which came before Parliament in 1875.⁴ As late as August 1873 Caldicott wrote to complain to the Commissioners about the favour which had been shown by Fitch to the College since 1870 :

1. *ibid.*, letter of Hobhouse to Fitch, 19 May 1870.

2. See above, ch.V, 276, for Girdlestone's own use of the Charity Commission in Bristol in the 1850s. It seems that he too was a prime mover behind the Fitch-Percival plan.

3. PRO ED 27/1263, letter of Fitch to Hobhouse, 18 November 1870.

4. Western Daily Press, 12 April 1875 : public notice of official acceptance of the schemes.

On December 12 1870 he (Fitch) wrote to (a trustee of the Grammar School) objecting to the description of the Grammar School as 'the natural first-grade school of the district.' And on 30 November 1870, said Caldicott, Fitch had informed him that the Commissioners would be ready to do anything for the Grammar School "which will not affect the interests of Clifton College." The Grammar School could therefore not expect to have a new building "at the top of Park Street to compete with Clifton College."¹ Despite Fitch's protestation that he had no recollection of making such statements,² clearly even rumours of past events had a direct bearing on the conduct of delicate local negotiations. Caldicott presented a petition of complaint from 181 out of the 194 parents of his pupils against the possibility of the Grammar School being given second-grade status under the Bristol schemes.³

Fitch's task at Bristol was immense; and there are grounds for suggesting that the final schemes for the City's schools — which had involved a five-year struggle with the Town Council, the Merchant Venturers and the School board, as well as with ad hoc groups of artisans and others — comprised the greatest triumph of persistence accomplished by the Endowed Schools Commission. Yet the early passage of events in dealing with thorny local issues by means of local professional contacts points up the danger of the Commissioners' autocratic manner of working a public Act. Fitch acted high-mindedly, yet on his own terms, and, initially, with incomplete knowledge of the feelings of the middle classes in Bristol.

1. PRO ED 27/1291, Bristol Grammar School file, letter of Caldicott to Lyttelton, 7 August 1873.

2. *ibid.*, memorandum of Fitch to Roby, 11 October 1873.

3. *ibid.*, petition dated 6 March 1872.

The problems of Fitch's Bristol assignment can be contrasted markedly with the smoothness of the process of reform undertaken by the Commission in Yorkshire. Canon Robinson had the task of dealing with the northern area, assisted by D.R. Fearon. Of all the Commissioners' regional activities those in Yorkshire were by far the most comprehensively successful. Reflecting in 1873 on his experience in the county Robinson could say that, perhaps due to his previous occupation in the area,¹ the work in the West Riding was completed quickly.² Before this first phase of northern activity had ended a county committee had come into being which helped with reform in the North and the West Ridings. This was the Yorkshire Education Society, with the Archbishop as its President, and supported by the Bishop of Ripon and ten local M.P.s, and noblemen like the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Zetland. As well as helping with reform schemes for local schools, this ad hoc body favoured the setting up of a 'county' school for the area. The immediate inspiration for forming the Yorkshire Society had been the publication, early in January 1870, of the S.I.C. volume containing Fitch's reports on Yorkshire endowed and proprietary schools. On 18 January a meeting was held at Leeds, with Lord Wharncliffe in the chair, to discuss local aspects of the middle-class problem.³ Referring to the report of "the Rev. Mr. Fitch" (sic), Wharncliffe noted that he had drawn attention to the inadequacy of the majority of the people as judges of what good middle-class education should be. He remarked that if the south of England could provide itself with public schools for the middle classes then so could a wealthy area like Yorkshire. He mentioned especially Suffolk, where "an intimate friend of

1. See above, 449, for Robinson's career.

2. Report of the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act (1869), 1873, evidence of Robinson, 11 March 1873.

3. Times, 19 January 1870, 'The Educational Movement, Leeds.'

his; Kerrison,¹ had been one of the most active promoters of the new School at Framlingham. The Dean of York and the Vicar of Leeds seconded his proposal that a middle-class boarding school should be started in Yorkshire. Within twenty-four hours two acres of land had been offered, and £650 subscribed.²

There was another active body in the West Riding, the Yorkshire Board of Education, which has been referred to already.³ They were responsible for helping Robinson towards the greatest single achievement of the Endowed Schools Commission in the county. In 1872 D.R.Fearon, Robinson's assistant, published an article in Blackwood's Magazine entitled 'An Educational Experiment in Yorkshire.'⁴ He began by outlining four questions of current interest: how to found, for a manufacturing town, a system of secondary education for boys adapted to the special needs of such a locality; how to ensure that the "intelligent and careful members of the working classes" were able to obtain for their sons a share in this education; how to reform an old and decayed endowment so as to "popularise", without wasting, its resources; and finally how to extend to girls the benefits of such an endowment. All these things, he said, had recently been achieved at Keighley under the aegis of the Endowed Schools Commission.⁵

The Mechanics' Institute at Keighley being in a depressed condition, the managers in 1867 had begun to press for the construction of a new building, also hoping to extend its work to the "provision of scientific and technical instruction."⁶ They believed that such instruction

1. See above, ch.III, 150.

2. Times, 20 January 1870.

3. See above, ch.VIII.

4. Blackwood's Magazine, Vol.III, February 1872, 219-224.

5. *ibid.*, 219.

6. See above, ch.X, 559, for reference to the significance of technical instruction in the deliberations of the S.I.C.

would enable English skilled workers to compete more favourably with their foreign counterparts.¹ While they were thus deliberating "a local society, the Yorkshire Board of Education...gave to their proposals a definite shape and a support which was very valuable." Fearon described the Board as "a voluntary association of Yorkshire noblemen, country gentlemen, and manufacturers" whose role could be defined as the doing of educational work in the county which was not being done by any other body. "Their work is the work of educational initiative — a most valuable work in a busy county, and one which a local body is particularly fitted to perform."

The models for the Keighley enterprise were largely foreign. Fearon mentioned La Martinière at Lyons and the Turgot School in Paris. The new building had been begun in 1869, but meanwhile, Fearon said, "a new force had come into action, which disturbed all the calculations of the promoters". This was the Endowed Schools Commission. The Commissioners' first concern was for the two ancient endowments in Keighley, Drake's and Tonson's, which together had an income of £300. Early in 1870 Robinson informed the men of Keighley that their local endowments were to be reorganised. The promoters of the work there at once opened negotiations with the Commissioners.²

Robinson was clearly enthusiastic about a possible amalgamation of interests in the town. But he was also aware of the necessity of treading cautiously, since he knew that there was a marked local division between radical and conservative interests. His advice to Fearon on the conduct of his business at Keighley demonstrated the value of his long experience of education and politics in the area of the West Riding:

1. Blackwood's Magazine, Vol.III, February 1872, 220.

2. ibid., 222.

5.17

The rector of Keighley is a man of some ability and a gentleman. He is unobtrusively High Church, not much in rapport with the great body of his parishioners, somewhat old, not likely to sympathise with any bold reform...All churchmen are in favour of the Trade School idea except the rector...He has a curate...who was once a pupil of mine at York Training College, a superior sort of man in his way, able, I imagine, to tell you something of the mind and temper of the place, and to suggest suitable persons for interviewing. Another old York pupil of mine is a rising tradesman and active churchwarden...I can confidently recommend him as a man knowing K. well. Call on him and the curate using my name. Mr. Laycock for whom I enclose a note is agent to the Duke of Devonshire. He is a leading Methodist and can get you the views of that party.

It is clear, however, that when Fearon visited Keighley he soon became attached to advice from one particular source. The information about the recent events at the Mechanics' Institute he obtained, through H.H.Sayles, Secretary of the Yorkshire Board, from Swire Smith, a wealthy woollen manufacturer, leader of the technical education movement in the West Riding, and later to be a member of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction.² Swire Smith met Fearon in May 1870 and conducted him round the new building in company with Sayles. Later in the same month Fearon put to them "my proposition for converting the Grammar School into a girls' school and subsidising the Trade School." In spite of two protest meetings organised by the conservative supporters of the old régime, Robinson accepted Fearon's suggestion in principle in the following month.³

In the autumn of 1870 the Keighley scheme became law. The buildings were opened by the Duke of Devonshire, and the guest-list included Robinson, Lord Frederick Cavendish (President of the Yorkshire Board), Forster, Henry Cole, Baines, Fearon, Samuelson, C.S.Roundell, and Sayles.⁴

1. PRO ED 27/5957, Keighley file, Notes on Keighley for the direction of the assistant commissioner, undated.
2. *ibid.* Conference Paper D, Fearon to Robinson, 22 February 1870. For Swire Smith, see G.W.Roderick and M.D.Stephens, *Education and Industry in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1978, 118.
3. PRO ED 27/5957, letter from Robinson to Fearon, 11 June 1870.
4. Fiftieth Annual Report of the Keighley Mechanics' Institute, Bradford, 1875, 24.

It is interesting that the 1875 Report of the Mechanics' Institute suggested that the founders of the new institution had in 1870 "begun to consider the organising of a Trade School after the model of the one which was established at Bristol", and that Moseley's model had come to their attention through the agency of Sayles. But the final achievement of this objective, the Report stated, "had been made possible by Mr. Forster's scheme for the re-organisation of the secondary schools of the kingdom."¹

The Keighley scheme was remarkable for a variety of reasons. With the exception of the Bristol Trade School, which became incorporated in the Merchant Venturers' scheme for that City,² the Keighley boys' school was unique. The scheme also pointed up a moral for the draughtsmen of the 1869 Act in that its smooth progress to completion had been the result of a combination of initiative in the town itself, of promotion and guidance from an authoritative 'county' body, and of objective yet sympathetic direction by the agents of the central government. More remarkable still was the fact that the 'county' body seems to have represented the interests of divergent political groups. The events at Keighley demonstrated that such practical co-operation was possible. The only weak element in this convergence of interests lay in the relative impotence of the local charities and the complacency of their guardians. Nevertheless the success of the scheme raises the hypothetical question of what might have happened in a number of other localities if the reforming agencies defined in the 1869 Bill had included strong local elements.

1. *ibid.*, 25.

2. PRO ED 27/1274, Colston's file, Interview Memorandum, 28 February 1871, Moseley, Hobhouse, Robinson, Roby and Fitch present. This Bristol scheme was provisionally accepted, 15 November 1871, pending the completion of other Bristol schemes.

The Yorkshire Board of Education shared many of the characteristics of the 'county' associations and committees described earlier.¹ Some of the county associations remained active in the field of secondary education after 1869, and in general demonstrated their intention of seeking to co-operate with the Endowed Schools Commission when its agents visited their localities. The ad hoc Yorkshire Society has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. But there were other committees whose aims were more extensive and whose schemes seemed to promise more than they ultimately achieved.

The appointment of Frederick Temple to the vacant see of Exeter has been judged to be one of the most controversial actions during Tait's tenure of office at Canterbury.² Temple was not intimidated by the reaction to his appointment within his new diocese; and he had old friends and allies among the local laity, like Acland, Fortescue, Northcote and Taunton. Against him stood Dean Boyd, a truculent defender of Exeter charities and of the interests of the City as against those of the county of Devon.

At Exeter in October 1870 a county meeting was called for the purpose of considering the application of the Endowed Schools Act to Devonshire. Lord Devon, who had been considered by Granville as a possible chairman of the S.I.C., after his service on the Clarendon Commission,³ moved the first resolution :

That, in considering the most expedient mode of employing the educational endowments available in the county, it was necessary, while paying due regard to local wants, to take into consideration the requirements of the county generally.⁴

1. See above, ch.III.

2. P.T.Marsh, *The Victorian Church in Decline; Archbishop Tait and the Church of England, 1868-1882*, London, 1969, 69.

3. See above, ch.IX.

4. *Times*, 8 October 1870, 'Endowed Schools Act.'

His resolution contained the fundamental feature of the programmes of this and other county associations : the desire to supercede petty local conservatism, and to introduce a comprehensive element into the county's view of its own educational needs. He ended his speech by hoping that the county of Devon would "co-operate with the Commissioners, (giving them) an assistance which he believed would be welcomed by the Commissioners themselves."

Bishop Temple proposed the second resolution, which was appropriately more technical :

That the educational organisation of the county, so far as endowed schools are concerned, should consist of schools of different grades, so connected together by Exhibitions as that the progress of the deserving scholar from a school of a lower grade to one of a higher grade may be provided for and facilitated.

He then expansively explained the principles on which his resolution was based. This, as will be found in each of the county examples to be discussed here, was an essential part of the 'county committee' process, perhaps in the long term the most important part : that members of the ruling hierarchy, who had connections with the conduct of national affairs, should explain and interpret the policy of the Government in their localities. At a rather late stage, the middle classes were being 'educated' in relation to the schooling of their children. Sir J.D. Coleridge, another member of the network of West countrymen with a deep interest in education, followed Temple, saying that "this was no place to discuss the Act." Their duty was "to carry out its principles"; the Commissioners would be sure to benefit from "the assistance of a body of gentlemen who would represent on this question the general opinion of the best intelligence in this county."

Stafford Northcote moved the third resolution and also besought his neighbours to "proceed in the spirit of the Act." They were in the process of founding a national system of education, and it ought to be found

possible to bring endowments within that system. His farming analogy probably impressed some of his audience, though it may hardly have been appropriate to the matter in question :

They should look upon these endowments in the same way as they now did on the acts of those who in former days sank a large amount of money in drainage of their own estates. Now, recognising the importance of drainage, they were desirous of constructing great arterial drains throughout the country, with which these isolated drains should be brought into connection, to the advantage both of the country at large, and the separate estates.

Northcote's main contribution to the meeting lay in his proposal that, while Devonshire endowments separately were not very profitable, the county's resources should be treated as an aggregate; and that the Commissioners should be approached according to that principle. In addition he stressed the need to provide for female education by means of endowments.

Mr. J.W. Walrond moved the appointment of a committee which would include all the noblemen, trustees of schools, and the leading gentry of the county. He was warmly supported by the final speaker, Joshua Fitch, who said that the Commissioners would be only too glad to co-operate with such a committee; but that it would have to be constituted in a manner which would prove acceptable to those who would eventually administer the schools. He touched upon the question of the Commissioners' large powers, but assured the meeting that they had no intention of attempting to "make a clean sweep of all the endowments in one common fund and distribute them equally throughout the country." A committee was chosen and the meeting adjourned.

In Devonshire it is clear that Temple, with Northcote's authoritative assistance, was already adopting the role of advocate for the Endowed Schools Commission. He knew his territory well, and it seems that he was anticipating resistance which might arise, particularly in Exeter. For in February 1870 he had addressed the anniversary

meeting of Exeter Grammar School.¹ Northcote, a trustee, had expressed regret at being unable to attend. Temple devoted his good-humoured speech to a lucid description of the intended work of the Commission, and in particular to the checks on its powers at Committee of Council and parliamentary level. "As it has been remarked," he said, "there is nothing to prevent the Commissioners from turning a boys' school in Devonshire into a girls' school in Lancashire." However, he did not think "that they have the power of turning you all into girls." Their powers had to be great and wide-ranging because there was no formula by which the Act could have expressed the needs of each town: this had to be left to the discretion of the Commissioners in consultation with the inhabitants. He thought that Exeter would have to have a grammar school "in some shape or other."

He also tendered advice to the Commissioners themselves. In July 1870 he wrote to them in Whitehall because he understood that the Exeter Town Council had requested an early visit to the area by Fitch. Temple thought that there was a strong reason "why the two Western counties should be dealt with early". Devon and Cornwall, he said, should be treated together; likewise Somerset and Dorset. "Moreover I think... there is a very strong desire indeed in Devon and Cornwall to take up the reorganisation of schools vigorously, and I should decidedly advise that that desire be encouraged by immediate action."² Roby replied that, as yet, the Commissioners had no precise plans for those areas; in fact, their preoccupations lay elsewhere.³

The separation of Exeter from the county in the negotiations with the Commissioners became clear when the Town Council appointed a committee to represent town interests. A meeting of this committee was

1. Plymouth and Exeter Gazette, 3 February 1870, 'Exeter Grammar School.'
2. PRO ED 27/695, Exeter charities, letter from Temple, London, 19 July 1870.
3. *ibid.*, letter from Roby to Temple, 22 July 1870.

held in April 1871 at which Fitch and Temple were present.¹ The Bishop attended with the special purpose of counteracting expressions of narrow local opinion. He warned the meeting that "any place pursuing the selfish policy of thinking of itself without any reference to the outside world would in the end lose a great deal more than it gained." He reminded Exeter of its status as a county town, and said that its citizens should never forget "the rights and still less the duties of a county town." The Dean of Exeter spoke on behalf of the town's interests. He said that the County Committee contained members much more influential than those representing the City; and it therefore became the City Committee "to make a bold and determined stand for the interests of the City." The question as he saw it was one of finance: Exeter should not be "swamped in the county of Devon," losing her patrimony by seeing it absorbed in the coffers of the county.

In May 1871 the City Committee published its scheme which required that City charities should be treated separately from those of the county.² In the following month Fitch sent an extensive report on the Exeter schools to the Commission.³ In July Lyttelton received a four-page document headed, 'Recommendations which the Devon County Committee on Educational Endowments propose to submit to the Endowed Schools Commissioners.'⁴ The main principle of the County Committee had been "to make the educational endowments and institutions of the county useful to the whole of it" and "to do this as far as may be without removing them from the places where they actually stand." It had been found, however, that "the latter aim must sometimes give way to the former." Wherever a community was felt to be able to support a day

1. Western Times, 18 April 1871, 'The Endowed Schools Commission.'

2. Exeter and Plymouth Gazette, 4 May 1871.

3. PRO ED 27/695, Memorandum of Fitch, 15 January 1872.

4. *ibid.*, County Scheme, "July" 1871.

school, the Committee had avoided the controversial tendency to accept the principle of allowing boarding pupils.

Three "great educational centres" had been identified in the county: Exeter, Tiverton and Crediton. These already had University connections. To these ought to be added Plymouth which was as well endowed as the others, but at present mainly for elementary education. The first three towns should therefore be able to sustain first-grade schools, and Crediton should have a first-grade girls' school. The school there and the boys' school at Tiverton ought to have accommodation for boarders. The Committee went into considerable detail over the provision of second- and third-grade boarding and day schools, and their decisions were founded upon the practical availability of existing endowments in various areas of the county. They also established the principles upon which educational endowments should be made to serve the needs of "deserving boys" from the elementary schools. "Until the Legislature has provided a system of examinations" for the first-, second- and third-grade schools, the best examiners for scholarships and exhibitions, they thought, would be the headmasters of schools of the first and second grades.

Fortescue played an active part in the meetings of the Devon County Committee, while safeguarding the interests of his County School. He wrote to Brereton in March 1871 giving details of the county scheme which he had helped to prepare. He noted that the Duke of Bedford had promised land on which to re-locate Kelly College, at Tavistock, and said that he himself had guided the Committee away from a proposal to establish another middle-class boys' school at South Moulton which would have competed with West Buckland. He wrote, "the Commissioners are likely to be much influenced, and rightly so, by our County Committee...We owe much to our good Bishop (Temple) in bringing and keeping

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(the County Committee) together so well."¹

The application of the county scheme depended upon the acquiescence and participation of the interested citizens of Exeter. But the more obstructive of those citizens continued to harry the attempts of liberal outsiders, like Temple and Fitch, to heal and settle divisions. Even Northcote was attacked as "an absentee trustee" of the hospital school in Exeter.² But as late as January 1872 Fitch was proposing that, in relation to the large endowments of Exeter, "a Committee of County Governors" should be appointed to administer the larger trusts on behalf of pupils to be drawn from all over the county. This Committee, he suggested, should consist of the Lord Lieutenant, the Bishop, two nominees of Quarter Sessions, two from among the county M.P.s, and six nominees of the Blundell's trustees and the Exeter trustees.³

In the event the county's trusts were settled independently of each other. Exeter's scheme, for instance, was finally accepted in 1873.⁴ But the experience of Devonshire nevertheless emphasises the persistence of the 'county' idea, in the minds of both the official and unofficial agents of the Endowed Schools Commission, and in the policy of the traditional leaders of county society.

There is little doubt, too, that Temple remained a guiding force in the affairs of Exeter, despite its local pride and prejudice. In a printed letter which he addressed to the Mayor of Exeter in February 1872 he propounded the principle of grading middle-class schools in the City, and defended the Commissioners' proposals against the common imputation that they wished to deprive the poor of their traditional

1. Homerton College, Cambridge, Fortescue-Brereton letters, letter of Fortescue, 1 March 1871.

2. Western Times, 13 February 1872.

3. PRO ED 27/695, Memorandum of Fitch, 15 January 1872.

4. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, 1874, Appendix B, 42.

sources of aid for elementary education. In 1905 Michael Sadler produced his 'Report of the Secondary and Higher Education in Exeter' in which he noted that the City had a higher proportion of boys and girls attending secondary schools than any other city in the country. He concluded that this was due "in no small measure to the educational improvements which were carried out in Exeter about thirty years ago, largely under the influence of Dr. Temple."¹

In October 1869 the Gloucester Journal carried reports on two conferences held lately at Bristol. The first, the Social Science Congress, has been referred to already in this chapter.² The second, held a fortnight later, was the conference of the Gloucester diocese, at which a leading paper in the section on 'middle-class Education' was presented by Earl Ducie, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, whose father had been a member of the 1849 Commission on Charities, one of the founders of Cirencester Agricultural College and President of the Royal Society of Agriculture.³ Ducie was a Liberal until he abandoned Gladstone over Home Rule in 1886, and he was a close friend of Lyttelton. It is perhaps interesting that, of the 14,500 acres the family owned in 1883, one acre, worth £122 p.a., was situated in the centre of Manchester. This partly explains why Ducie's father had been a contributor to the funds of the Manchester Church Education Society during the 1840s.⁴

In his paper on middle-class education Ducie addressed himself to

1. Quoted in E.G. Sandford, *The Exeter Episcopate of Archbishop Temple, 1869-1885*, London, 1907, 86-87.

2. See above, this chapter.

3. For these Charity Commissioners (1849), see above, ch.V.

For biographical details of Henry John Moreton, 3rd Earl Ducie, see *The Complete Peerage*, London, 1916 edition.

4. See above, ch.III, 141.

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"its present condition and its requirements in this county."¹ He was not interested in the section of the middle class which sent its sons to Cheltenham, Marlborough or Clifton; but rather in those who oscillated between the better elementary schools and the private schools. He evidently hoped for much from the 1869 Act, but warned that "local prejudices, vested interests, and obstructiveness of ordinary parochial type" would be encountered before it could be fully applied. Like Temple and Northcote in Devonshire he took it upon himself to interpret for a local audience the main principles of the Act and also provided a detailed summary of the S.I.C. reports on Gloucestershire endowed schools.

At this early stage Ducie seemed to favour the application of boarding education to a county like Gloucester. His view of the farming community's day schools was pessimistic: "One generation succeeds another, cast in much the same mould as its predecessors, stolidly maintaining the insignificance of the place." For this reason, and because of his anticipation of prejudiced opposition to reform, he regretfully favoured "the course adopted by other counties with much success": in other words, "to commence *de novo* and to establish a County School on such a scale as to supply a good education at a moderate cost." He hoped that, if such a school proved successful, it might be aided by creating exhibitions out of some of the smaller endowments in the county. Mr. Holland, speaking second to Ducie, supported the idea of a County College, but thought that "a County Board, made up of those gentlemen in the county who felt an interest in the subject, and with representatives from the different endowments", would supply a useful agency for surveying local needs and making appropriate plans. The

1. Gloucester Journal, 16 October 1869, 'The Diocesan Conference.'

County Board suggestion was taken up by one of the county Liberal M.P.s, S.S. Dickinson : he thought such a Board might co-ordinate the administration of both elementary and secondary education. Ducie returned to the debate on his paper, hoping that such proposals, coming from an Anglican conference, would not antagonise Nonconformity in the county. Canon J.P. Norris of Bristol spoke in favour of spreading the boarding-school idea and argued for a better system of female education. Percival of Clifton proposed boarding schools for rural areas and day schools for the towns.

The local prejudices of which Ducie had been aware soon set themselves to work. In a letter entitled, 'The Late Conference', J.P. Heane, a Gloucester city councillor, lent his support in the press to the Mayor of Gloucester's opposition to the county proposal, referring to the county school idea as "a sort of Great Eastern ship."¹ On the other hand, Dickinson contributed a most useful conciliatory letter to the debate. He felt sure that the Commissioners would exercise what he called, ironically their "despotic powers" with good sense; and he went on,

It seems in every way desirable that the trustees of the various schools...within a compact area such as a county offers, should consult with each other and with the Commissioners to agree upon some system of reorganisation and rearranging the existing schools of the county, so as, in the language of the Act, 'to render them most conducive to education.'²

Dickinson could speak authoritatively on the language of the Act, since he had sat beside Forster when the Minister introduced the 1869 Bill in the Commons. In further letters he tried to inform the public about the S.I.C.'s main recommendations.³

1. *ibid.*, 23 October 1869.

2. *ibid.*, 6 November 1869, 'The Endowed Grammar Schools.'

3. *ibid.*, 13 and 20 November 1869.

An immediate result of the Diocesan conference occurred in the form of a meeting of county trustees in November, 1869 at the Shire Hall, convened by Ducie. The Bishop was present, as was Moseley who represented Bristol trustees. Ducie declared that he had been persuaded to drop his county school idea and to adopt instead a plan of "judicious reform" of existing schools.¹ He said that, although the Act had made no provision for creating provincial boards, the Commissioners would welcome any help they might be offered locally. "I have the authority of Lord Lyttelton for saying that anything we submit to them will receive due consideration." It might be difficult to produce immediately "any perfect or synthetical scheme"; but no doubt representatives of the county could "contribute to the edifice of the future."

The Bishop proposed the first resolution :

That it is desirable for the educational endowments of the county ...to be organised in such a manner as, while having due regard to the educational interests of the localities in which they are situated, to provide for the educational wants of the county at large.

Allowing for slight adjustments of wording, this was precisely the sentiment expressed in the later resolution passed by the Devon County Committee.² Dickinson, seconding the Bishop's resolution, hoped that Bristol might be included, largely, it might be presumed, because of its immense wealth of endowment. But he uttered the first anticipation of separation by saying that, even without Bristol, the county had a population of 300,000.

Mr. Whitcomb, speaking for the trustees of the Crypt School, Gloucester, which was being worked under a Chancery Scheme of 1860, defended its integrity against any possible future meddling by the

1. *ibid.*, 27 November 1869, 'The Endowed Schools of Gloucestershire — Conference of Trustees.'

2. See above, this chapter.

Commissioners. But Curtis Hayward drew his attention to the question of whether they, "as Gloucestershire men", wished to act together. He recommended that a committee of trustees be formed at a further meeting. Whitcomb, however, objected to such meetings on the grounds that they tended to be occasions on which "a certain number of persons came there with their friends."

His line of argument was reinforced, and the separation of Gloucester underlined, by a public meeting called by the Mayor to consider steps to be taken "for protecting the interests of the City in its several endowments."¹ At that meeting J.P. Heane compared the Commissioners to Cromwell's Major-Generals; and while he thought there should be union between the City and the county, it ought not to be at the expense of the City.

Despite these emissions of discontent the County Committee proceeded. Later in December Ducie chaired a meeting attended by all the county M.P.s, and by Lord Redesdale, Mr. Stanton (who had inspected Gloucestershire for the S.I.C.), and the Mayor of Gloucester.² Ducie announced that it had been thought inadvisable to press Bristol to join with the Committee, "having regard to the amount of the Bristol endowments, and the large number of intelligent persons residing there." He thought they were "perfectly capable of taking care of themselves." This was probably interpreted by some prominent citizens of Gloucester as a calculated slight to themselves; certainly it seems to reflect clearly the attitude of the leaders of the county towards urban middle-class men whom they considered to be their inferiors in matters as sophisticated as the organisation of middle-class education. The Bishop moved for an inquiry into the existing educational resources of the

1. *ibid.*, 18 December 1869, 'Gloucester and the Endowed Schools Act.'
2. *ibid.*, 25 December 1869.

county, pointing to the valuable work done by the County Board in the diocese of Worcester.¹ He remarked upon the recent progress made by the Crypt School and hoped that a general scheme for the county might be put to the Commissioners. Lord Redesdale was evidently attending with some reluctance : probably reflecting on his unilateral reform of the Grammar School of which he was patron, at Chipping Campden,² he said that he would prefer the interference of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the action of a local committee characterised by petty prejudices. But a committee of inquiry was appointed : it included Ducie, the Earl of Harrowby, Redesdale (who promised not to attend), the Dean of Gloucester, Sir Michale Hicks-Beach, Sotheron-Estcourt, Canon Tinling, a former H.M.I., Halsey (despite the secession of Bristol), the Mayors of Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and several headmasters of endowed schools.

The intensity of activity in the county, and his personal connection with Ducie, prompted Lyttelton, early in 1870, to intervene in Gloucestershire unofficially on two occasions. Both were attempts to undertake a rather hasty education of public opinion in order to smooth the way for official action by the Commission. They took the form of letters to Ducie and Winterbotham, another county M.P., and were reprinted in the Gloucester Journal.³

The County Committee meanwhile had further refined its plans by appointing sub-committees for dealing with three main departments of the county, the Gloucester district, the Cotswolds, and the Wootton district.⁴ But the worst fears of those defenders of City interests must have been confirmed by an account of Fitch's proposals for Bristol

1. See above, ch.III, 138 ff.

2. S.I.C., Vol.II, letter of Redesdale about his school, 68.

3. Gloucester Journal, (i) 15 January 1870, letter from Lyttelton dated Hagley 10 January 1870; (ii) 5 February 1870.

4. *ibid.*, 15 January 1870.

charities which appeared in the Journal in April 1870. The Editorial described this as "a revolution" and "a very alarming and monstrous innovation indeed."¹

While the County Committee was at work the Cathedral Chapter, led by Tinling, and the Town Council were proposing their own scheme for the City schools, which would have involved the amalgamation of the Crypt School, the Cathedral School, and Sir Thomas Rich's Bluecoat School.² Nothing came of this, however, until 1882 when, by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, the schools of the City, excluding the Cathedral School, were put together under one trust.³

At a meeting of the County Committee with Fitch in December 1870 Ducie was most conciliatory towards Gloucester interests. Canon Tinling described the Gloucester plan for uniting their schools and outlined the course of his discussions with the Commissioners. Fitch gave an account of the principles to be adopted in relation to the county.⁴ Early in 1871 Ducie circulated a memorandum to members of the Committee which was a detailed list of suggestions relating to the precise place each endowed school would have in a county system. His first principle was that

if the Endowed Schools Act is to be carried on in Gloucestershire on the principles recommended by the Schools Inquiry Commission, and if it be true of the county as of the Kingdom in general 'that at present each school is taking a line of its own, with little reference to the needs of the place in which the school stands....' (p.577, Schools Inquiry Report); and if we agree with

1. ibid., 9 April 1870.

2. For a discussion of the politics of the City scheme, see F.E.Balls, 'The Endowed Schools Act 1869 and the Development of the English Grammar Schools in the Nineteenth Century', Durham Research Review, V, 20, April 1968, 219-229. Also, Gloucester Chapter Minute Book, January 1865 to January 1891, minutes of meeting at the Deanery, 31 March 1870; and PRO ED 27/1382, Gloucester United charities, interview memorandum for Tinling, 2 December 1870.

3. A.Platts and G. Fainton, Education in Gloucestershire, A Short History, Gloucester, 1954, 16.

4. Gloucester Journal, 10 December 1870, 'Endowed Schools of the County.'

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the Commissioners (p.630) 'that it is essential to efficiency that the schools over a considerable district should be dealt with in relation to each other', we may be satisfied that a complete and systematic organisation of our Endowed Schools is necessary.¹

It is impossible to know how much influence Fitch had brought to bear on Ducie; but in his memorandum the Lord Lieutenant proposed that efforts should be made to bring Cheltenham College within the small circle of first-grade county schools under any scheme or schemes. In any case it seems, from an account of a later meeting to discuss his memorandum, that Curtis Hayward and Thomas Baker, members of both the County Committee and the Council of Cheltenham College, had known nothing of Ducie's proposal for the College before he announced it publicly.² The similarity between the Clifton proposal in relation to Bristol³ and the Cheltenham College idea as part of the county scheme would seem to suggest that Fitch's influence had been at work in the latter case also. Ducie was a member of the Clifton College Council. After a debate upon Ducie's memorandum in which amendments were made and Cheltenham was eliminated from the plan, a copy of it was sent to the Endowed Schools Commissioners and to each set of trustees in the county.

In fact nothing came of the Gloucestershire Committee's attempts to co-ordinate reform in the county. The Gloucester opposition, led by Heane, obstructed the smooth progress which might have been expected, by concentrating upon the issue of 'robbery of the poor' in other Endowed Schools Commission schemes.⁴ It is significant that the organisation of opposition on these grounds in Gloucester coincided, first of all, with the implementation of the Elementary

1. *ibid.*, 21 January 1871, 'Gloucestershire Endowed Schools.'

2. *ibid.*, 28 January 1871.

3. See above, this chapter, 541.

4. The campaign began with a letter from Heane entitled 'City Schools' in the Gloucester Journal, 4 March 1871.

Education Act of 1870, which provided for rate-aid, and secondly with the growing publicity afforded to the crucial Emanuel Hospital case in Westminster. The first notice of the progress of the Emanuel controversy was published in the Gloucester Journal on 29 April 1871.¹

Nevertheless, until the implications of the 1870 Act began to be appreciated locally, it seemed that the County Committee provoked little opposition. It could be argued that opposition would have occurred in any case. But the most remarkable feature of local activity in both Devon and Gloucestershire was that co-operation outside the most important town in each case was proved to be possible, and that this co-operative activity was led by the gentry element in county society in much the same way as the Taunton Commission had autocratically determined the theoretical course of reform up to 1867.

The continuity of county activity is demonstrated most completely, however, by the work of the Northants Committee after 1869. In much the same manner as in Devon and Gloucestershire, leading members of the local community initially sought to educate local opinion on the subject of endowed schools reform by interpreting the recommendations of the S.I.C. and the terms of the 1869 Act.

The Middle Schools Committee of the Northants Education Society held its first important meeting after the passing of the 1869 Act in December 1870. In the chair was George Ward Hunt, recently Chancellor of the Exchequer under Disraeli, and a county M.P. The Secretary's report to the meeting took the form of a masterly summary of the S.I.C. Report and of the 1869 Act.² Cockson, the Secretary, put two questions to the meeting :

1. See also below, ch.XII.

2. Minutes of Northants Middle Schools Committee, 3 December 1870.

Do we desire to anticipate the action of the new Commissioners ?
Can we hope, in any important respect, to do so ?

In other words, are the general recommendations of the Commissioners on the one hand objectionable ? or, on the other hand, are they inadequate ? Or, lastly, is there any desirable remodelling or enlargement of the educational machinery of the county which we might expect to initiate more successfully than they ?

He further asked whether they felt it their duty to create "a voluntary 'Provincial Authority'" with a view to superintending the county's secondary education.

It was unanimously agreed that the Secretary should write to the Clerk of Trustees of each of the county's endowed schools asking them to call meetings of trustees, and inviting them to send delegates to a meeting with the Middle Schools Committee in January 1871.¹
Cookson's letter was a model of diplomatically transmitted information.

The general meeting was held in Northampton and was attended by representatives of the trusts of Daventry, Towcester, Northampton, Courteenhall, Wellingborough, Kettering and Blakesley. The sentiment expressed was unanimous, and it was resolved to petition the High Sheriff to call a County Meeting to consider the operation of the Endowed Schools Act and, "if such a meeting see fit, to appoint a Committee to examine into the requirements of the County in respect of Middle Class and Higher Education, and into the meeting of such requirements."²

Such county meetings were neither common nor regular. Their history is probably rooted in the mediaeval grand jury, and they seem to have been convened at moments of national, rather than local, emergency. One was held, for instance, to encourage military recruitment in Northants during the French Wars. The Sheriff summoned a meeting which was held in March 1871. It may fairly be called representative

1. For Cookson's letter, see Appendix III.

2. Minutes of Northants Middle schools Committee, 9 January 1871.

of the leading figures in the public life of the diocese of Peterborough and the county of Northampton. Most of the great families were represented, with a large collection of Anglican clergy and a sprinkling of businessmen. The Sheriff explained the purpose of the meeting which, he said, "had nothing to do with the Act of 1870." He hoped he was not expected to say anything on the subject, for he was quite ignorant of it.

Dr. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, spoke first. His speech was a measured defence of the Commissioners' declared intention of modifying endowments wherever necessary. His chief presupposition, shared by the six later speakers, was that the Commissioners, when they visited the county, should not be treated as interlopers, but should receive the benefit of the deep local experience of giving assistance to secondary education. He thought that where a clear religious prescription was attached to an endowment it should be respected. But he said that "the living would be in a state of continual slavery to the departed" if certain due and just modifications were not made. He could not help thinking that such co-operation by trustees would make the application of the Act "not only better and wiser, but smoother and happier." They who knew the real wants of the county should deliberate and advise upon the sacrifices which might have to be made.¹ H.O. Nethercote, speaking as a trustee of Clipston school, said that it needed "the waters of the Commission to cleanse the Augean stables of which he had the misfortune to be one of the grooms," and he hoped that when the stream did come "it would come with such force that it would carry away himself and his helpmeets." The Revd. Lord Compton then moved the resolution that "the Endowed Schools Act...provides the machinery

1. Northampton Mercury, 9 March 1871.

by which the secondary education of the county may be largely improved and extended." He admitted that the county's schools were inefficient and that those who were supposed to use them sent their children to private schools. George Ward Hunt also argued for assisting the Commissioners : he thought some people's pride might be hurt by the final schemes, but in the long run a greater amount of good might accrue to the county as a whole.

G. Stopford-Sackville, M.P., moved that a special committee be appointed to "examine into the requirements of the county in respect of secondary education, and into the means of meeting such requirements." Pickering Phipps, the brewer, seconding this resolution, said that it was of the greatest importance, now that elementary education had been so much improved, that an equal provision should be made for the classes immediately above the class for whom elementary education was intended.

This county gathering had reached a surprising degree of unanimity. There was agreement on the need for revising the terms of endowments and, if necessary, for transferring or re-applying them; and, most important, for assisting, rather than blocking, the work of the Commissioners. Perhaps most remarkable of all, a Bishop who was a leading member of the Church Defence Institution had declared himself, with one significant exception, in favour of radical reform of endowments; and a leading member of a recent Conservative administration had warned that it would be necessary to accept the general reconstruction of endowments if county education were to prosper. The only member of the county's extensive dissenting community who was noted as being at the meeting was Mr. Toller, a prominent Kettering Baptist. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the Middle Schools Committee

had been generous in its attitude to dissent since its inception in 1854.¹

The special Committee appointed at the meeting presented its report to an assembly at the Goerge Hotel, Northampton, in September 1872. First they outlined the principles on which they had based their suggestions :

That existing educational endowments or endowments convertible to educational purposes, ought to be so employed that every portion of the county should have within its reach sufficient efficient Schools of such grades as it required; while at the same time Endowments should, as far as possible, be retained in the localities to which they belong.

And they implied acceptance of the notion of the 'ladder' suggested by the S.I.C. in their recommendation that "it should be possible for a scholar to rise through the whole gradation of schools, from the elementary to the highest grade."

The Committee suggested two first-grade schools, one at Oundle, the other at Peterborough. Second-grade schools would be set up at Northampton, Wellingborough, Kettering, Brackley and Gillsborough. There should be second-grade girls' schools at Northampton and Daventry. They noted that in Northampton there were non-educational endowments worth over £5,000. They also recommended that there should be large numbers of third-grade schools which should be "in reach of as many parents as possible, for those who send their children to them can seldom afford to pay boarding fees." Entry to these schools should be according to merit, "account being taken of conduct as well as intellectual accomplishment." Competition for places should be confined to pupils in elementary schools. They concluded by stating that the schools thus indicated, together with schools just outside the county boundaries, "would constitute, in addition to the

1. See above, ch,III.

elementary schools, an educational System for the county which would be fairly complete."¹

The scheme is most impressive and was evidently informed by twenty years' experience of dealing with matters of secondary education. It had been drawn up essentially by long-standing members of the Middle Schools Committee. It showed, on the one hand, a close study of the main recommendations of the S.I.C. and the ways in which these had been reflected or diffused in the 1869 Act; and on the other an intimate knowledge of the financial and educational needs and resources of the county. Just as the county, through the Middle Schools Committee, had anticipated and attempted to meet the need for reform after 1854, so now in 1873 this newly constituted Committee was, in a far-seeing way, preparing to advance in conjunction with agents of the central government.

The bleak story of the abandonment of the scheme is recorded in a note scribbled by the Revd. William Bury, the current Secretary, in the Middle Schools Minute Book. The note is undated, and is the last entry :

Subsequently an enquiry held at Northampton by an Assistant Commissioner with a view to applying the scheme to Northampton — Representations from Northampton strongly opposed — no further action taken — a reaction against the aims of the Commission set in. Powers under the Endowed Schools Act transferred to the Charity Commissioners — County scheme fell through — W.B.²

A similar county association was founded, albeit on an ad hoc basis, in Leicestershire in 1871. Before the 1873 Select Committee the Revd. J.H.Green, Master of Kibworth Grammar School, said that he had been appointed honorary secretary of a Leicestershire county

1. Printed copy of the Scheme in the Middle schools Committee Minute Book, entitled 'Recommendations to be submitted to Her Majesty's Endowed Schools Commissioners.'

2. Middle Schools Committee Minute Book.

committee in May 1871. It had been intended that the committee "should look up all the Endowed Schools in the county, and see how far (it) could become well acquainted with all the affairs of our own neighbourhood, so that when the Commissioners came down, we should not be entirely ignorant of the subject." The spirit of the Committee was "friendly to the reception of the Act."¹ Bishop Magee had written to the High Sheriff expressing his sympathy with the objects of the Act and of the Committee, saying that the friends of education in the county should take the initiative in promoting "improvements in our middle-class system which in some form or another are inevitable."²

The most influential contributor to this first Leicestershire meeting was Archdeacon Fearon of Loughborough who had given written evidence about education in his area to the Newcastle Commission. He had been involved in the negotiations leading to the reform of Loughborough Grammar School which T.H.Green had so admired in his report to the S.I.C.,³ and unlike many of his Anglican colleagues he was a staunch supporter of the movement to found a school board at Loughborough. He was always willing to co-operate with dissent, and his publications included a work on the teaching of the science of common things, in which he admitted his debt to Richard Dawes.⁴ He expressed his sympathy with the Commissioners's schemes which had already been published, and he suggested that, if Loughborough came under the jurisdiction of the Commissioners, "it ought to be quite possible to pass, pupils from the elementary schools to the Loughborough Grammar School,

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act(1869), 1873, evidence of J.H.Green, 29 April, 1873.

2. Leicester Journal, 12 May 1871, 'The Endowed Schools Act and the County of Leicester.' Mr. Heygate, a local Tory M.P., was also absent from this meeting. He may well have been responsible for bringing J.H.Green before the Select Committee, of which he was a member.

3. See above, ch.X, 540.

4. B.H.Elliott, 'Leicestershire Worthies(3): Archdeacon Henry Fearon', in Trans. of the Vaughan Arch.and Hist.Soc.,XX,Leicester,1972,8.

either through scholarships or in some other way." He also hoped that the Commissioners would use their powers to "abrogate all doctrinal distinctions", since, in no party sense, he was in favour of "comprehension rather than exclusion" in religion. The other authoritative speaker at the meeting was the H.M.I., Blakiston, who described "an elaborate plan of organisation which had been adopted in Yorkshire."¹ J.M.Wallace, headmaster of Loughborough, who had given evidence to the S.I.C., also made an encouraging speech.

A committee of 28 members was appointed. They published their report at a meeting in March 1873. Their working principles had been, firstly, to see that all persons had a good school of an appropriate grade within their reach; secondly, to make all local endowments useful to the whole county, while keeping them as far as possible in their original neighbourhoods; thirdly, to classify endowments according to local needs; and finally, to encourage "meritorious scholars" in elementary schools by means of a system of prizes and exhibitions.² The committee had found that there was over £8,000 available in educational endowments and nearly £6,000 in convertible non-educational trusts. The smaller endowments, they thought, might be employed in scholarships for poor boys since this kind of encouragement came nearest to the original intentions of the founders. Their analysis of local needs was represented in a detailed table covering population, quality of buildings, and amounts of individual endowments. Their prescriptive grouping of schools into grades and boarding or day schools followed the pattern of the Northants scheme.

1. Blakiston was probably referring to the Keighley scheme, the work of Archdeacon Fearon's brother; see above, this chapter.
2. Leicestershire County Record Office, DE 261/9, 4-page printed document, undated, entitled, 'Leicestershire'. The provenance for the date of publication is in J.H.Green's evidence to the 1873 Select Committee.

The Leicestershire scheme, particularly since it had been the work of men of apparently tolerant religious attitudes, like Archdeacon Fearon, seemed to be just and well balanced. But it did not specify the means by which the governing bodies of individual schools were to be appointed. In his evidence to the 1873 Select Committee J.H.Green was driven into a corner by the Liberal, Mr.Powell, who drew from him the admission that he was in favour of the co-optative principle of selecting governors, and against the election of representative trustees by the rate-payers.¹ In fact, after further questioning, Green said that he wanted a Provincial Board which would include members nominated by Oxford, Cambridge and London Universities², by the Lord Lieutenant, by Quarter Sessions, and by the headmasters of the district. He was also unable to supply accurate information about the part played by dissenters in making the county scheme.³

These county meetings, and their context of continuing local activity in the field of middle-class education, cannot be described as reflecting a national pattern of response to the work of the Endowed Schools Commission. But they do represent clear instances of collective endeavour by traditional rulers in each locality, and certain common features can be identified in each case. Indeed, in the cases of Devon, Leicestershire, Northants and Gloucestershire, the prefixes to the Committee's reports and schemes have much in common, even in their terminology. First of all the county Committees were, in most cases, the inheritors of an earlier tradition of local endeavour in

1. Select Committee, 1873, 312.

2. cf., the final Birmingham scheme : see below, ch.XII.

3. Select Committee, 1873, 310.

the supervision and management of endowed schools and of middle-class education of other kinds. With the exception of the West Riding of Yorkshire, they were expressions of interest in the rural, agricultural sector of middle-class provision, and were related to the Georgic tradition of concern for the structure and stability of county society. The committees comprised, in most cases, an ecclesiastical element -- a hierarchy within a hierarchy -- which had as its coping-stone the Bishop of the diocese. The general management of their activity, however, seems to have lain in the hands of those among the traditional ruling class whose interest in education was of considerable standing. This element on each of the committees was reinforced by the participation of 'professional' educational administrators, sometimes headmasters, like Percival, but more often H.M.I.s, like Blakiston, Tinling, Norris, Moseley and, most impressive of all, Temple.

Yet the traditional character of the committees, and their admitted weighting towards the Church, did not mean that their attitude to the Commissioners was obstructive or defensive; rather were they characterised by a middle-of-the-road tolerance which might be considered surprising when encountered in bodies of this kind. The leading figures -- Ducie, Temple, Northcote and Compton might be taken as examples -- were 'liberals' in the sense that they can be identified as part of the general movement for gradual reform which found its chief extra-parliamentary expression in the work of the Social Science Association. But they were not radicals: their tendency was towards an autocratic notion of reform, particularly in relation to middle-class education, which, for the time being, necessitated playing down the representative element in the administration of county affairs

and the maintenance of a tradition of local government by those who mattered on behalf of those who, as yet, were thought barely to understand their own needs in the field of middle-class schooling. In this they were performing a role which had been anticipated by the authors of the S.I.C. Report : they saw themselves as 'educating' middle-class parents.

It has been suggested that schemes and resolutions in four of the counties shared common features which were of course derived fundamentally from the recommendations of the S.I.C. But it has not been possible to find other evidence for making substantial links between the activities of the various counties. The Keighley scheme in Yorkshire was unique. But even in the West Riding the work of local assistance was facilitated by Robinson's close association with the area. The Gloucestershire Committee had been the first in the field, in 1869, stimulated, it would seem, by the conference of the Social Science Association at Bristol, addressed by Fitch who later reappeared conveniently as assistant commissioner, and by the diocesan conference. Gloucestershire may have provided a model for other counties in the south west and the midlands. The Devon Committee was formed in October 1870. The Middle Schools Committee in Northants responded two months later; the Leicestershire Committee in May 1871. It is hard to avoid suggesting two possibilities : either a process of chain reaction; or the subtle motivation of local interests by the Commissioners themselves, or by former members of the S.I.C., in order to counteract anticipated local resistance by sectional interests. Whichever was the case, it cannot be denied that those who mattered in the counties responded with diligence and enthusiasm. It seems also that, even in contentious urban areas, the Commissioners were concerned to include a 'county' element among the new bodies of

trustees. In Bristol and Bedford this was certainly the case.¹ They saw the county leavening as a means of stabilising the potentially mercurial fluctuations of urban representative politics. Middle-class representative control of elementary education was acceptable; government of middle-class education by the middle classes was not.

1. For Bedford, see ED 27/8a, Report of Mr. Lathan on Harpur's Charity, 13 January 1871, suggesting the inclusion of "foreign" trustees in the persons of the Lord Lieutenant, the county M.P.s, nominees of Oxford, Cambridge and London Universities, and 1 nominee of the masters. For Bristol, see leader in Bristol Post, 29 August 1871, regretting the representation of county elements in the draft scheme submitted by Fitch for Red Maids and Queen Elizabeth Hospitals.

CHAPTER XII REACTION.

"The Endowed Schools Commissioners have not come into possession of the entire educational endowments of the country, to refound them at their pleasure; but their authority is limited to the correction of abuses. There are none in Emanuel Hospital.

"It was by tampering with the rights of property that M.Louis Blanc and his predecessors prepared the way for the Commune."

From a defence of the City of London Corporation against the scheme of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, 1872.

The difficulties confronting the Endowed Schools Commissioners have been summarised by a number of commentators; but it cannot be claimed that they have been analysed.¹ The Commissioners in their Report to the Privy Council in 1872 supplied their own interim description of the problems they were facing. These were : the appointment of new governing bodies, and in particular the question of co-opted governors; the grading of schools; indiscriminate gratuitous education, as distinct from selection for free education based on merit; the hospital schools; the operation of the 1870 Act in relation to endowed schools and other endowments; and the denominational character of endowments.² It is inconceivable that they should have added to this list the more general, but equally influential, problem of the impression which they themselves created in the minds of trustees and other interested parties in the various localities : public anxiety about their powers, though founded in many cases upon ignorance, was reinforced by the publicly reported remarks which Lyttelton and Hobhouse had made soon after their appointment. This anxiety pervaded most of the communications they had with bodies of trustees. Also, all the problems which they identified in 1872 were inextricably interlaced. These difficulties were by no means all present in each of the cases with which they had to deal. But in the most significant instances of opposition, where damaging publicity was reinforced by a considerable and varied battery of powerful interests, each of these problems played a part in marshalling the defences which confronted the Commissioners.

The focal points of opposition were the large endowments of the corporate towns and cities. In general the Commissioners had a relatively

1. e.g., (i) P.H.J.H.Gosden, *The Development of Educational Administration in England and Wales*, Oxford, 1966, 65-71; (ii) P.T.Marsh, *The Victorian Church in Decline*, Archbishop Tait and the Church of England, London, 1969, 69-71.

2. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to Her Majesty's Privy Council, 1872, 12-36.

easy task when they came to deal with separate endowments in the rural counties : and these accounted for the majority of the cases which they handled. But the hospital schools of London and Bristol epitomised the condition of this general class of endowments, which had been so heavily criticised by the S.I.C.¹ It was, in the first instance, Hobhouse's obsession with the question of hospital schools, and consequently the disaster of the Emanuel Hospital case, which led to the co-ordination and orchestration of powerful opposition to the Commissioners. Indeed, if it were not unhistorical to do so, an attempt might be made to argue that, without the inhibition of the Emanuel case, the Endowed Schools Commissioners might have enjoyed a more extended term of activity.

The governors of Emanuel Hospital in Westminster, an Elizabethan foundation, were the members of the Court of Aldermen of the City of London Corporation. The school had been reported upon in a neutral way by Mr. Skirrow for the Charity Commission in 1857.² D.R. Fearon paid a brief visit to the School for the S.I.C. in 1865, though, as a non-classical institution, it did not merit a separate report in his survey of London middle-class education. Of the hospital schools in the Metropolis he said that "their sphere of usefulness might be extended so as to help towards forming a systematic education for the middle scholars of the third grade throughout London." He wanted them to be converted from boarding to day education. Westminster, he found, was "fuller of hospital schools than any other part of London."³ At two of the Westminster schools, Emanuel and Greycoat Hospitals, he noted that the curriculum was limited to

1. See above, chapter X.

2. A copy of Skirrow's Report is to be found in PRO ED 27/3359, Emanuel Hospital, dated 23 June 1857.

3. S.I.C., VII, Report on the Metropolitan District, 335.

elementary subjects, with no Latin or French. Yet the pupils generally remained until fourteen years of age.¹ The income of Emanuel, with only 30 boy-pupils, was £3,118; Greycoat, with 100 pupils, £2,736 p.a.² Later, at the height of the dispute over Emanuel Hospital in 1871, the Court of Aldermen denied having known about Fearon's visit; and on their examination of the headmaster's minute book they found that he had referred, on the date of the visit, to "the examination by Her Majesty's Inspector."³

Emanuel Hospital epitomised the waste in such schools, which the S.I.C. condemned on principle. The trustees were evidently aware of the interest which their type of school had attracted since the great inquiries into charities had begun, for they had been careful, in the 1840s and 1850s, to commission frequent, if irregular, reports of their own upon the condition of the School; though their investigations had concentrated almost wholly on the financial state of the endowment.⁴

It seems likely that Hobhouse, with his marked antipathy towards what he considered to be moribund endowments, particularly in the City of London, would have moved quickly in the matter of Emanuel Hospital on his own initiative in 1869. But Roby, long after the demise of the Endowed Schools Commission, remembered that he had planted the idea in Hobhouse's mind: "A number of wealthy endowments in Westminster", he said, "within a stone's throw of the Commissioners' office and of Parliament, seemed to me to invite large and early reform. Mr. Hobhouse readily took to the suggestion, and commenced proceedings."⁵ Roby's account did not go into detail about subsequent events, and he omitted to mention

1. *ibid.*, 338.

2. S.I.C., X, London Division, Reports of Assistant-commissioners, 184-5.

3. PRO ED 27/ 3359.

4. PRO ED 27/ 3359 contains governors' reports of 1844, 1846, 1855, and 1856. The 1855 Report, e.g., runs to one hundred and eleven pages.

5. Hobhouse and Hammond, *op.cit.*, 49.

that the Court of Aldermen was among the first groups of trustees to take advantage of Clause 32 of the 1869 Act, which related to endowments with incomes exceeding £1,000 p.a., and permitted trustees of such endowments to prepare and submit their own schemes to the Commissioners. They made their first inquiry as early as 14 September 1869, in the same month as the Commissioners began their work.¹ It is evident from the list of principles upon which they based their scheme², and from the simple form of the document which they submitted in January 1870³, that the Court of Aldermen conceived of a bland scheme which barely altered the existing terms of government, and whose only novel feature was the proposal to erect new school buildings and residences for the masters and other officers. In this they were consciously or unconsciously imitating the recent coup of the Haberdashers' Company by means of a Charity Commission scheme for their school at Monmouth.⁴

Roby acted as agent in the subsequent business, though Hobhouse was supervising the negotiations from Whitehall. In March 1870 Roby visited the school on behalf of the Commission and met representatives of the governing body.⁵ He immediately produced a detailed report on the condition of the School, saying that the Westminster pupils belonged to "a class above the ordinary primary schools." The parents were "policemen, master artificers, etc." The pupils who came from the estates which supported the School, at Brandesburton in Yorkshire, were the children of "farm-bailiffs, gardeners, etc." He had found that most of the pupils leaving the School in the years 1867 to 1869 had become clerks in the City of London. It is evident that, as with the schools of William Rogers, the

1. City of London Record Office, Guildhall, Minutes of Court of Aldermen, 14 September 1869, 50; document headed 'Report of Committee for giving notice...of the intention of the Governors to prepare their own Scheme ... approved and sealed accordingly.'

2. *ibid.*, 16 November 1869, 61.

3. PRO ED 27/3363, Emanuel Hospital, 'Scheme for the Regulation of (Emanuel Hospital) Charity, prepared by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London,,,pursuant to the provisions of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869.'

4. See above, chapter X.

5. PRO ED 27/3363, letters (i) from Roby to Nelson (City Solicitor) 26 February 1870, (ii) from Nelson to Roby, 1 March 1870. Roby's report is in the same file.

Corporation saw the School as a useful training-ground for some of their future employees in City counting-houses.¹ The form of patronage operating at the School was of a kind calculated to rouse the Commissioners to action; and it was clear that most of the pupils did not deserve the indiscriminate charity which they enjoyed. The headmaster, the Revd. Mozley, told Roby that all the parents could well afford to pay £4 a year, instead of relying on the arbitrary selection of their children for free education. In the light of Roby's findings the Governors' scheme was rejected as a ground for negotiation by the Commissioners.

The blue touch-paper was lit when the Governors read the Commissioners' draft scheme in August 1870.² The new Emanuel Hospital, it was proposed, should be a third-grade boys' school serving the immediate locality, and, with the school for girls at Greycoat Hospital, would constitute "the United Westminster Schools." But the most inflammatory proposal was that the new governing body should consist of the Dean of Westminster, the incumbent of a Westminster parish, the M.P.s for the borough, with only three members to be nominated by the Corporation. There were also to be two chosen by another public authority, for example, the governors of Christ's Hospital, or of Westminster School, or the Universities. These should then co-opt 12 others for a term of years to be decided upon. The new constitution of the governing body was the central issue as far as the Corporation was concerned: their patronage and perquisites would vanish for ever. But the feature of the scheme which they chose to publicise in their own interests was the Commissioners' proposal that the their rights of nomination should be abolished; that fees of up to £5 p.a. were to be paid in most cases; and, most important, that education should be made, for twenty per cent of the pupils "the reward of merit", by means of scholarships most of which would be attached to Westminster elementary schools. Thus the Commissioners delivered into the hands of the Corporat-

1. See above, chapter X.

2. PRO ED 27/3363, the draft Scheme; see also City of London Record Office, Emanuel Hospital box 5/7, Roby's outline of scheme.

ion the motto 'Robbery of the poor on behalf of the middle classes', which was to resound through the next three years of public turmoil. The fact that under the scheme the Corporation would retain its trusteeship of the almshouse part of the charity was of no consequence at this point.

The Court of Aldermen, or rather, Nelson, the Solicitor, spent the next three months preparing a very densely argued list of fifteen objections to the draft scheme. In this their statements of self-interest were surrounded and obscured by other debating points : for instance, "That no education is thereby provided for boys above the age of fifteen." Their main objections were, "2. That it substitutes for themselves a new governing body"; and, "10. That it is not within the scope of or made in conformity with the said Act inasmuch as the schools proposed to be established may and probably will become schools for the education of the rich!"¹ In defending the stewardship of the Corporation, Nelson drew the Commissioners' attention to their very successful promotion of the City of London School which, with other similar institutions in London, was said to satisfy already the educational needs of the middle classes.

The Commissioners made concessions on minor points of detail, but the scheme which they submitted to the Education Department in February 1871 was in its main proposals essentially the original to which the corporation had objected.²

The Corporation now began to organise a campaign of obstruction. The Lord Mayor summoned interested parties to a meeting at the Mansion House in April 1871. The speakers included Conservative M.P.s like J.G.Talbot, R.W.Crawford and Lord George Hamilton, and City representatives like Alderman Lawrence, M.P., and Colonel Beresford, M.P.³ The Commissioners'

1. PRO ED 27/3363, letter from Nelson to Roby, 29 November, 1870.

2. *ibid.*, letter from Lyttelton to Cumin at Education Department, accompanied by printed scheme and objections, 21 February 1871.

3. London Mirror, 22 April 1871, 'Emanuel Hospital: proposed confiscation of Endowments.'

maxim debated at the meeting was "that there shall be no gratuitous education except as the reward of merit." Roby thought fit to correct some of the misrepresentations in the reporting of the meeting in his letters to the press published a week later.¹

The Commissioners, however, did not lack supporters of their own in London. Roby received a letter, appropriately dated 1 May, in 1871, from one George Thomas of Westminster:

Sir,

Seeing your name in the Standard respecting Emanuel Hospital, I wish you as a working man, Success. Our children have such difficulty in securing patronage from Guildhall, that we wish a local government for the Hospital. None of the present governors take any real interest in it, except for the patronage...²

The West Middlesex Advertiser on 6 May carried a report of a meeting of the Vestry of Chelsea at which the case of Emanuel Hospital "again came forward." A Mr. Cobb said that, while he excused "the city weakness for feasting" on the ground that it was "a failing of human nature", he knew that "the City abounded in charities which they hardly knew what to do with". Another vestryman quoted an article in the Spectator which contained a digest of the merits of the Commissioners' scheme, showing that "instead of a few poor charity children, educated at a cost of £700, about one thousand children would receive a good education, including near five hundred girls." A few days later the clerk to the Vestry received a reprimand from Nelson, the City Solicitor, accusing speakers at the meeting of misrepresentation and calumny.³

It was to be expected that the Corporation would organise local resistance. But the Mansion House meeting was only their opening shot. In March 1871 Mr. T.Q.Finnis, the Lord Mayor and chairman of the Emanuel governors, had drafted a massive rebuttal of the Commissioners' arguments in relation

1. e.g., in the Morning Post and Standard, 28 April 1871.

2. PRO ED 27/3364.

3. West Middlesex Advertiser, 13 May 1871.

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to their scheme, defending the integrity of the Court of Aldermen as trustees.¹ In it he said that the new scheme was calculated "to sap the foundations of all charity in this country..." The Commissioners chose to ignore the document, and the scheme was laid on the table of the Commons. The Corporation therefore had little time in which to marshal their forces, but they quickly transformed their local activity into a national campaign which aimed to co-ordinate and stimulate opposition to the Endowed Schools Commission throughout England and Wales.

At a meeting of the Court of Aldermen in April 1871 the Lord Mayor proposed laying before the public "a simple statement of the facts in the Emanuel Hospital case."² The result was the establishment by the Corporation of the School Trusts Defence Committee in the same month, with T.J.Nelson as its honorary Secretary.³ In a memorandum to the Court of Aldermen written at this time Nelson said that the Commissioners seemed determined "to select Emanuel Hospital as the battle-ground upon which is to be decided the great question whether refuges for poor children are still to exist in this country", or whether "all who cannot maintain their children and pay for their education are to cast them upon the rates."⁴ He noted that the Commissioners had not yet published schemes for similar schools at Bristol, Exeter, and Birmingham, "whilst the purpose for which they (the Commissioners) were established, the reformation of abused or useless Grammar Schools, seems to be entirely neglected." Nelson sent to every trust and town council in the Kingdom a pro forma petition which the trustees might submit to Parliament in support of the governors of Emanuel Hospital against the scheme of the

1. PRO ED 27/3364, printed document dated 20 March 1871.

2. Times, 6 April 1871, 'Court of Common Council.'

3. ibid., advertisement, 27 April 1871.

4. City of London Record Office, Court of Aldermen, Box 5/12, undated Memorandum.

Endowed Schools Commissioners. In June 1871, for instance, Roby received the following letter from the Town Clerk of Bridgnorth in Salop :

In consequence of the large number of communications received requesting the Council of this borough to join in opposing the proposed extinction of Emanuel Hospital and other endowed school charities, and in the absence of any reliable information in favour of the same, I am directed by the Mayor to request the favour of your supplying for the use of the Council a copy of the proposed scheme together with any other information you may consider necessary to enable them to arrive at a correct decision.

And in a printed statement which the Commissioners submitted to the Privy Council in June 1871 Roby remarked that they had noted that the City Corporation had been circulating very widely, "by sending to newspapers and in other ways", the Lord Mayor's statement to the Commission in March 1871.²

Evidence of the Corporation's nationwide campaign took two forms. First of all there was the attention which provincial newspapers gave to the Emanuel case. In April 1871, for instance, the Gloucester Journal contained a long report headed 'The Endowed Schools Commissioners and the London Corporation', with a verbatim account of all the resolutions passed at the Mansion House meeting; and another report a week later headed 'Interference with Bequests to the Poor.'³ In June the same newspaper carried a long summary of the petition to be sent to the Commons on behalf of the governors of Emanuel Hospital by the Town Council of Gloucester.⁴ In the following month the Leicester Journal, in a leader entitled 'Emanuel Hospital', and in spite of its earlier support for the principles of the 1869 Act, expressed satisfaction at the Endowed Schools Commissioners' receiving "a salutary rap across the knuckles" over the "theoretic perfection" of their scheme for Westminster.⁵

1. PRO ED 27/3364, letter of 16 June 1871.
2. *Ibid.*, 22 June 1871.
3. Gloucester Journal, 22 and 29 April 1871.
4. *ibid.*, 17 June 1871.
5. Leicester Journal, 5 May 1871.

The second species of evidence took the form of the petitions which were presented, from London and many other parts of the country, to Parliament on behalf of the City Corporation in June and July 1871. One hundred and eight petitions were transmitted to the House of Lords alone.¹ In almost every case the form of words ran as follows :

Petitions from the Corporation of Derby, and the governors of King James' School, Sheffield (sic); praying that the Funds of Educational and other Foundations in Westminster and elsewhere may not be diverted from the Objects of the Donors.'²

The City Corporation had succeeded in drawing the attention of interested parties to their own plight; and in doing so they had presented to other groups of trustees the possibility of resistance to the all-powerful Commissioners. The founding of the Schools Trusts Defence Committee, supported by the magnificent resources of the City of London, marked an epoch in the history of the Endowed Schools Commission. Henceforward it was less likely that the Commissioners would encounter a supine attitude on the part of local, isolated trustees.

The Court of Aldermen did not merely provoke a ground-swell of general resistance : they also chose a powerful spokesman for their cause. In June 1871 the Court requested the Sheriffs of the City to "wait upon some Lord in Parliament and request His Lordship to present their Petition to the House of Lords," where they might expect more Conservative support than in the Commons.³ This form of words obscured the fact that they had already chosen the Marquis of Salisbury as their parliamentary agent. Salisbury had perfect conservative credentials. He was the staunchest defender of the Church, in the 1860s, against the militant nonconformist agitation for disestablishment, and against the pressure for the abolition of Church rates, for the reduction of the Anglican grip on the Universities,

1. Journal of the House of Lords, Vol.CIII, 302-618.

2. *ibid.*, 343 (12 June 1871).

3. City of London Record Office, Minutes of Court of Aldermen, 27 June 1871.

the endowed schools and the voluntary system of elementary schooling.¹ He saw the Liberal party of that time as an artificial amalgam of interests, held together by its leaders' willingness to attack the traditional rights of the Anglican establishment. The City of London Corporation hardly shared his high Toryism in politics, and much less his traditional churchmanship. But their choice of Salisbury unwittingly opened a further dimension of opposition to the Endowed Schools Commissioners.

Salisbury had been, from its origins, a leading member of the Church Defence Institution.² The revival of its activity after 1869, chiefly through the pages of the National Church, meant that the heterogeneous opinions among churchmen in the provinces could seem to be unified to some degree in a wave of general protest. Before his pronouncement on the Conscience Clause in the S.I.C. Report, Lyttelton had been a fellow-member with Salisbury of the Committee of the Church Defence Institution.³ Now, although he was a fallen angel, he seems to have allied himself with Gladstone's Erastianism against Salisbury's indelible churchmanship. Late in 1870 Lyttelton wrote to his brother-in-law after the passage of the 1870 Education Act,

...I should have been content if it (the 1869 Act) had abolished the legal restrictions to Church character in all the Endowed Schools, leaving the governing bodies perfectly free.⁴

Such an expression of opinion came before the onslaught from the National Church and hardly befitted a recent member of the Church Defence Institution.

1. Paul Smith (ed.), Lord Salisbury on Politics, Cambridge, 1972, 66.

2. See above, chapter X, 507-508.

3. *ibid.*

4. Gladstone Papers, BM Add.MSS., 44239, f.336, letter of Lyttelton to Gladstone, 24 October 1870.

From 1872 onwards the National Church published detailed accounts of the work in progress at the Endowed Schools Commission. Its aim was not to obstruct completely the schemes of the Commissioners, but rather to make sure that in each case Church interests were protected in relation to the kind of religious education prescribed in new schemes and the composition of the new governing bodies. In February 1872 a new committee was established "to watch the proceedings of the Endowed Schools Commissioners respecting their proceedings affecting endowed Church schools throughout the country."¹ In March 1873 a conference on the subject was organised, attended by a galaxy of clergy and leading laymen, including Salisbury, Lord Compton (of the Northants Society), Gregory, Heygate, Talbot, the Bishop of Peterborough, Fagan of the Wells Diocesan Board, and numerous representatives of trusts, among them the Merchant Adventurers of Bristol, Beaumaris, Bridgewater, Felsted, and Kibworth, the latter in the person of the Revd. J.H.Green.²

In Blackwood's Magazine in July 1871, at the time of the Corporation's first offensive, George Hodgkinson published a broadside against the Endowed Schools Commission.³ His main aim seems to have been to defend the Corporation in the matter of Emanuel Hospital : he thought that the Commissioners' scheme was "clearly against the spirit of the Endowed Schools Act,"⁴ and that, as well as removing the dead hand, they were tearing out the living heart of the institution.⁵ But Hodgkinson's attack upon the Commission should be measured against his own professional reputation. A contemporary of Lyttelton at Cambridge, but his inferior as a scholar, he had become the first and unsuccessful Principal of the Royal

1. The National Church, New Series, Vol.II, May 1873, 'The Endowed Schools Commission', 106. In this article the establishment of the committee was recorded retrospectively.

2. *ibid.*, March 1873, 'Church of England Endowed Schools Trust Conference', 62.

3. Blackwood's Magazine, DCLXIX, Vol.CX, July 1871, 'Education, Endowments, and Competition', 81-99.

4. *ibid.*, 92.

5. *ibid.*, 94.

College of Agriculture, Cirencester, before he moved, with an equal lack of success, to the Diocesan Training College at York. In his 1871 article he said that he knew little of the third Commissioner, Robinson, except that he was "a visionary in education...and an ardent votary of the 'mother tongue' at the expense of Latin and Greek", and "a strenuous political partisan."¹ However, this "little" knowledge was perhaps shaped by the fact that Robinson had successfully taken the place of Hodgkinson at York upon the latter's dismissal in 1854. On that occasion Hodgkinson had published 'The statement of G.C.Hodgkinson of the Training College, York, in his defence.'²

Another journal, at the opposite extreme from the National Church, expressed its opinions more guardedly. The Nonconformist in May 1871, in a long article on the Emanuel case, thought that the Commissioners' scheme, designed for taking endowments from the poor and devoting them to the "higher and lower middle class" of the district, was "unquestionably a very surprising change, only to be justified in the case of necessity." It was all the more surprising since the Court of Aldermen had not been charged with maladministration of their trust.³ While the writer of the article did not favour indiscriminate gratuitous education, he thought that the Commissioners were applying their principle in a "harsh and pedantic" manner. Rather extraordinarily he indicted them for defending Anglican foundations while, in this case, adopting a "sternly radical" attitude to "a comparatively popular and entirely unsectarian body" like the Corporation. By the proposed scheme Emanuel Hospital was seen as inevitably coming under the influence of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. The Nonconformist evidently preferred control by a corrupt secular body to the influence of a local Anglican hierarchy.

1. *ibid.*, 89.

2. For Hodgkinson's biographical details, see Boase, *op. cit.*

3. Nonconformist, 17 May 1871, 489.

The view expressed by the Nonconformist demonstrated the complexities of the Commissioners' task. The Emanuel case was treated by them as an instance of the application of equitable principles and rational reformist values to an institution which was managed by the worst kind of patronage in a manner both uneconomic and unsuited to the location of the school and the general needs of the time. Yet in 1871 the prickly conscience of the Nonconformist saw their work as a stalking horse to conceal the prejudices of three 'Anglican' agents of the central government. On the other hand, the hidebound churchmen of the Church Defence Institution equated the Commissioners' work in Westminster with the concurrent Liberal process of dismantling the Established Church in Ireland and the modification of the constitutions of the ancient Universities.

The Emanuel case provided the main focal point for opposition to the work of the Endowed Schools Commission. One element in the elimination of their difficulties in that instance was provided by the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Yet in their 1872 Report the Commissioners could legitimately claim that the 1870 Act had generally impeded the progress of their work. They said that a very large proportion of their time had lately been taken up with cases of elementary schools, mainly in rural parishes. This had arisen from the local efforts made to anticipate the compulsory provisions of the 1870 Act by supplying sufficient and suitable elementary schools in places where a deficiency was found to exist. The necessity for dealing with local applications from small trusts to the Education Department had interfered seriously with the Commissioners' work on larger endowments.¹ In August 1873 Parliament had passed an Act "to continue and amend the Endowed Schools Act, 1869", which said that any school not defined as a Grammar School under the 1840 Act should,

1. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the Privy Council, 1872, 27-28.

after September 1873, be treated as an elementary school. At a late date therefore, one of the Commissioners' impediments was removed.

The 1870 Act introduced a new element into the politics of the Metropolis and of other towns by making possible the creation of school boards. The Nonconformist greeted the advent of the London School Board in July 1871 with the remark that it contained "two of the most liberal and justly-minded clergymen whom the National Church can boast." One of these was the Revd. William Rogers.¹ Among the topics considered early in its career by the London Board was City Charities, and this interest received considerable notice in the press. Speaking at a School Board debate in May 1871 T.H. Huxley referred to the Emanuel case, saying that what the Commissioners intended doing with that charity was "the very model upon which he should desire to see legislation follow with regard to other charities."² At a meeting two months later Huxley unsuccessfully proposed that the School Board petition the Endowed Schools Commissioners that they should consider the claims of the children in elementary schools to benefit from the endowments which were under their consideration.³ He saw the co-operation of the Commissioners with the London School Board as "the first practical step in the national organisation of English education." It is notable that Huxley's candidature at the first School Board election had been supported by Hobhouse who was treasurer of his sponsorship committee.⁴

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that when the Commissioners, having seen their first Emanuel scheme turned down by the House of Lords in 1871, prepared a second, they should have included in it the proposal to give the London School Board the power to elect six governors of

1. Nonconformist, 19 July 1871, 701. For Rogers, see above, ch. X.

2. Times, 11 May 1871, 'Charities: the London School Board'.

3. *ibid.*, 13 July 1871, 'The Endowed Schools Commission and the London School Board'.

4. Hobhouse and Hammond, *op. cit.*, 54. On his return from India, Hobhouse himself was elected a member of the London Board.

Emanuel Hospital, with the Chairman of the Board as ex officio governor.¹ Throughout the controversy the Times remained staunchly on the side of the Commission : immediately after the defeat of the first scheme a leading article contained the comment, "the very existence of these feeble institutions is a scandal at a time when so much is promised for education."² The article considered that under the scheme the poor "have as much chance of sharing the revenues of Emanuel Hospital as ever they had," and noted that 900 children would be educated in the place of the previous 150.

Hobhouse was a casualty of the Emanuel battle. In March 1872 he was appointed a legal member of the Council at Calcutta, and departed to be replaced by Roby.³ In another direction the continuing activity of the Commissioners produced a more positive reaction. In May 1872 the Times noted that the Grocers' Company had shown "a good and wise example to other wealthy guilds of the City" by asking the Commissioners to aid them in establishing a middle-class school in North London out of the surplus revenues of the Company. This became the Grocers' Company School which was built at Hackney Downs and eventually became an L.C.C. school in 1904, as soon as the Company could safely rid itself of the responsibility.⁴ The Times' reporter hoped that, if other Companies were to imitate the Grocers, "they might delay, if not altogether arrest, the inroads which are already contemplated upon their rich spoils." The Grocers' Company had undoubtedly been wise : their cunning in 1872 prompted no less a City figure than Alderman Lawrence, M.P., to ask Lyttelton, before the 1873 Select Committee, whether the Commissioners had been "bought off" by the Company.⁵

1. Times, 28 September 1871, 'London School Board: Emanuel Hospital.'

2. ibid., 11 July 1871.

3. ibid., 27 March 1872.

4. ibid., 20 May 1872, 'A Good Example'.

5. Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act (1869), 1873, 433.

At the second attempt the Emanuel Hospital scheme passed through Parliament in May 1873. Replying to Crawford's and Beresford-Hope's motion against the scheme, Gladstone constructed a masterly defence of the Commissioners' work, but concentrated heavily upon indicting the Corporation.¹ He began by "narrowing the field of debate", which he thought an essential presupposition in a case where "the points are so numerous and the details so intricate that it is difficult to bring the House to a close and accurate view of what the subject at issue really is."² He emphasised that the scheme involved no new principle — 150 schemes had already passed through the Commons — "but it happened to deal with a Governing Body which is of a very formidable character." He mentioned that the governing body of Eton had been completely refashioned under the 1868 Public Schools Act, without demur; though this was hardly an apposite comparison. The Corporation, on the other hand, required that "there shall be one law for the world at large, and another for the Corporation of London." And this was a body which had enjoyed for thirty years the proud distinction of being the only unreformed corporation in the country.³ The motion was defeated by a majority of forty-eight,⁴ and the scheme for Emanuel Hospital, as part of the United Westminster Schools, received the Royal Assent.

It is worth noting that the Government received some support outside the Commons. Before the debate in May 1873 a public meeting was convened at the Regent Music Hall in Westminster by the local opponents of the Corporation.⁵ Among those who promised to attend were a large group of Liberal M.P.s, including H.R. Brouncker who was heir to the Dacre peerage and therefore a direct descendant of the founder of the Hospital, A.J. Mundella,

1. Hansard, III Series, CCXV, May-June 1873, c.1875-1960.

2. *ibid.*, 1892.

3. *ibid.*, 1896.

4. *ibid.*, 1956.

5. PRO Ed 27/3363, poster advertising the meeting, dated 6 May 1873.

G.O. Trevelyan, and Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, the biographer of Lord Granville. At this meeting Mundella promised that the time was not far distant when the Corporation would be called upon to put its own house in order. He said, "Selection by merit, from orphans and children in elementary schools" was "a better guarantee for the benefits of the foundation reaching the class they are intended for."¹

The Nonconformist protest against the work of the Commissioners emanated largely from Birmingham. In July 1871 'Watchman' wrote a letter to the Nonconformist recommending that an interested body — either the Liberation Society or the Central Nonconformist Committee at Birmingham — should take upon itself the task of scrutinising the draft schemes of the Commissioners on behalf of Nonconformists, and of communicating with local persons over action which might be thought necessary.² This appeal brought an immediate reply from Frank Schnadhorst, the Liberal secretary of the Central Nonconformist Committee, in which he said that the matter had recently been taken in hand by the Committee.³

The chief complaint of the Nonconformists was that in some of their schemes the Commissioners were permitting the appointment of too many co-optative governors — often members of the Church of England in practice — in predominantly dissenting areas.⁴ In November 1871 a leading article in the Nonconformist acknowledged the enthusiasm with which that journal had initially greeted the 1869 Act. But it noted that "you can infuse into such measures almost any spirit you please, religious or political." The chief anxiety, the writer asserted, derived from the fact that all three Commissioners were Anglicans; that they were also men of "liberality" should not lead dissenters to ignore Winterbotham's eloquent demand for

1. Times, 8 May 1873.

2. Nonconformist, 5 July 1871, 660.

3. For Schnadhorst's later work as a founder of the National Liberal Association, see Boase, op. cit.

4. Nonconformist, 22 November 1871, 1148. See also Schnadhorst's evidence to the 1873 Select Committee, 2 May 1873, 320.

an attitude of "watchful jealousy" towards their activities.¹

The Central Nonconformist Committee sent a general deputation to meet the Commissioners in April 1872. It was headed by M.P.s of the dissenting interest like Miall and Leatham, and included a large delegation from Birmingham led by the Revd. R.W.Dale, J.S.Wright of the Grammar School Association, and Chamberlain; with James Heywood from Manchester; and representatives of committees in London, Wolverhampton, Leicester, Chelmsford and Gillingham.² Miall expressed their general appreciation of the educational merits of the 1869 Act and of many of the Commissioners' schemes. But Dale pointed out that, in 20 schemes which they had investigated, there were to be 111 Anglican governors and only 18 Nonconformists. Specific objections were then made to schemes for Chelmsford and Gillingham. Lyttelton was able to reply that these had been changed. It would seem that the outcome of the meeting pleased both parties, since in the following month the Nonconformist appealed for the prolongation of the Commission, with the important proviso that there should be official representation of dissenters upon it.³ In January 1873 the same journal noted with approval the 'final' composition of the proposed governing body of King Edward's, Birmingham, under the revised scheme.⁴

It might have been anticipated that the reform of the School at Birmingham would entangle the Commissioners in a thicket of problems. The political jockeying which accompanied the creation of the School Board helped to produce tensions which must have influenced the negotiations of Lyttelton and his colleagues. The politics of Birmingham elementary education

1. Nonconformist, 22 November 1871. For Winterbotham, see above, ch.XI. Winterbotham had sat beside Förster when he introduced the 1869 Bill.

2. Nonconformist, 17 April 1872, 395.

3. ibid., 22 May 1872, 530. See also Schnadhorst's evidence to the 1873 Select Committee, 6 May 1873, 350. Mr. Leatham was a member of that Committee.

4. Nonconformist, 1 January 1873, 5. But see below, this chapter, for the later dispute over the Birmingham scheme.

caused Lyttelton some despair, for he wrote to his former Cambridge friend (and distant relative), Earl Fortescue, in December 1870, that, although "my Endowed Schools Commission gets on fairly well, but slow", his neighbours' School Board at Birmingham, "or almost any Board they could have elected, will quarrel horribly."¹

But, as has been shown above, Birmingham politicians had behaved with remarkable tolerance and harmony during the S.I.C.'s investigation of the Grammar School and through the various educational associations which had preceded the National League.² Moreover, Lyttelton, as the Commissioner responsible for dealing with King Edward's foundation, knew his men and was quite intimately acquainted with the area and its recent development. As the author of the S.I.C. chapter on the eight great endowments he must have been aware that Birmingham would be high on his list of priorities in 1869. In fact he referred to Birmingham as "the leading case" among the eight.³

Like the City of London Corporation, the Governors of King Edward's School took advantage of Clause 32 of the 1869 Act⁴ and submitted their own scheme to the Commissioners in July 1870.⁵ But, as has been seen, there were other interested groups to be considered, notably the Free Grammar School Association and the Town Council. The 1870 Act proved its relevance to this case at an early stage: J.S.Wright, for the Association, told the Commissioners in July 1870, that "if a School Board for Birmingham is elected under Mr. Forster's Bill, it will have to be the governing body for the Free Grammar School."⁶

1. Devon Co. Record Office, Fortescue Papers, 1262M/FC97, letter of Lord Lyttelton to Earl Fortescue, London, 2 December 1870.

2. See above, (i) ch.VIII, 416, and (ii) ch.X, 533.

3. PRO ED 27/4891, Birmingham King Edward's, Memorandum of Lyttelton to J.L.Hammond, 26 Aug. 1870.

4. For Clause 32 and Emanuel Hospital, see above, this ch.

5. PRO ED 27/4891, (i) letter from Whateley, secretary to governors, informing Commission of their decision to prepare a scheme; 19 August 1869; (ii) 17-page draft scheme of governors, dated 29 July 1870.

6. *ibid.*, interview memorandum, J.S.Wright of the Association, 15 July, 1870.

But Lyttelton seems not to have taken the embryo School Board seriously into account when preparing a detailed memorandum for his assistant, J.L.Hammond, in August 1870.¹ His first plan, based, as he said, upon local knowledge, was to have a large body of appointed governors, balanced by ex officio trustees, like the Mayor and some Anglican clergy, and nominees of the Town Council who would be largely dissenters. It is clear that he thought that the politically shifting composition of a School Board would make such a body unsuitable for the long-term control of a large endowment for secondary education.

The Commissioners met the School Governors in December 1870 in London, and the Association's Committee, led by Dixon, Wright and Dale, later in the same month.² Hammond was concerned to maintain open relations with the local press, and early in 1871 he prepared a document explaining the Commissioners' intentions which was published in Birmingham newspapers. A Liberal paper was critical of these early proposals, and particularly expressed disapproval of the inclusion of the Bishop of Worcester as an ex officio governor.³ By this time, too, the Town Council had begun to understand the implications of the cumulative vote principle in the 1870 Act, and withdrew its earlier support for the School Board as a strong element in any future governing body.⁴ At a meeting between the Town Council and the Grammar School Association in March 1871 it became clear that both bodies had moved away from their emphasis on the School Board towards the idea of having the Town Council as the representative element among the governors.⁵ However, Dixon hoped that the School Board would

1. *ibid.*, Lyttelton memorandum on Birmingham, 26 August 1870.

2. *ibid.*, interview memoranda, (i) Hammond with Governors, 2 and 5 December 1870; (ii) Lyttelton with Grammar School Association 20/21 December 1870.

3. Birmingham and Midland News, 19 January 1871.

4. PRO ED 27/4891, printed report published by Town Council, 7 February 1871.

5. Birmingham Daily Gazette, 2 March 1871.

soon become "a truly representative body."

In January 1872 the Commissioners announced that a scheme was ready for publication.¹ As has been seen, this scheme was eventually accepted by dissenters,² but was blocked nevertheless by the more conservative of the existing governors.³ So a scheme which, after careful conciliatory work, appealed to the Town Council, to the Free Grammar School Association and to the Central Nonconformist Committee was blocked by the governing body, twenty in all and self-perpetuating, who, in this instance too, chose Salisbury as their agent in the House of Lords.⁴ A closed corporation could veto the acceptance of a scheme which had found the favour of the elected representatives of a town of 400,000 population, by virtue of a perpetual Conservative majority in the Lords. Forster, speaking in the 1878 debate on the Charity Commissioners' scheme for Birmingham, said of the 1873 scheme that it had been accepted, "though reluctantly, by the Town Council...and by the School Board." He had reservations about the principles at work in Birmingham politics, but he thought that the Commons in 1878 should "trust to the educational zeal of the Town."⁵

The scheme of the Charity Commissioners which became law in May 1878, in spite of a motion against it presented by John Bright and Joseph Chamberlain, was at two retrograde removes from the original proposal of the Taunton Commissioners. The S.I.C. Report had recommended the creation of 21 new governors, 10 of whom would have been members of the Town Council.⁶ The 1873 scheme of the Endowed Schools Commissioners included the same number of governors, but with 8 from the Town Council and 4 from

1. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the Privy Council, 1872, 8.

2. See above, this ch., 646.

3. PRO Ed 27/4893, 'Case of the Governors against the Scheme of the Commissioners', undated, except for '1873'.

4. Hansard III Series, May-July 1873, CCXVI, 19 May, 74-75.

5. Hansard III Series, Feb.-March 1878, CCXXXVIII, 5 March, 790-791.

6. S.I.C., I, 506.

the School Board. The 1878 scheme retained 8 Council men, but added 3 representatives from the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, It was to these 3 proposed members that Bright and Chamberlain substantially objected. It was therefore ironic that the 1873 scheme should have foundered over the question of removing Church instruction from the School, rather than on account of the composition of the governing body.

The sequence of events which led to the downfall of the Endowed Schools Commission is well known. Despite Forster's attempt to save the Commission and Part II of his Bill in the Select Committee of 1873, the Conservatives committed themselves before the 1874 Election to removing the three Commissioners.¹ The amending Bill was introduced by the new Government in July 1874.² It removed the triumvirate. Henceforward there were to be five Charity Commissioners, including two Commissioners for endowed schools.³

P.H.J.H.Gosden has said that the 1874 Act did less than the Conservatives had promised.⁴ The reason for their apparent moderation has not been dealt with in recent studies; but it was revealed by Disraeli's biographers. The new Prime Minister saw that the Liberals would incite violent feelings if the 1874 amendment went as far as Salisbury wished : that is, if it protected all endowed schools from secularisation. Therefore Disraeli tried to engineer a compromise in the Cabinet to mollify the opposition Liberals. Aided by Gathorne Hardy he persuaded Salisbury to accept a modification of the Bill which he considered to be "first in importance" among the measures which his Government proposed. When Salisbury capitulated before Disraeli's proposal, Lord Derby, formerly Stanley of the S.I.C., exclaimed, "Thank God we have got rid of the only rock ahead!"⁵

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Endowed Schools Act (1869), 1873, Forster's minority report, vii.

2. Hansard III Series, 1874, CCXIX, 1156.

3. Hansard III Series, 1874, CCXXI, 87.

4. Gosden, op. cit., 69.

5. G.E.Buckle and W.F.Money Penny, Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, V, 1868-76, London, 1920, 333-334; 360-361.

On 19 April 1876 Lyttelton took his own life. For several years he had been suffering from bouts of intense depression which had less and less frequently been balanced by his great excesses of energy. Among a number of factors which contributed to his final collapse were the death of a dearly loved daughter in 1875 and the intensity of the opprobrium he had suffered as Chief Commissioner. Lyttelton was the epitome of the type of country gentleman, devoted to public affairs, which Hobhouse had remembered in the person of his own father.¹ Gladstone published a brief memorial of Lyttelton in which he wrote that "his mastery, and his energetic handling of the subject of public endowments will, it is probable, greatly redound to his reputation in future times."² He had only very briefly held political office early in his career, and there can be little doubt but that his forte had been the forthright prosecution of his views and the views of others in relation to the inquiries with which he had been associated in the 1850s and 1860s. He had trimmed his opinions on Church matters considerably and controversially during the period of his service on the S.I.C., and perhaps his own best interests would have been served by his declining the Commissionership offered to him in 1869. Certainly his experience of county affairs, and the deference which had earlier been his due in Birmingham did not equip him satisfactorily for the arduous tasks of diplomacy and conciliation of 'petty' local interests which he had to undertake in his dealings with endowments after 1869.

Lyttelton had been subjected to a continual battering by opponents during his tenure of office after 1869. He might have expected more favourable treatment from the Revd. J.L.Brereton. But in 1874 Brereton published his 'County Education' which, while being primarily an exposition of his general 'county' principles and containing plans for county

1. See above, ch.X.

2. ———, Brief Memorials of Lord Lyttelton, London, 1876 : biographical sketch by W.E.G., 46.

colleges, included also some gratuitous criticism of the Endowed Schools Commission.¹ In his final pages he blandly proposed that a system of four 'provinces', based largely upon the Universities, should replace Part II of the 1869 Bill; and that endowments within these provinces should be combined and redistributed, the schools so created being guaranteed by the possibility of a local rate of a half-penny.² Brereton had evidently grafted ideas he had assimilated from the S.I.C. Report on to the principles he had formerly enunciated with Fortescue, which had excluded both rate-aid and the use of endowments.

He sent copies of 'County Education' to a wide circle of men, including Matthew Arnold, the Dukes of Bedford and Devonshire, Temple, Forster, Harrowby, Ducie, Redesdale, Northcote, Acland, Kerrison, and the Marquis of Salisbury.³ Matthew Arnold wrote a courteous acknowledgement; but the only other reply which has survived came from Lyttelton who wrote impatiently from the Commission office in June 1874. After suggesting that Brereton had underestimated the expense of his new scheme, Lyttelton, frustrated and at the end of his time as a Commissioner, continued,

...when you attack us as mischievous because we do not in practice bring about what you so glibly spin off on paper, I can only say that I believe if you were a week in this office, you would find the impossibility of it. It is not local jéalousies precisely; it is simply the desire to keep what we have, which prevents us from throwing all sorts of local endowments into a hotch-pot, and distributing them as we see best...Nor do I believe that it could be done even with the aid of Provincial Councils, which as you well know, we of the old Commission always assumed as indispensable coadjutors in such difficult and drastic work.⁴

The sole surviving member of the original triumvirate maintained his interest in endowments and secondary schooling in a remarkable way. Hugh George Robinson became in 1880 a member of Lord Aberdare's Committee on Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales. Aberdare was the H.A. Bruce

1. J.L.Brereton, County Education : A Contribution of Experiments, Estimates and Suggestions, London, 1874.

2. *ibid.*, 127-128.

3. A list of recipients is included among the Brereton Papers at Homerton College, Cambridge.

4. Homerton College, Cambridge, Fortescue/Brereton Letters, letter of Lord Lyttelton to Brereton, 16 June 1874.

who had served as Vice-President at the time the S.I.C. was constituted.

In an undated memorandum, written before the Disraeli Government had begun to dismantle the Commission in 1874, Robinson had noted that the Bristol schemes were awaiting approval — if approval could be expected — "from a (Conservative) minister of whose views on the subject we know nothing, and whose policy has yet to be declared, and very possibly shaped."¹ His glee at having deposited the parcel of Bristol schemes in the lap of a Conservative politician was scarcely concealed.

Conclusions.

The Endowed Schools Commission was the victim of political and religious forces whose magnitude and close direction had not been anticipated by Forster and Ripon in 1869. The abuse and criticism which the original three-man Commission suffered were the products of the way in which they interpreted the Act, and of the atmosphere created by the discussions at the Social Science Association meeting in 1869. The Act itself had been accepted, and continued to be accepted in some quarters, with relative equanimity, and the problems of the period from 1869 to 1874 were in almost every case circumvented by the Commission. Their task was dealt with slowly, but it came remarkably close to accomplishment, in so far as it had always been admitted that the time at their disposal would be too short. The S.I.C. Report had clearly revealed the weaknesses of the endowed schools; Parliament had acknowledged the urgent need to do something to remedy abuses. On the other hand Lyttelton was accurate in his analysis of the Commissioners' task in 1872: "Our experience in attempting to work the Act has shown that the country was hardly prepared for its reception".² Few persons denied, in principle, the need for general

1. PRO Ed 27/ 1291, Bristol Grammar School, undated memorandum in Robinson's hand. The memorandum makes it clear that he was positively hoping for a stay of execution, even after the Election.

2. Report of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, 1872, 37.

reform; but in practice, when confronted by assistant commissioners, they retreated into conservative guardianship of their own status quo. In fact, much of the Commissioners' valuable time was taken up with the process of educating the public about the application of the Act to local endowments. In this task they were assisted by unofficial agents like Temple and Northcote in Devonshire, Earl Ducie in Gloucestershire, by Canon Moseley in Bristol, the Revds. H.J. Barton and Christopher Cookson in Northants, and Archdeacon Fearon in Leicestershire.

The Commissioners might have anticipated the working of prejudice and self-interest in individual cases; but they could not have expected the organised opposition which took three distinct forms. The first Emanuel Hospital scheme invoked the defensive and well-known conservatism of the City of London. Resistance was inevitable. But the national campaign which followed was not, and the buttressing which the campaign provided not only protected Emanuel Hospital for the time being, but also represented the obverse of the Commissioners' own attempts to educate the public. After the publicity stage-managed by Nelson, trustees throughout the country were prepared for their own resistance and had their own prejudices reinforced by a higher authority. The Church Defence Institution represented only a section of opinion in the Established Church, but, like the City Corporation, it constituted a focal point and could command valuable Parliamentary action against the Commissioners' schemes; and it ultimately prepared the ground upon which the policy of the 1874 Tory Government was constructed. The Central Nonconformist Committee was the least important among the three pressure-groups since, while it criticised the composition of the Commission and some of its decisions, its members were able to accept compromises in the knowledge that Liberal policy was flowing in the general direction of their own aims after 1868. Its role was that of prompter rather than director or destroyer.

The extremes of bitterness among the anticipatory obituaries for the

Commission are best exemplified in the harangues of the National Church and by the anonymous author of 'The Endowed Schools Commission : Shall It be Continued ?' The National Church issued a proclamation:

As it was remarked by a contemporary, 'it is impossible to exaggerate the gain to the friends of religious education, in having got rid of gentlemen who, while we desire to do full justice to their conscientious and painstaking activity, proceeded on principles so mischievous as to make any improvement under their auspices unpopular.'

It was an implicit feature of the 1869 Act that it had gaps through which the Commissioners would be permitted to apply the recommendations of the S.I.C. It was practically impossible that the draughtsmen of the Bill should have prescribed a solution for every situation which arose in the process of reform. Yet the combination of the Commissioners' power of subjective interpretation of the Act, and the publicly declared views of two of them in 1869 provided a scaffolding for any fabric of opposition which might be erected by conservative interests. Lyttelton was Chief Commissioner by precedence. But the Spirit of the Commission's work emanated from the firm views of Hobhouse the equity lawyer.

After Hobhouse's death Lord Davey wrote of his "logical and fearless adherence to principle" and of the tenacity and thoroughness of his work.² Roby, however, came closer to the mark when he spoke of his colleague's tendency to see the Commissioners' role "too much as judges...and too little as administrators." Hobhouse was, he said, "much more of the lawyer than of the diplomat"; opposition to his work by trustees was apt to appear to him as faithlessness rather than fidelity to their trust. He was "hardly able to understand the ignorant complacency and blind adherence with which the founder's will and ancient rules were regarded by some of the local administrators."³

1. National Church, August 1874, 'The Endowed Schools Bill', 180.

2. Hobhouse and Hammond, op. cit., 51.

3. ibid., 50.

Hobhouse's attitude, and the problems it helped to create, highlight the complexity of the dilemma in which the Commissioners found themselves. The aim of the Act, on which all seem to have been agreed, was the improvement of the existing provision of education for the middle classes. But from Hobhouse's point of view one of the important consequent functions of the Commission would be to remove some of the abuses and anomalies attached to ancient trusts : this nurtured a thicket of local conservative resistance. As a corollary to this he believed that what may be called 'legal charity' did "far more harm than good to the poor."¹ His statement of this severe economic principle before the Social Science Association identified him as wishing to destroy 'the rights of the poor'. In concert with Roby he decided to tackle the big corporations, and was unfortunate enough to take on Goliath in his first contest. He had been asked to work a law which was sound in principle but widely distasteful in character. He compared the operation of the 1869 Act to that of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act which, he said, "was more discussed, but was very imperfectly understood or accepted by the country."²

But while it must be acknowledged that appointments had been made unwisely, and that the public were inadequately prepared for the 1869 Act, the fact remains that the Act was passed in a cacophony of complacency. Paradoxically the contexts of the Act and of the Commission provide a clue to the failure of the latter and the initial success of the former. The Act and the S.I.C. matched the periods in which they were created. The S.I.C. was part of a great series of educational inquiries, and its labours seemed even more strenuous than those of the Commissions which had preceded it. It has already been shown that it was related to similar inquiries into endowed schools in Scotland and Ireland. It was close cousin to the 1863 Commission of Inquiry into the Courts of Common Law

1. *ibid.*, 50.

2. *ibid.*, 52.

and Chancery. Two of its members, T.D.Acland and W.E.Forster, sat on the Select Committee on the Oxford and Cambridge Universities Bill in 1867. Roby gave evidence to the same committee.¹ In relation to professional education it preceded the Royal Commission on Military Education of 1868 which reported in 1870 and was chaired by the joint architect of the 1869 Endowed Schools Bill, Lord de Grey and Ripon.² Temple, Benson and Moseley gave evidence to this inquiry; and while the S.I.C. was sitting some of its witnesses gave evidence also to Pakington's 1865 Select Committee. These various inquiries provide the S.I.C. with a framework within which it can be appropriately located. On the other hand the implementation of the recommendations of the other inquiries proved unpopular: reform of the Commission system in the Army and of the Universities were the companions of the reform of endowed schools, and helped to create a climate in which all might be similarly indicted. The 1869 Act enjoyed the temporary privilege of being smuggled in under the shadow of the Irish Church Bill. But in the long term it was more vulnerable than any of the other reform measures because its implementation was by comparison painfully slow. Over all hung Gladstone's continuing threat to tax charities, the fact of the Irish Church's disestablishment, and the prospect of a similar fate for the Church in England. In 1873, after his 'promotion' to India, Hobhouse wrote that, though the Commission had been much more successful than he had anticipated, he had always believed that the triumvirate were "Missionaries sent to lighten the heathen, and to be persecuted and perish at their hands,"³ though this was surely a judgement conceived in retrospect, for it hardly accounted for the industry and enthusiasm of their early work.

1. Special Report from the Select Committee on the Oxford and Cambridge Universities Bill, ..., 31 July 1867, ii.

2. Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the present state of Military Education and into the training of Candidates for Commissions in the Army, 1870, 46.

3. Hobhouse and Hammond, op. cit., 46.

The achievements of the Endowed Schools Commission were but a pale reflection of the vision created by the S.I.C. It is true to say that the vision was spun from a relatively innocent conception of the problems associated with the reform of middle-class schooling, against a background of political compromise at national level; while the Commissioners were confronted by the emergence of a new kind of attitude in local affairs in their work after 1869.

The Report of the S.I.C. was the culmination of a debate which was characterised by an Arnoldian chain-reaction. One major source of ideology about middle-class education emanated from the letters which Thomas Arnold had published in 1832. There was no other coherent analysis of the middle-class problem at that time or throughout the 1840s. Hence there was frequent quotation from the Sheffield letters which were used to flavour the debate as it developed in the 1850s. The exodus of the Tractarians from Oxford in the 1840s left the field of college tuition open to young liberals like Charles Lake, a Newcastle commissioner, and Benjamin Jowett; and it was in the mid-1840s that the Arnold legend was promoted most strongly by Stanley's 'Life' published in 1844.¹ From the new liberal spirit of the Universities came the generation of young men intensely interested in public affairs and the removal of current social abuses. Temple, Green and Fryce led this cohort.

The expression of a wider concern for the solution of social problems, anticipated by the Central Society of Education in the late 1830s, was embodied in the discussions of the Social Science Association after 1857. Here, participants like Acland, Lyttelton, Fitch, Norris and Robinson began to re-formulate the ideas of Arnold in a context which had been changed by the creation of the executive Charity Commission in 1853. There was henceforward the possibility of using existing endowments as

1. Christopher Harvie, *The Light of Liberalism*, London, 1976, 34.

the nuclei of a reformed system of secondary education. The optimism engendered by the new opportunity for more efficient legal reform was the foundation upon which Temple was able to construct, in 'National Education', a programme of practical suggestions which were to form the framework of the labours of the S.I.C. in the 1860s.

But Thomas Arnold's philosophy had contained conservative as well as liberal elements, and this characteristic was echoed in the attempts at apolitical consensus which were a feature of the meetings of the Social Science Association. And just as the mature Thomas Arnold was a theoretical reformer, but never an iconoclast, so the Association tried to harmonise Utilitarian demands for radical reform with respect for established institutions. Running parallel to the S.S.A. discussions about what should be done there was the practical activity of the Charity Commission which, implicitly obeying the precepts of economy and efficiency, sought to make the most of sources of revenue deriving from ancient endowments. Endowments in themselves embodied the paradoxical notion of reviving the institutions of the past so that they might be made more appropriate for satisfying current needs.

The work of the S.S.A., however, was discursive and theoretical. What has been largely overlooked in the discussion of middle-class education as it evolved before the 1860s is the practical activity undertaken within the ancient institutions of the county and the diocese. In England and Ireland the county and the diocese were treated as the only practical bases upon which a reformed system of secondary schooling might be constructed. It was from rural communities that the impulse for change — supported by real experimentation — came. The traditional paternalism of the government of the county communities was applied to the provision or improvement of middle-class schools. This took a variety of forms : the practical stimulus provided by the agricultural societies, with plans for farms and schools, later to be capped by the system of Local Univer-

sities Examinations which had their roots in the pioneering work of the Bath and West Society; the central stimulus for local effort deriving from the policy of the National Society after 1838; and the County School movement begun by Brereton and Fortescue.

There is no integumental connection, in terms of hard evidence, between Brereton's work in the English provinces, and the educational experience which his colleague may have brought from Ireland. But it is hard to resist attempting to establish connections between the colonial paternalism of the efforts to reform Irish middle-class schooling, within a county framework, presided over by liberal Anglican clergy and laymen, and the network of middle-class schemes undertaken by the traditional leaders of county communities in England. In addition, for English Chancery lawyers, and for the mid-century commissions of inquiry, Irish experiments of an earlier period suggested models for future endeavour and experience of failure in the face of prejudice.

It is far easier to identify a rural county party at work on the S.I.C. than it is to perceive any profound appreciation by its members of the needs of developing urban communities in relation to middle-class education. The academic liberals who had emerged from their Oxford and Cambridge colleges in the 1840s and 1850s were united on the S.I.C. with sympathetic figures from county society; and so the Arnoldian prescription, which had been adapted by Temple, became linked with the experience which Acland, Northcote and Lyttelton possessed: experience of providing appropriate forms of elementary and secondary education from above in their localities. The radical tone of the S.I.C. proposals has to some extent prevented historians from seeing some of the Commissioners as representatives of a traditional, pre-democratic community. The proposed Provincial Boards might have seemed to be a radical innovation; but they were more closely related to the diocesan and county committees of the period before 1864 than to representative town councils and municipal

corporations, and to the county councils created after 1888. The S.I.C. based its recommendations more clearly upon the concept of a stable rural community with its theoretically harmonious, interdependent social hierarchy, than upon the practical working of a kind of democracy among the bourgeoisie of urban communities. This is hardly surprising, since there had been no co-ordinated urban attempts to present plans of the organisation of middle-class schooling before the 1860s.

The recommendations of the S.I.C. can be seen as a coherent attempt to introduce a civilising element into what was felt to be an inevitable surge towards democratisation in the 1860s. Most of the members of the Commission could have sympathised with the object of a memorial presented to Palmerston in 1857: the petitioners favoured the adoption of an educational franchise, that is, giving the vote to those who had received a liberal education.¹ Among the signatures were those of Archbishop Sumner, Earl Fortescue, Brougham, Shaftesbury, Viscount Sandon, James Booth, J.T. Coleridge, M.D. Hill, the Marquis of Kildare, Professor H.W. Acland, and A.P. Stanley, as well as "many barristers". But the S.I.C.'s belief that a paternalistic scheme of reform, based upon sound equity principles, would be acceptable to a wide range of interested parties after 1867 was mistaken. The Endowed Schools Commission, led by Lyttelton, triggered generally favourable responses among the various county committees which emerged. In the towns, however, the principle of representation, as in Birmingham, and of corrupt conservatism, as at Bristol and in the City of London, disturbed the Commissioners' work.

The mistaken paternalism of the S.I.C. persisted after 1875 as a factor in the pattern of secondary school reform. In 1878, in the debate on the final scheme for King Edward's School, Birmingham, Acland, who had stood as a Liberal candidate in the town in 1860, asked "all who

1. Times, 19 December 1857.

valued culture in their municipal institutions in England to pause before they adopted a principle (the representative principle) which would compel them to give way to every petty local influence in the boroughs."¹

As one of the leading participants in the mid-century debate on middle-class education, Acland can here be seen as continuing to epitomise the S.I.C.'s position as the most significant agency in a period of political transition. His was the kind of paternalism which was rooted in the gradualist soil of the rural counties, accepting organic, rather than root-and-branch change; patronising the increasing political consciousness of the towns by seeming to respond to the 'needs' of the urban middle class, whether through the meetings of the Social Science Association, or by means of the 1869 Act; accepting the application of democratic principles to the provision and administration of some elementary schooling, but withholding representative control from the crucial stabilising agencies of middle-class education; bringing in the reformed Universities to hold the pass against the onslaught of the surge of democracy in the towns; and introducing a modicum of rational competition to counterpoise the privileges of middle-class fee-payers.

1. Hansard, III Series, February-March 1878, 795.

APPENDIX I.

A Summary of the Recommendations of the Schools Inquiry Commission.

A. Terms of reference : "To inquire into the education given in schools not comprised within Her Majesty's two former Commissions, bearing date respectively 30th June (1858) and 18th July (1862)... and also to consider and report what measures (if any) are required for the improvement of such education, having special regard to all endowments applicable, or which can rightly be made applicable, thereto,"

B. The Recommendations : These are drafted in three sections : the first dealing with measures suggested for the improvement of schools; the second, which comes within the second part of the terms of reference, the machinery for carrying these suggestions into effect; and the third, which, strictly speaking, stands outside the terms of reference, the methods for providing schools where there are insufficient, or no endowments.

Section One :

1. Recommendations of Regulations for the Course of study.

The Commissioners take as their aim, the adaptation of the schools "by prescribing such a course of study as is demanded by the needs of the country." Two kinds of study are treated, secular and religious.

The secular side of the curriculum is seen as too narrow for present needs. "The country is in some places thickly dotted with grammar schools which have fallen into decay because they give undue predominance to what no parents within their reach desire their children to learn." They recommend, therefore, a three-tier grading of endowed schools :

First Grade - children stay to 18/19; Greek and Latin taught.

Second Grade - children stay to 16; no Greek, but the possibility of two modern languages.

Third Grade - children stay to 14; Latin to the elements, and a modern language.

The Commissioners propound simple criteria for grading the schools. Average fees would be 2 to 5 guineas in a Third grade school; £60 to £120 boarding fees in a First Grade school. The subjects taught would be determined by the school governors. Internal organisation would be left to the headmaster.

On the Religious side, the Commissioners take a firm line. The founders' general aim was not "the maintenance of a particular theological system, but a liberal education in which religious instruction usually had a prominent place." Religious toleration should become a general principle in the endowed schools. Exceptions would be Cathedral schools, Roman Catholic and other strictly denominational schools founded since the reign of Mary. But even in Cathedral schools there should be a conscience clause. Masterships should not be limited to candidates in holy orders. "It is hopeless to endeavour to improve the profession of teaching, if all the most important situations are reserved for those who combine another profession with it." Trustees should not be limited to members of the Church of England.

2. Recommendations as to how the endowments should be applied.

The governors should have power to spend money on improving school buildings, even to the removal of the school to a new site. Gratuitous education should be abolished : there should be competitive examinations for boys of 13 years of age. Such an arrangement will be to the advantage of poorer pupils : "it is certainly not for the interest of the poor that they should be marked as such within the school to which they are admitted..." Competition will have the added advantage of raising standards.

The Master's freehold should be abolished. A small official salary would ensure consistent exertion on the part of the master.

Regulations permitting the clothing and feeding of pupils are largely obsolete. "It is rarely a good thing to relieve the parents so entirely of the burden of maintaining their children : to aid them in bearing it is a real charity; to bear it for them is generally a blunder."

Girls' education, wherever possible, should be made the object of a local charity.

While education should not be gratuitous, "all good schools have a tendency to become expensive". Therefore, regulation of the fees should be in the hands of the Governors, not of the headmaster. A hostel-system like that at Marlborough would ensure equal payments for the masters, and also reduce the overall cost of the schooling.

Nothing would so much improve the quality of the profession of

schoolmaster as a "well-devised system of certificates". The Commissioners considered the idea of a Normal College, but abandoned it because it would prevent "variety of development." Certificates would also meet the requirements of those pressing for a Scholastic Registration Act. The Commissioners go no further than recommending that all endowed schoolmasters should possess a teaching certificate.

The headmaster should be in charge of internal management, choice of books and methods, and the hiring of assistants.

The Governors should have the absolute management of school property, submitting their accounts to an annual audit. They should fix what subjects are to be taught and their relative importance. They should adjust fees, and appoint and dismiss the headmaster.

The Provincial Authority should have the power of grading the local schools, deciding whether a school should be day or boarding. It should be "the proper body to draw up new schemes for the regulation of schools within its province, and submit them through the Charity Commissioners or some similar central authority to Parliament." It would also be the tribunal in disputes between parents and masters, and control regulations for scholarships.

Some sort of Inspection or Examination would be necessary if schools are to remain efficient. "If all endowments heretofore had been regularly inspected, it is hardly conceivable that the grammar schools should have fallen into their present condition." The weight of an independent public authority was needed. The 'Locals' provided the nearest existing model. There should be annual inspection of the buildings, etc., and annual examination of the scholars.

Wasted endowments could be used for attaching an upper department to an elementary school, or could, in any case, be made the nucleus of a new third-grade school. The Provincial Authority should have the power of bringing such endowments to the notice of the Charity Commissioners.

There should be a new Central Authority which should appoint courts of Examiners for each area, draw up examination regulations, and control the issuing of certificates for schoolmasters.

Section Two :

Machinery suggested for carrying out the previous Recommendations.

Much depends on the machinery ; also, vigour, tact, patience and readiness of adaptation are required. There are deep-rooted prejudices to be met, and imminent failures. All will fail if the means are not well adapted to the aims.

Machinery is dealt with under two headings :

1. External Management.
2. Internal Management.

There should be a Central Authority, a tribunal at the centre, with powers described in Section One. The Charity Commission should be re-constituted to form this central authority, so as to enable it to deal with educational endowments in the broadest (i.e.) truly educational sense.

There should certainly be a Provincial Authority. Earl Fortescue, in his evidence, has shown that much local bitterness would be avoided if schools were dealt with by county bodies so that changes could be shown to benefit a particular area. The new board would more closely represent the local people. But devising such boards would be a difficult problem. Election would be the ideal mode of appointment; but as yet there is little interest in this kind of education. Therefore the Registrar-General's district should be the basis of the new authorities. The Central Authority should appoint an Official District Commissioner who would serve as Inspector and ex officio member of all boards of trustees. There should be 6 to 8 other unpaid District Commissioners, appointed by the Crown, who would "represent the feelings of the district". These Commissioners would prepare schemes, after inspecting the existing endowments and canvassing local opinions. It is hoped that the energetic assistance of the people would be given to the members of the Provincial Authorities. Should a single county express the wish for such a board of its own, "the demand should be welcomed at once." Towns with populations over 100,000 should be excluded and permitted to have boards of their own.

The Commissioners make several criticisms of Governors. The principle of general co-optation should be abandoned, since it encouraged adherence to ancient traditions. Patronage is often valued more than the good of the school. City Companies and Colleges are the worst general culprits and embody the fault of often being at a distance from the school they should be serving.

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A good board should represent the interests of the parents; but, since many parents were ill-informed, the trustees should rather attempt to embody local experience of sound education. There should be continuity; but co-optation should be used to a limited extent.

To improve the quality of local trusteeship, education trusts in towns should be consolidated, under one trust if necessary.

"By internal management we mean all that has to be done to secure or to aid the instruction of the boys in the subjects prescribed by the Governors of the several schools." This included examination of the schools in prescribed subjects; examination of candidates for the teaching profession, and providing "all such educational information as will be likely to promote the steady improvement of the schools from year to year." They therefore propose the establishment of a Council of Examinations. This would have the duties of drawing up general rules for examinations, and of appointing examiners, who should be paid for out of a tax on provincial endowments. The same Council would prescribe the examinations for schoolmasters, whose fees would cover the cost of the examination. This Council should produce an annual report.

Section Three : Mode of Providing Schools in Places where there are no Endowments or where there are insufficient.

Private schools of proven efficiency might be brought into the system. In addition schools might be financed initially from local rates; though ultimately such schools should be self-supporting. "But the real force whereby the work is done must come from the people. And every arrangement which fosters the interest of the people in the schools, which teaches the people to look on the schools as their own,...will do as much service as the wisest advice and the most skilful administration."

"We believe that schools, above most institutions, require thorough concert among themselves for their requisite efficiency."

Source : Schools Inquiry Commission, Report, I, ch. VII, 571-661.

APPENDIX II.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACT. 1869.

Who may nominate for office of auditor and assessor.

6. At any election of auditors, revising assessors, or ward assessors, any person entitled to vote may nominate for the office of auditor or assessor, in like manner as such person can nominate for the office of councillor under and by virtue of the provisions in that behalf contained in the twenty-second Victoria, chapter thirty-five, and the proceedings in relation to such nomination and election shall be in all respects the same as are prescribed in the said Act in relation to the election of councillors.

Time for receipt of nominations.

7. Every nomination for the office of councillor, assessor, or auditor must be sent to the town clerk so that the same shall be received in his office before five o'clock in the afternoon of the last day on which any such nomination may by law be made.

Elections to supply extraordinary vacancies.

8. If an extraordinary vacancy shall happen in the office of assessor, and at the same time a vacancy shall exist or arise in the office of councillor which cannot be legally filled up before the vacant office of assessor has been or can be by law filled up, the election to supply such vacant office of councillor shall be held before the alderman of the ward, or the mayor where the borough is not divided into wards, the continuing assessor, and such burgess (not being a burgess representing or enrolled on the burgess list for that ward, if the borough is divided into wards), as the mayor shall by writing under his hand appoint.

Words importing the masculine gender to include females.

9. In this Act and the said recited Act of the fifth and sixth years of King William the Fourth, chapter seventy-six, and the Acts amending the same, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include females for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote in the election of councillors, auditors, and assessors.

Act to be construed with 5 & 6 W. 4. c. 76, &c.

10. This Act shall be construed as one with the said Act of the session of the fifth and sixth years of King William the Fourth, chapter seventy-six, and the Acts amending the same, except so far as the same are altered or repealed by this Act, and the words used in this Act shall have the same meaning as in the said Acts.

Extent of Act.

11. This Act shall not apply to Scotland or Ireland.

CHAP. 56.

An Act to amend the Law relating to Endowed Schools and other Educational Endowments in England, and otherwise to provide for the Advancement of Education.
[2d August 1869.]

WHEREAS the Commissioners appointed by Her Majesty under letters patent dated the twenty-eighth day of December one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four, to

inquire into the education given in schools not comprised within the scope of certain letters patent of Her Majesty, bearing date respectively the thirtieth day of June one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight and the eighteenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, have made their report, and thereby recommended various changes in the government, management, and studies of endowed schools, and in the application of educational endowments, with the object of promoting their greater efficiency, and of carrying into effect the main designs of the founders thereof, by putting a liberal education within the reach of children of all classes; and have further recommended other measures for the object of improving education:

And whereas such objects cannot be attained without the authority of Parliament:

Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled; and by the authority of the same, as follows:

Preliminary.

1. This Act may be cited as "The Endowed Schools Act, 1869." Short title.

2. This Act shall not apply to Scotland or Ireland.

Application of Act.

3. This Act shall come into operation on the passing thereof, which date is in this Act referred to as the commencement of this Act.

Commencement of Act.

4. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, the term "endowment" means every description of property, real, personal, and mixed, which is dedicated to such charitable uses as are referred to in this Act, in whomsoever such property may be vested, and in whosoever name it may be standing, and whether such property is in possession or in reversion, or a thing in action.

Definition of "endowment."

5. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, the term "educational endowment" means an endowment or any part of an endowment which, or the income whereof, has been made applicable or is applied for the purposes of education at school of boys and girls or either of them, or of exhibitions tenable at a school or an university or elsewhere, whether the same has been made so applicable by the original instrument of foundation or by any subsequent Act of Parliament, letters patent, decree, scheme, order, instrument, or other authority, and whether it has been made applicable or is applied in the shape—of payment to the governing body of any school or any member thereof, or to any teacher or officer of any school, or to any person bound to teach, or to scholars in any school, or their parents, or—of buildings, houses, or school apparatus for any school, or otherwise howsoever.

Definition of "educational endowment."

6. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, the term "endowed school" means a school which is (or if it were

Definition of "endowed school."

not in abeyance would be) wholly or partly maintained by means of any endowment: Provided that a school belonging to any person or body corporate shall not by reason only that exhibitions are attached to such school be deemed to be an endowed school.

Interpretation
of terms.

7. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,—

The term “exhibition” means any exhibition, scholarship, or other like emolument; and the term “exhibitioners” and other terms referring to exhibitions are to be construed accordingly:

The term “governing body” means any body corporate, persons or person who have the right of holding, or any power of government of or management over any endowment or, other than as master, over any endowed school, or have any power, other than as master, of appointing officers, teachers, exhibitioners or others, either in any endowed school, or with emoluments out of any endowment:

The term “Committee of Council on Education” means the Lords of the Committee of Her Majesty’s Privy Council on Education.

Nothing in this
Act, except as
expressly pro-
vided, to apply
to certain
schools herein
named.

8. Nothing in this Act, save as in this Act expressly provided, shall apply—

- (1.) To any school mentioned in section three of the Public Schools Act, 1868, or to the endowment thereof:
- (2.) To any school which, on the first of January one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, was maintained wholly or partly out of annual voluntary subscriptions, and had no endowment except school buildings or teachers residences, or playground or gardens attached to such buildings or residences:
- (3.) To any school which, at the commencement of this Act, is in receipt of an annual grant out of any sum of money appropriated by Parliament to the civil service, intituled “For Public Education in Great Britain,” or to the endowment thereof; unless such school is a grammar school, as defined by the Act of the session of the third and fourth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter seventy-seven, or a school a department of which only is in receipt of such grant:
- (4.) To any school (unless it is otherwise subject to this Act) which is maintained out of any endowment the income of which may, in the discretion of the governing body thereof, be wholly applied to other than educational purposes, or to such endowment:
- (5.) To any school (unless it is otherwise subject to this Act) which receives assistance out of any endowment the income of which may, in the discretion of the governing body of such endowment, be applied to some other school:

- (6.) To any endowment applicable and applied solely for promoting the education of the ministers of any church or religious denomination, or for teaching any particular profession, or to any school (unless it is otherwise subject to this Act) which receives assistance out of such endowment:
- (7.) To any school which, during the six months before the first of January one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, was used solely for the education of choristers, or to the endowment of any such school if applicable solely for such education.

Reorganization of Endowed Schools.

9. The Commissioners (appointed as in this Act mentioned), by schemes made during the period, in the manner and subject to the provisions in this Act mentioned, shall have power, in such manner as may render any educational endowment most conducive to the advancement of the education of boys and girls, or either of them, to alter, and add to any existing, and to make new trusts directions and provisions in lieu of any existing, trusts directions and provisions which affect such endowment, and the education promoted thereby, including the consolidation of two or more such endowments, or the division of one endowment into two or more endowments.

Schemes for application of educational endowments.

10. The Commissioners by any scheme relating to an educational endowment made during the period, in the manner and subject to the provisions in this Act mentioned, shall have power to alter the constitution, rights, and powers of any governing body of an educational endowment, and to incorporate any such governing body, and to establish a new governing body, corporate or unincorporate, with such powers as they think fit, and to remove a governing body, and in the case of any corporation (whether a governing body or not) incorporated solely for the purpose of any endowment dealt with by such scheme, to dissolve such corporation.

Schemes as to governing bodies.

11. It shall be the duty of the Commissioners in every scheme which abolishes or modifies any privileges or educational advantages to which a particular class of persons are entitled, and that whether as inhabitants of a particular area or otherwise, to have due regard to the educational interests of such class of persons.

Educational interests of persons entitled to privileges.

12. In framing schemes under this Act, provision shall be made so far as conveniently may be for extending to girls the benefits of endowments.

Schemes to extend benefit to girls.

13. It shall be the duty of the Commissioners to provide in any scheme for saving or making due compensation for the following vested interests; namely,

Saving of interest of foundation, master, governing body, &c.

- (1.) The interest of any boy or girl who was at the time of the passing of this Act on the foundation of any endowed school:

- (2.) The tenure by any person of any exhibition dealt with by any such scheme which was held by him at the time of the passing of this Act :
- (3.) Such interest as any teacher or officer in any endowed school appointed to his office before the passing of the Endowed Schools Act, 1868, may have :
- (4.) Such interest as any person may have in any pension or compensation allowance to which he was entitled at the passing of the Endowed Schools Act, 1868 :
- (5.) Such interest as any member of the governing body of any educational endowment appointed to his office before the passing of the Endowed Schools Act, 1868, may have in any emolument payable to him as such, or in any right of patronage which has a marketable value, and is capable of being sold by him :

It shall also be the duty of the Commissioners in any scheme relating to any endowed school to have regard to the rights of patronage which may be at the passing of this Act exercised by any member of the governing body of such school in consequence of any gift or donation made by him.

Not to authorize schemes for interfering with modern endowments, cathedral schools, &c.

14. Nothing in this Act shall authorize the making of any scheme interfering—

- (1.) with any endowment, or part of an endowment, (as the case may be,) originally given to charitable uses, or to such uses as are referred to in this Act, less than fifty years before the commencement of this Act, unless the governing body of such endowment assent to the scheme :
- (2.) with the constitution of the governing body of any school wholly or partly maintained out of the endowment of any cathedral or collegiate church, or forming part of the foundation of any cathedral or collegiate church, unless the dean and chapter of such church assent to the scheme :
- (3.) with the constitution of the governing body of any school, which governing body is subject to the jurisdiction of the governing body of the people called Quakers, or of the congregation of United Brethren called Moravians, unless the governing body of such school assent to the scheme :
- (4.) with the constitution of the governing body of any school or with any exhibition (other than one restricted to any schools, or school or district,) forming part of the foundation of any college in Oxford or Cambridge, unless the college assent to the scheme.

As to religious education in day schools.

15. In every scheme (except as hereafter mentioned) relating to any endowed school or educational endowment the Commissioners shall provide that the parent or guardian of, or person liable to maintain or having the actual custody of,

any scholar attending such school as a day scholar, may claim, by notice in writing addressed to the principal teacher of such school, the exemption of such scholar from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, and that such scholar shall be exempted accordingly, and that a scholar shall not by reason of any exemption from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, be deprived of any advantage or emolument in such endowed school or out of any such endowment to which he would otherwise have been entitled, except such as may by the scheme be expressly made dependent on the scholar learning such lessons.

They shall further provide that if any teacher, in the course of other lessons at which any such scholar is in accordance with the ordinary rules of such school present, teaches systematically and persistently any particular religious doctrine from the teaching of which any exemption has been claimed by such a notice as is in this section before provided, the governing body shall, on complaint made in writing to them by the parent, guardian, or person having the actual custody of such scholar, hear the complainant, and inquire into the circumstances, and, if the complaint is judged to be reasonable, make all proper provisions for remedying the matter complained of.

16. In every scheme (except as herein-after mentioned) relating to an endowed school the Commissioners shall provide that if the parent or guardian of, or person liable to maintain or having the actual custody of, any scholar who is about to attend such school, and who but for this section could only be admitted as a boarder, desires the exemption of such scholar from attending prayer or religious worship, or from any lesson or series of lessons on a religious subject, but the persons in charge of the boarding houses of such school are not willing to allow such exemption, then it shall be the duty of the governing body of such school to make proper provisions for enabling the scholar to attend the school and have such exemption as a day scholar, without being deprived of any advantage or emolument to which he would otherwise have been entitled, except such as may by the scheme be expressly made dependent on the scholar learning such lessons. And a like provision shall be made for a complaint by such parent, guardian, or person as in the case of a day school.

As to religious education in boarding schools.

17. In every scheme (except as herein-after mentioned) relating to any educational endowment the Commissioners shall provide that the religious opinions of any person, or his attendance or non-attendance at any particular form of religious worship, shall not in any way affect his qualification for being one of the governing body of such endowment.

Governing body not to be disqualified on ground of religious opinions.

18. In every scheme (except as herein-after mentioned) relating to an endowed school the Commissioners shall provide

Masters not to be required to

be in holy
orders.

Schools ex-
cepted from
provisions as
to religion.

that a person shall not be disqualified for being a master in such school by reason only of his not being or not intending to be in holy orders.

19. A scheme relating to—

- (1.) any school which is maintained out of the endowment of any cathedral or collegiate church, or forms part of the foundation of any cathedral or collegiate church ; or
- (2.) any educational endowment, the scholars educated by which are, in the opinion of the Commissioners (subject to appeal to Her Majesty in Council as mentioned in this Act) required by the express terms of the original instrument of foundation or of the statutes or regulations made by the founder or under his authority, in his lifetime or within fifty years after his death, (which terms have been observed down to the commencement of this Act,) to learn or to be instructed according to the doctrines or formularies of any particular church, sect, or denomination,

is excepted from the foregoing provisions respecting religious instruction, and attendance at religious worship (other than the provisions for the exemption of day scholars from attending prayer or religious worship, or lessons on a religious subject, when such exemption has been claimed on their behalf,) and respecting the qualification of the governing body and masters (unless the governing body, constituted as it would have been if no scheme under this Act had been made, assents to such scheme).

And a scheme relating to any such school or endowment shall not, without the consent of the governing body thereof, make any provision respecting the religious instruction or attendance at religious worship of the scholars, (except for securing such exemption as aforesaid,) or respecting the religious opinions of the governing body or masters.

Transfer of
jurisdiction of
visitors.

20. In every scheme the Commissioners may, if they think fit, provide for the transfer to Her Majesty of all rights and powers reserved to, belonging to, claimed by, or capable of being exercised by any person, persons, or body corporate as visitor of the endowed school or educational endowment to which the scheme relates, except in the case of cathedral schools.

They shall also provide that such rights, and powers as aforesaid, if vested in Her Majesty at the commencement of this Act, or if transferred to Her Majesty by the scheme, shall be exercised only through and by the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales.

Abolition of
jurisdiction of
ordinary as to
licensing
masters.

21. In every scheme the Commissioners shall provide for the abolition of all jurisdiction of the ordinary relating to the licensing of masters in any endowed school, or of any jurisdiction arising from such licensing.

22. In every scheme the Commissioners shall provide for the dismissal at pleasure of every teacher and officer in the endowed school to which the scheme relates, including the principal teacher, with or without a power of appeal in such cases and under such circumstances as to the Commissioners may seem expedient.

Tenure of office
of teachers.

23. In any scheme the Commissioners may insert all powers and provisions that may be thought expedient for carrying its objects into effect.

General provi-
sions.

24. Where part of an endowment is an educational endowment within the meaning of this Act, and part of it is applicable or applied to other charitable uses, the scheme shall be in conformity with the following provisions (except so far as the governing body of such endowment assent to the scheme departing therefrom); that is to say:

Apportionment
of mixed en-
dowments.

- (1.) The part of the endowment or annual income derived therefrom which is applicable to such other charitable uses shall not be diverted by the scheme from such uses;
- (2.) The part of the endowment or annual income so applicable to such other charitable uses shall be deemed to be the proportion which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, subject to appeal to Her Majesty in Council, is the average proportion which has during the three years before the passing of this Act been appropriated as regards capital or applied as regards income to such uses, or (if that proportion differs from the proportion which ought in accordance with the express directions of the instrument of foundation or the statutes or regulations during the said three years governing such endowment to have been so appropriated or applied) which ought to have been so appropriated or applied;
- (3.) If the proportion applicable to other charitable uses exceeds one half of the whole of the endowment, the governing body of such endowment existing at the date of the scheme shall, so far as regards its non-educational purposes, remain unaltered by the scheme;
- (4.) Where the governing body remains so unaltered, that body shall pay or apply for educational purposes such proportion as under the former provisions of this section is applicable to those purposes, or such less sum as may be fixed by the Commissioners, subject to appeal to Her Majesty in Council;
- (5.) Where during the said three years any portion of the endowment as existing at the commencement of such three years, or the annual income of such portion, has been accumulated and not applied to any purpose, the Charity Commissioners for England and

Wales shall determine whether such portion or income is to be considered, for the purposes of this section, as having been appropriated or applied for educational purposes, or for other charitable uses;

- (6.) Where by reason of the Act of Parliament, letters patent, decree, scheme, order, or other instrument during the said three years governing an endowment not having during the said three years been duly carried into effect, or being merely provisional, the preceding provisions of this section are not in the opinion of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales applicable to such endowment, the Charity Commissioners shall determine what proportions shall be considered as applicable to educational purposes, and such other charitable uses respectively.

Subject to the foregoing provisions of this section, the Commissioners shall have power by any scheme to deal with such endowment, and with the governing body thereof, in the same manner in all respects as if the whole of it were an educational endowment.

New endowment mixed with old buildings, &c.

25. Where an endowment or part of an endowment originally given to charitable uses less than fifty years before the commencement of this Act has, by reason of having been spent on school buildings or teachers residences, or playground or gardens attached to such buildings or residences, become so mixed with an old endowment given more than fifty years before the passing of this Act, that in the opinion of the Commissioners (subject to appeal to Her Majesty in Council) it cannot conveniently be separated from such old endowment, then the whole endowment shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be an endowment originally given to charitable uses more than fifty years before the commencement of this Act.

Apportionment of old and new endowments.

26. Where part of an endowment has been originally given to charitable uses more than fifty years, and another part less than fifty years before the commencement of this Act, and the two have not become mixed, as mentioned in this Act, so that they cannot conveniently be separated, and the governing body do not assent to the scheme dealing with the modern part of the endowment, the scheme relating to the old part of the endowment shall, subject to appeal to Her Majesty in Council, apportion such parts, and may direct either that the endowment shall be divided and appropriated accordingly in manner provided in the scheme, or that the whole endowment shall be vested in the governing body of one of such parts; and that the portion which is to be applied by the governing body of the other part shall be a debt due to them from the other governing body, and shall be a first charge on the endowment after payment of any charges existing thereon at the date of the scheme.

27. Where an educational endowment at the commencement of this Act forms or has formed part of the endowment of any cathedral or collegiate church, the Commissioners shall inquire into the adequacy of such educational endowment, and may submit to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England proposals for meeting out of the common fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the claims of any school receiving assistance out of the endowment of any such church to have an increased provision made for it in respect of any estates of such church which may have been transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. And the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on assenting to any such proposal or any modification of it may make such provision out of their common fund by such means and in such manner as they think best, and a scheme under this Act may with their consent be made for carrying such proposal into effect.

Claims of cathedral schools against Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

28. In any scheme the Commissioners may provide for the alteration from time to time of such portions of the scheme as they think expedient by the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales in the exercise of their ordinary jurisdiction, provided such alteration shall not be contrary to anything contained in this Act.

As to alteration of schemes.

29. For the purposes of this Act endowments attached to any school for the payment of apprenticeship fees or for the advancement in life or for the maintenance or clothing or otherwise for the benefit of children educated at such school shall be deemed to be educational endowments.

Apprenticeship fees, &c.

Provided that nothing shall be construed to prevent a scheme relating to any such endowment from providing, if the governing body so desire, for the continued application of such endowment to the same purposes.

30. In the case of any endowment which is not an educational endowment as defined in this Act, but the income of which is applicable wholly or partially to any one or more of the following purposes; namely,—

Application to education of non-educational charities.

- Doles in money or kind;
- Marriage portions;
- Redemption of prisoners and captives;
- Relief of poor prisoners for debt;
- Loans;
- Apprenticeship fees;
- Advancement in life, or

Any purposes which have failed altogether or have become insignificant in comparison with the magnitude of the endowment, if originally given to charitable uses in or before the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred; it shall be lawful for the Commissioners, with the consent of the governing body, to declare, by a scheme under this Act, that it is desirable to apply for the advancement of education the whole or any part of such endowment, and thereupon the same shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be an

educational endowment, and may be dealt with by the same scheme accordingly:

Provided that—

- (1.) In any scheme relating to such endowment due regard shall be had to the educational interests of persons of the same class in life or resident within the same particular area as that of the persons who at the commencement of this Act are benefited thereby:
- (2.) No open space at the commencement of this Act enjoyed or frequented by the public shall be enclosed in any other manner than it might have been if this Act had not passed.

Procedure for making Schemes.

Appointment
of Commis-
sioners for pur-
poses of this
Act.

31. For the purposes of this Act it shall be lawful for Her Majesty from time to time to appoint Commissioners (in this Act referred to as "the Commissioners"), and to appoint a secretary to such Commissioners, and to remove any Commissioners or secretary so appointed and appoint others, but the number of such Commissioners shall not exceed three at any one time.

The Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury may assign to the Commissioners and secretary such salaries, and allow them to employ such assistant commissioners, officers, and clerks, as the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury may think proper.

The Commissioners, secretary, and other persons so appointed and employed shall not hold office after the expiration of the time limited for the exercise of their powers.

Preparation of
draft scheme.

32. The Commissioners, after such examination or public inquiry as they think necessary, may prepare drafts of schemes for the purposes of this Act, subject to the following conditions; namely,

- (1.) Where the gross average annual income of an endowment or of the aggregate educational endowments of an endowed school during the three years next before the first of January one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine,—

- (a) exceeded ten thousand pounds a year, then before the expiration of twelve months, and where it—

- (b) exceeded one thousand pounds a year, then before the expiration of six months,

after the commencement of this Act, any governing body of any such endowment may, if they give to the Commissioners such notice as in this section mentioned, prepare and submit to the Commissioners in writing a scheme relating to such endowment, and the Commissioners shall consider such scheme before they themselves prepare any draft of a scheme relating to the same endowment; and any scheme

so prepared by the governing body, and submitted to the Commissioners, shall, if approved by them, be adopted and proceeded with by them in the same manner as if it were a draft scheme originally prepared by themselves :

(2.) The notice to be given by a governing body to the Commissioners is a notice of their intention to prepare and submit to the Commissioners a draft of a scheme, which notice shall be in writing, and shall be given to the Commissioners within two months after the commencement of this Act :

(3.) The certificate of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales shall be conclusive evidence for the purposes of this section of the income of an endowment or aggregate endowments of an endowed school.

33. When the Commissioners have prepared the draft of a scheme they shall cause it to be printed, and printed copies of it to be sent to the governing body or governing bodies of the endowment or endowments to which it relates, and to the principal teacher of any endowed school to which it relates, and shall also cause the draft, or a proper abstract of it, to be published and circulated in such manner as they think sufficient for giving information to all persons interested.

As to printing and publication of draft schemes.

34. During three months after the first publication of the draft of a scheme the Commissioners shall receive any objections or suggestions made to them in writing respecting such scheme, and shall receive any alternative scheme submitted to them by the governing body of any endowment to which the scheme of the Commissioners relates.

Objections and suggestions respecting scheme and alternative scheme.

35. At any time after the expiration of the three months the Commissioners, or any one of them, if they think fit, may hold an inquiry or they may refer the draft of the scheme and the alternative scheme, if any, to an Assistant Commissioner, and direct him to hold an inquiry concerning the subject matter of such scheme or schemes.

Power to make inquiry into schemes.

36. As soon as may be after the expiration of the said three months, or the holding of such inquiry by the Commissioners or one of them, or the receipt by the Commissioners of the report of the Assistant Commissioner, on the inquiry held by him (as the case may be), the Commissioners shall proceed to consider any objections or suggestions made to them in writing respecting the draft scheme, and to consider the alternative scheme (if any), and the report (if any), and thereupon they shall, if they think fit, frame a scheme in such form as they think expedient, and submit it for the approval of the Committee of Council on Education : Provided that where a scheme has been prepared and submitted in pursuance of this Act to the Commissioners before the Commissioners have prepared the draft of a scheme, the Commissioners shall, if requested by the governing body which submitted it, submit such scheme with their own to the Committee of Council on Education.

As to framing of schemes.

Approval of
Committee of
Council on
Education to
schemes.

37. The Committee of Council on Education shall consider all schemes so submitted to them, and may, if they think fit, approve any scheme so submitted, and shall cause the scheme so approved to be published and circulated in such manner as they think sufficient for giving information to all persons interested.

If the committee do not approve a scheme submitted to them the Commissioners may frame and submit another scheme in the same manner as if no scheme had been previously framed and submitted; provided that where the Committee of Council on Education have not approved any scheme relating to an endowment, the governing body of which may under this Act prepare and submit a draft of a scheme before the Commissioners prepare a draft of a scheme, such governing body may, within three months after notice of such non-approval (if within one month thereafter they give written notice of their intention to the Commissioners), submit to the Commissioners an amended scheme; and the Commissioners shall consider the same before they frame and submit another scheme relating to the same endowment, and such amended scheme of the governing body, if approved by the Commissioners, shall be adopted and proceeded with by them as if it were a scheme originally framed by themselves.

Consent of col-
leges or hall.

38. Where a scheme abolishes any restriction which makes any exhibition tenable only at a particular college or hall in any university, and the exhibition is payable out of property held by such college, or by the university in trust for such college or hall, (otherwise than as governing body of a school, or as a bare trustee,) the scheme shall not be approved if not less than two thirds of the governing body of such college or hall dissent therefrom in writing; but in every such case the Committee of Council shall make a special report to Parliament setting out the proposed scheme, and stating the dissent, and the reasons, if any, assigned for it.

Appeal to
Queen in
Council.

39. If the governing body of any endowment to which a scheme relates, or any person or body corporate directly affected by such scheme, feels aggrieved by the scheme, on the ground—

- (1.) Of any decision of the Commissioners in a matter in which an appeal to Her Majesty in Council is given by this Act; or
- (2.) Of the scheme not saving or making due compensation for his or their vested interest as required by this Act;
- (3.) Of the scheme being one which is not within the scope of or made in conformity with this Act; or
- (4.) (If the governing body are the petitioners,) of a scheme not having due regard to any educational interests, to which regard is required by this Act to be had, on the abolition or modification of any privileges or educational advantages to which a particular class of persons are entitled;

such governing body, person, or body corporate may within two months after the publication of the scheme when approved petition Her Majesty in Council stating the grounds of the petition, and praying Her Majesty to withhold her approval from the whole or any part of the scheme.

Her Majesty, by Order in Council, may refer any such petition for the consideration and advice of five members at the least of Her Privy Council, of whom two (not including the Lord President) shall be members of the Judicial Committee, and such five members may, if they think fit, admit counsel to be heard in support of and against the petition, and shall have the same power with respect to the costs of all parties to the petition as the Court of Chancery would have if the petition were a proceeding in that court by way either of petition or information for obtaining a scheme.

Any petition not proceeded with in accordance with the regulations made with respect to petitions presented to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council shall be deemed to be withdrawn.

It shall be lawful for Her Majesty by Order in Council to direct that the scheme petitioned against be laid before Parliament, or to remit it to the Commissioners with such declaration as the nature of the case may require.

40. Where a scheme is remitted with a declaration the Commissioners may either proceed to prepare another scheme in the matter in the same manner as if no scheme had been previously prepared, or may submit for the approval of the Committee of Council on Education such amendments in the scheme as will bring it into conformity with the declaration.

Proceedings
where scheme
is remitted.

The Committee may, if they think fit, approve the scheme with such amendments, and shall publish and circulate the same in the same manner and subject to the same right of petition to Her Majesty in Council as is before directed in the case of the approval of a scheme, and so on from time to time as often as occasion may require.

41. After the time has expired for a petition to Her Majesty in Council against any scheme, or after Her Majesty in Council has directed a scheme to be laid before Parliament, the scheme shall be forthwith laid before both Houses of Parliament, if Parliament be sitting, or if not, then within three weeks after the beginning of the next ensuing session of Parliament, and after such scheme has lain for forty days before Parliament, then unless within such forty days an address has been presented by one or other of the said Houses praying Her Majesty to withhold Her consent from such scheme or any part thereof, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty by Order in Council to declare Her approbation of such scheme or any part thereof to which such address does not relate.

Schemes, &c.
to be laid be-
fore Parlia-
ment.

42. Where a scheme relates to an endowment which during the three years preceding the commencement of this Act has had an average annual gross income of not more than one

Exception as
to schemes for
endowments
under 100£.

hundred pounds, no petition shall be presented to Her Majesty in Council with reference to such scheme, so far as it relates to such an endowment.

The certificate of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales shall be conclusive evidence for the purposes of this section of the income of an endowment.

New scheme on non-approval.

43. If any scheme or any part thereof is not approved by Her Majesty, then the Commissioners may thereupon proceed to prepare another scheme in the matter, and so on from time to time as often as occasion may require.

Amendment of schemes.

44. Schemes may be from time to time framed and approved for amending any scheme approved under this Act, and all the provisions of this Act relative to an original scheme shall apply also to an amending scheme, *mutatis mutandis*.

Scheme to take effect.

45. A scheme shall not of itself have any operation, but the same, when and as approved by Her Majesty in Council, shall from the date specified in the scheme, or, if no date is specified, from the date of the Order in Council, have full operation and effect in the same manner as if it had been enacted in this Act.

Effect of scheme.

46. Upon a scheme coming into operation, every Act of Parliament, letters patent, statute, deed, instrument, trust, or direction relating to the subject matter of the scheme, and expressed by such scheme to be repealed and abrogated, shall, by virtue of the scheme and of this Act, be repealed and abrogated from the date in that behalf specified, or if no date is specified, from the date of the scheme coming into operation, and all property purporting to be transferred by such scheme shall, without any other conveyance or act in the law (so far as may be), vest in the transferees, and so far as it cannot be so vested shall be held in trust for the transferees.

Evidence of scheme.

47. The Order in Council approving a scheme shall be conclusive evidence that such scheme was within the scope of and made in conformity with this Act, and the validity of such scheme and order shall not be questioned in any legal proceedings whatever.

Quorum of Commissioners.

48. A scheme of the Commissioners shall not be submitted to the Committee of Council on Education unless two at least of the Commissioners have signified in writing their approval of such scheme, but in all other respects one Commissioner may act under this Act.

Power of Commissioners, &c. as to procuring evidence.
18 & 19 Vict.
c. 124. ss. 6-9.

49. Section eleven of the Charitable Trusts Act, 1853, (which relates to the production of documents by public officers,) and sections six, seven, eight, and nine of "The Charitable Trust Act, 1855," (relating to evidence, and the attendance and examination of witnesses,) shall extend to the Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners under this Act, as if they were the commissioners and inspectors mentioned in those sections.

Inquiry by public sittings

50. Where any Commissioner or Assistant Commissioner holds a local inquiry for the purpose of a scheme under this

Act, whether before or after the first publication of a draft by Commissioners, &c. scheme, he shall for that purpose hold a sitting or sittings in some convenient place in the neighbourhood of the place where the endowment is situate or administered, and thereat take and receive any evidence and information offered, and hear and inquire into any objections or suggestions made or to be made during the sitting or sittings respecting the scheme or the endowment or school, with power from time to time to adjourn any sitting.

Notice shall be published, in such manner as the Commissioners direct, of every such sitting (except an adjourned sitting), fourteen days at least before the holding thereof.

51. The Assistant Commissioner who holds a local inquiry shall make a report in writing to the Commissioners setting forth the result of the inquiry, and where a draft scheme, with or without an alternative scheme has been referred to him whether in his opinion such draft or alternative scheme, as the case may be, should be approved with or without alteration, and if with any, then with what alteration, and his reasons for the same, and the objections and suggestions, if any, made on the inquiry, and his opinion thereon. As to report of Assistant Commissioners.

Miscellaneous.

52. During the continuance of the power of making schemes under this Act the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, or any Court or Judge, shall not, with respect to any educational endowment which can be dealt with by a scheme under this Act, make any scheme or appoint any new trustees without the consent of the Committee of Council on Education. Restriction of powers of Charity Commissioners. Court, &c.

During the same period the Charity Commissioners shall have the same power of acting upon application made to them by the Commissioners under this Act with respect to any educational endowment as they would have if such application had been made by the governing body of such endowment; and the governing body shall conform to any order made or directions given by the Charity Commissioners upon such application.

53. The chapel of an endowed school subject to this Act, which either has been before or after the commencement of this Act consecrated according to law, or is authorized for the time being by the bishop of the diocese in which the chapel is situate, by writing under his hand, to be used as a chapel for such school, shall be deemed to be allowed by law for the performance of public worship and the administration of the sacraments according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and shall be free from the jurisdiction and control of the incumbent of the parish in which such chapel is situate. School chapels appropriated for religious worship free from parochial jurisdiction.

54. The majority of the members of a governing body who are present at a meeting of their body duly constituted shall have power to do anything that may be required to be done Quorum of governing body for acting under this Act.

by a governing body for the purposes of this Act: Provided that this power shall be in addition to and not in restraint of any power which any meeting of such governing body may have independently of this Act.

Persons ac-
quiring interest
after passing of
Act to be sub-
ject to scheme.

55. Every interest, right, privilege, or preference, or increased interest, right, privilege, or preference, which any person may acquire after the passing of this Act in or relative to any endowed school or educational endowment, or in the governing body thereof, or as member of any such governing body, or in or relative to any mastership, office, place, employment, pension, compensation, allowance, exhibition, or emolument in the gift of any such governing body, shall be subject to the provisions of any scheme made under this Act; and the governing body of an endowed school or educational endowment shall not during the continuance of the power of making schemes under this Act, begin to build, rebuild, or enlarge any school buildings or teachers residences or buildings connected therewith, except with the written consent of the Commissioners, or under the directions of such a scheme, but this provision shall not prevent them from continuing any works begun before the passing of this Act, or from doing anything necessary for the repair or maintenance of buildings or residences existing at the passing of this Act.

Service of
notices.

56. Notices and documents required to be served on or sent to a governing body for the purposes of this Act may be served or sent by being left at the office, if any, of such governing body, or being served on or sent to the chairman, secretary, clerk, or other officer of such governing body, or if there is no office, chairman, secretary, clerk, or officer, or none known to the Commissioners (after reasonable inquiry), by being served on or sent to the principal teacher of the school (if any) under such governing body.

Service by
post.

57. Notices and documents required to be served or sent for the purposes of this Act may be served or sent by post, and shall be deemed to have been served and received at the time when the letter containing the same would be delivered in the ordinary course of the post; and in proving such service or sending it shall be sufficient to prove that the letter containing the notices or documents was properly addressed and put into the post office.

Expenses of
Act.

58. The salaries paid and expenses incurred in carrying into effect this Act shall be defrayed out of monies to be provided by Parliament.

Duration of
powers of mak-
ing schemes.

59. The powers of making and approving of a scheme under this Act shall not, unless continued by Parliament, be exercised after the thirty-first of December one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, or such further day not later than the thirty-first of December one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, as may be appointed by Her Majesty in Council.

APPENDIX III.

Letter from the Revd. Christopher Cookson, Secretary of the Middle Schools Committee, Northants Educational Society, to the Trustees of Northants Endowed Schools:

Dallington Vicarage,
Northampton.

December 8th, 1870.

Sir, You are probably aware that in the year 1864 a Royal Commission was appointed for examining into the condition of the Endowed Schools of England. This Commission made a report to Her Majesty in 1868. In this report certain general principles were recommended with a view to providing, as far as might be possible, sufficient and efficient Grammar Schools of various grades for the whole country; and, in connection with this, the character and condition of every Endowed Grammar School were described in accordance with reports made to the Commission by Inspectors appointed under their authority. And further, specific recommendations as to the remodelling of many of these schools were made, involving in many cases a redistribution of funds.

There is no doubt that ultimately the Commissioners will visit each of the Districts into which they divided the country, and will, with the assistance of Parliament, make many changes of great importance to the Schools and to the community. In these circumstances, the Northants Educational Society thought at their last Annual Meeting that it was desirable that something should be done with a view to meeting, and, if possible, guiding the future action of the Commissioners in this County; and they requested the Middle Class Schools Committee of that Society to take the matter in hand.

That Committee met last week (the Rt. Hon. G. Ward Hunt being in the chair), and after taking into consideration the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners, they came to the conclusion that it was desirable in the first instance to invite the co-operation of the Trustees of the several Schools, and that (as the matter is of great interest to the whole County) to call a Public Meeting, at which some action more or less authoritative might be originated.

I am requested, therefore, to ask you (if you see no objection) to be so good as to summon a meeting of the Trustees of School, at your earliest convenience, and to lay this letter before them, asking them whether they would be willing to send some Representative or Representatives of their Body to hold a Conference with the Committee of the Educational Society, on Monday, 9th January, 1871, at Noon, in the Rooms of the Religious and Useful Knowledge Society, Gold Street, Northampton.

I shall feel particularly obliged by your communicating to me the decision of your Trustees as soon as possible, in order that I may know whether to summon the Committee of which I am Secretary.

I am, etc.,

Source : Minute Book of the Middle-class Committee of the Northants Educational Society. See main text, above, ch. XI.

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