

**EDUCATION OF POOR GIRLS
IN NORTH WEST ENGLAND
c1780 to 1860:
A STUDY OF WARRINGTON AND CHESTER**
by
Joyce Valerie Ireland

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Philosophy
at the University of Central Lancashire

September 2005

EDUCATION OF POOR GIRLS
IN NORTH WEST ENGLAND
c1780 to 1860
A STUDY OF WARRINGTON AND CHESTER
ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to discover what provision there was in North West England in the early nineteenth century for the education of poor girls, using a comparative study of two towns, Warrington and Chester. The existing literature reviewed is quite extensive on the education of the poor generally but there is little that refers specifically to girls. Some of it was useful as background and provided a national framework.

In order to describe the context for the study a brief account of early provision for the poor is included. A number of the schools existing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continued into the nineteenth and occasionally even into the twentieth centuries and their records became the source material for this study.

The eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century were marked by fluctuating fortunes in education, and there was a flurry of activity to revive the schools in both towns in the early nineteenth century. The local archives in the Chester/Cheshire Record Office contain minute books, account books and visitors' books for the Chester Blue Girls' school, Sunday and Working schools, the latter consolidated into one girls' school in 1816, all covering much of the nineteenth century.

Warrington Library archives contain similar records on the Warrington Blue Coat School, the Warrington National and Sunday schools, the Society of Friends' school at Penketh, Warrington, and the British and Foreign school. An important and original find were the records kept by many women who had managed girls' schools in every aspect from selecting and employing teachers, fund-raising, curriculum, welfare, discipline, school times and holidays and keeping detailed accounts.

The final conclusions were that while provision for educating poor girls was almost always included at the outset, their education could be dispensed with when financial difficulties arose and their curriculum was usually much less ambitious than that for the boys. This study has gone some way to remedy the neglect of the history of educating poor girls that was found in most of the literature.

Education of Poor Girls in North West England
c1780-1860
A Study of Warrington and Chester
Contents

	Page
<u>Introduction</u>	1
Proposed Research	
Literature Review	3
The Two Locations	17
Thesis Structure	22
<u>Chapter I Overview of Provision</u> <u>of Education for the Poor</u>	24
Introduction	
Provision before the Nineteenth Century	25
The Voluntary School Societies	26
Role of the State	27
Church and State	28
Conclusions	37
<u>Chapter II Education Provision in the Region</u> <u>in the Early Nineteenth Century</u>	38
Introduction	
Charity Provision and Endowments before 1800	39
Educational Revival in the early part of the Nineteenth Century	47
Conclusions	55
<u>Chapter III Developments through the 1830s and 1840s</u>	57
Introduction	
Expansion of School Provision	57
Chester Diocesan Board of Education	64
Rival Schools	66
The Quakers	73
Conclusions	80

<u>Chapter IV Women's Involvement in the Education of Poor Girls</u>	82
Introduction	
Women as Managers	84
Raising and Handling Finance	86
Administration of Schools: Teachers, Pupil Teachers and Curriculum	88
Welfare of Teachers and Pupils	95
Conclusions	102
<u>Conclusions</u>	105
Summary of findings and what might follow	
<u>Notes and References</u>	108
<u>Bibliography</u>	120

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My time as a postgraduate student at the University of Central Lancashire has been a very pleasant experience. This has been largely due to my Director of Studies, Dr Keith Vernon, and my thanks go to him for his unfailing guidance, support and encouragement and for being available to help at almost any time. Without his professional but friendly advice and suggestions this research would not have been completed with so few problems. My second supervisor, Dr Wendy Webster, has read and criticised my written work throughout and her comments have helped me to focus on the important aspects that have emerged from the research. Both offered me support in what at times can be a somewhat lonely task.

Other academic staff have been of great help in organising postgraduate events which have provided the opportunity to meet fellow students, broadening my knowledge in a number of ways. The administrative staff have been equally supportive, answering queries and helping to solve personal problems. The library staff were invaluable in guiding me when I had difficulty locating necessary material.

In the record offices at Chester and Preston and the library at Warrington the knowledge and helpfulness of the archivists made my research a fruitful and pleasurable experience. St. Deiniol's residential library at Hawarden provided a peaceful haven where it was possible to work without interruption and where some contemporary research material was to be found.

Finally, but most importantly, my grateful thanks go to my husband, Tom, who not only encouraged me throughout but supported me with all kinds of practical help. He has fed me, relieved me of many domestic chores and generally made life very easy while I carried out my research.

EDUCATION OF POOR GIRLS
IN NORTH WEST ENGLAND
c1780 TO 1860
A STUDY OF WARRINGTON AND CHESTER
INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Proposed Research

Gender issues in education are raised from time to time when people become concerned about some particular aspect. At the present time in the early twenty-first century there is something approaching panic about the failure of boys to be as successful as girls in attaining acceptable standards in such basic skills as reading and writing. Boys are more disaffected by the school system than girls and the latter are ahead at all levels, now comprising the majority going on into higher education. Measures are being implemented in attempts to rectify this. The reverse situation obtained in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when, with a few notable exceptions, less concern was shown for the lack of provision for girls' education or for their withdrawal from school for domestic and other reasons. Even during much of the twentieth century, after the advent of universal and compulsory education, it was often thought a waste of time educating girls who would only work for a short time before marrying and withdrawing into family life. Thus expectations for girls were much lower than those for boys.

There has been a growing body of research into the education of girls but much of this has mainly concentrated on the last two or three decades of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century since the sources are deemed to be more plentiful and records more methodically kept than previously. Any work covering earlier decades was more likely to consist of studies of a small selection of, usually middle class girls, and the few women who were pioneering in the field of education for girls. It is intended in this thesis to explore the education of poor girls when mass education began to grow in the late 1700s and early 1800s up to the start of the major move for the state to control all education in the 1850s and 1860s. Definitions of class were beginning to appear and terms used were the 'deserving' poor, the working classes and the middle classes. For the purposes of this research the main subjects will be what were later referred to by the Newcastle Commission in 1861 as the independent poor¹. These were artisans, tradesmen and other skilled people,

who were not usually extremely poor but often found extras such as education difficult to pay for, so apart from a few references to workhouse provision, there will be little reference to paupers' situations.

As will be seen, education provision was frequently for orphans of the independent poor or where one parent had died or for some children of large families. Such education was normally very basic with rarely the opportunity to study science, learn a foreign language or even have history or geography lessons. Their status in life demanded that they should be trained to 'habits of industry', with skills of special use to their betters and future employers. 'Book learning' was seen by many as not suitable for or desired by the poorer classes and parents would lose the earning power of their children. The exception was the belief by many that everyone should be taught to read the Bible for themselves and this was a main motive for establishing many of the schools for the poor. It was believed that reading the Bible would *per se* lead to good Christian lives and moral behaviour. For those who opposed educating the poor the fear was that the lower classes would also read other material and might try to rise above their station in life. Also there was in the last decades of the eighteenth century a constant fear of revolution as could be seen happening in a number of European countries as in France in 1789.

The method will be to focus on two contrasting towns, both now in Cheshire, the city of Chester and the market and manufacturing town of Warrington, which was in Lancashire until boundary changes in 1974. Although it will be seen that girls were generally less well provided for throughout the period in question there is in fact evidence of quite extensive provision at times and in some places. Such provision was also a useful outlet for many women who could not otherwise pursue a career in the same way that their fathers, husbands and brothers could. Their involvement was frequently instrumental in both the financing and management of schools for girls. The extensive evidence concerning women in education has been of enormous interest and a major find in this research. It is another area which has been under researched and means that I have been able to present original material rarely before examined. In order to understand the provision of education during the early decades of the century a brief outline of what was already there will help to set the scene.

Literature Review

The existing literature on educating the working classes during the nineteenth-century is predominantly on the later decades of the century, from the investigations of the government in the 1850s and 1860s and the passing of the Education Acts of 1870 and later. Much has also been written about educating middle-class children. The aim of this review is to examine the available literature on the education of the poor, to reveal the omissions and to suggest how they might be rectified and the subject given the treatment it surely deserves. Issues relevant to the study of early nineteenth-century poor girls and their status with regard to education will be raised and the contribution or otherwise of available texts. These will include the education debates of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the scope and range of education provision and the providers. Included will be the different types of schools such as Sunday schools, charity schools, dame schools and industrial schools. Also examined will be the curriculum and methods employed. Coverage of the attitudes to educating the poor and girls in particular will be looked at as will the general background to why certain attitudes prevailed at a particular time. Specifically, the extent of the literature on educating the poor in part of the North West region of England will be assessed as will that focusing on girls and women.

There are a number of different approaches adopted by historians to the subject of education. There are numerous histories of individual schools including famous public schools, humble village primary schools, charity and grammar schools and small private academies². Some have traced the establishment, development and often the demise of individual types of school or education system, for example the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (National Society) and the British and Foreign School Society (BFSS)³. Analysis of attitudes to education at different periods, on whether and how to educate certain groups of children such as the lower classes, the very poor and girls of all classes has been carried out. There was a great deal of controversy concerning what should be taught and who should control the teaching. The arguments frequently involved religion, whether those of the established church, teaching a wholly Church of England based curriculum, the Dissenters many of whom favoured a mix of religious and secular education or a few who believed that a state-controlled secular system should be aimed for. However, there is only a small body of work

solely on the education of poor girls in the early part of the nineteenth century such as the work of Meg Gomersall⁴, possibly because until after World War II education in general was a somewhat neglected area of study. Much of the rest is concentrated on either middle- and upper-class provision or on the later decades of the century. Alongside this was the even later burgeoning of women's history as an area worthy of serious research. Both have been rectified to some extent over the past forty to fifty years.

Several authors explore the various attitudes to the desirability or otherwise of educating the poor. Victor Neuberg's book⁵ has considerable detail on the different attitudes to educating the poor throughout the eighteenth century. His first chapter details the debate on the merits or otherwise of teaching the poor to read, both supporters and opposers using the same argument to support their case of aiming to keep the poorer classes content to remain in their allotted stations in life. After his account of the debate on whether to teach the poor to read he relates that of whether they should be taught to write, considered by some to be much more dangerous and rarely necessary. He also quotes Isaac Watts who, in an essay, put forward the view that, even if it was proper to teach some bright town and city children to write, children of the country, defined as 'far flung fields and villages', only needed to be able to read⁶. There are a number of references to the education of girls of the poorer classes, offering the view that girls did not require such an extensive curriculum as the boys of the very lowest class, who were taught reading, writing and elementary arithmetic. The girls should only be taught reading and needlework. The overall aim for the lowest classes who were deemed to be innately vicious, was reform.

Brian Simon⁷ discusses the educational outlook of such late eighteenth-century reformers as Joseph Priestley, Richard Lovell Edgeworth and his daughter, Maria, and William Godwin. He describes how several societies were formed, for example the Lunar Society in Birmingham about 1766 and the Literary and Philosophical Society in Manchester in 1781. Included in these societies' aims was that of propagating interest in the study and teaching of science as well as the arts. Priestley, a member of the former society, advocated the study of science above all else. In some of his writings he did not seem to consider girls' education of importance as all his references were to 'young gentlemen', not young ladies, nor even boys and girls. This may not have been his totally considered view since he is known to have helped teach and encourage Anna Laetitia Aikin (1743-1825),

later Mrs Barbauld, during his time as tutor in *Belles Lettres* at the Warrington Dissenters' Academy⁸. Anna Laetitia, daughter of John Aikin one of the other tutors, was fifteen years old when her family moved to Warrington. She had had a good elementary education in her father's school (for boys) at Kibworth Harcourt in Leicestershire, but could not continue in the all-male Academy. It was Dr Priestley who taught her some science and encouraged her writing, as a poet and as an author of lessons and hymns for little children. This may show that care should be exercised when simply reporting the apparent views of the well known reformers. Priestley may have been quoted in a particular context. His encouragement of Anna Laetitia bore fruit in her activities as a teacher and seems to indicate that he had no objection to girls being educated and even taught science. She was not of course a poor girl and had an encouraging father, but it was still unusual to be so well educated at that time⁹.

Simon¹⁰ attributes the views of the members of the Lunar Society to their reading of the materialist philosophers' theories of education. Hobbes (1588-1679), Descartes (1596-1650) and Locke (1632-1704) believed that the purpose of education was to form the minds of children. Locke's notion of a newborn baby was as a 'tabula rasa', a blank slate on which everything is to be imposed. Priestley was more in favour of associationism as the basic process of learning¹¹. Simon also gives an account of the Lovell Edgeworths' (father and daughter) ideas, which were far in advance of their time. They challenged the current view that said that no amount of education could extend or alter what a child was born with. They advocated trying to gain and keep the child's confidence; that if the child does not learn then it is due to those teaching who do not understand the art of teaching and not to any incapacity in the child. They believed that even a slow child who perseveres would succeed in the end. Similarly William Godwin said that one's own efforts are all that are needed to overcome all obstacles to improvement. Priestley opposed this view, saying that 'this hypothesis of gradual *unfolding* of the powers of the mind very much resembles the gradual *acquisition* of them, from the impressions to which we are exposed'¹².

Another description of the Lovell Edgeworths' ideas can be found in a biography of Maria by James Newcomer¹³. Maria was quoted as saying 'I claim for my father, the merit of having been the first to recommend what Bacon would call the experimental method in education'. She participated in the actual education of her brothers and sisters according to the theories being expounded in her family. Newcomer quotes extensively from the

Edgeworths' book *Practical Education* published in 1798 that had more than five hundred pages on educating children. Amongst many other things the Edgeworths advocated the kind treatment of young children, using proper toys instead of making early lessons painful and difficult. They deplored the use of oppression and fear as being counter-productive. They said that where teaching was carried out in an affectionate manner, punishment was rarely needed. Maria also wrote stories to be read to her siblings.

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797)¹⁴ expressed some very radical ideas. She wrote of her belief that all children between the ages of five and nine, of all classes, rich and poor, male and female, should be provided with an education in schools organised nationally. They should, she thought, all be taught together and treated the same in matters of curriculum, discipline and dress. There should be a broad curriculum taught in such a manner as to stimulate the children's curiosity and encourage the ability to seek knowledge for themselves instead of simply accepting blindly what they were told in answer to their questions. The company of the other children would enable them to enjoy a proper childhood instead of having to grow up too soon. Similarly Thomas Paine (1737-1809)¹⁵ also advocated a system of state education. Victor Neuberg expressed some surprise that Paine's views on education failed to generate even a debate and were largely ignored, unlike his political and religious views.

The early debate on girls' education was based upon how necessary it was to their station in life, on their earning requirements in the case of working-class girls and, in the case of middle-class girls, on their ability to make a good marriage. The former would be taught as much as was thought necessary to work in a mill or enter service. The latter were likely to be taught 'accomplishments', music, dancing, fine needlework and enough general knowledge to hold a conversation in polite company. For both moral training was seen to be an essential basic requirement.

The debates waxed and waned over time with the emphasis shifting between the topics of whether to teach certain groups, what to teach, who should teach and last but not least who should pay for it. There was an increasing interest in popular education during the final decades of the eighteenth-century that continued into the nineteenth-century, albeit with much of the emphasis on who should have control of the education provided changed.

The ideas of Priestley, Paine, Barbauld, Wollstonecraft, the Lovell Edgeworths and Godwin were radical in the extreme. They formed a network, for example the tutors and students of the Warrington Academy and all Unitarians, promoting their ideas advocating discovery, reasoning and understanding, not just the learning of facts. In the words of Godwin, 'awakening the mind'¹⁶ and using the imagination. Most importantly they wished such education to include girls equally with boys. In the late eighteenth-century it was the accepted belief that the poor did not need any education beyond that which might enable them to lead God-fearing lives and make an honest living. This may have included basic reading and numeracy, possibly writing and the ability to know right from wrong usually according to the principles of the Established Church.

Victor Neuberg¹⁷ writes of two types of school available to the poor throughout the eighteenth-century, one being the charity schools set up and run by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), a Church of England organization founded in 1698/99. Pauline Heath describes such schools as developing from the Catechetical schools set up in each London parish to teach poor children the principles of Christianity according to the established church and give them suitable vocational training.¹⁸

J.M. Goldstrom¹⁹ traces the history of educating the poor in general, from the time of the expansion of Sunday schools in the 1780s to beyond the 1870 Education Act. His introduction refers to the charity schools, opened by the SPCK to provide moral and religious education for the 'fortunate' few throughout the eighteenth century. By the 1780s, Goldstrom says, various Evangelical groups were highly concerned by the lack of religion amongst the working classes and a high crime rate. The Evangelicals were those with fervent Christian beliefs leading them to carry out missionary work amongst the poor in the form of Sunday schools.

Michael Sanderson's article²⁰ makes a useful contribution to the available information on charity schools. During the early eighteenth century the population grew slowly and there was an increase in new endowed schools. Sanderson's figures include the information that between 1720 and 1730, twenty three were founded in Cheshire, thirty six in Derbyshire and thirty two in Lancashire. Later in the century when the population rose sharply, Sanderson shows that the establishment of new charity schools subsided, the money being used for other purposes, and the existing schools were unable to cope.

Phillip McCann²¹ describes how the charity and church schools provided minimal education for the poor, but selectively excluded the very poorest children. There were too few schools and they were often non-existent, as in Spitalfields, London. As the population increased, Sunday schools, started by Dissenters as well as the church, replaced the charity schools to some extent. The aim of Sunday schools was to civilise children and they grew in popularity because child workers could be educated without impinging on the working week. McCann describes the spate of school building that took place around 1812-1824 and says the reasons were both political and social. There was a great deal of juvenile crime and a general fear of revolution because of the growing militancy of the working classes.

The other schools available to the poor referred to by Victor Neuberg²² were the dame schools, considered to be of low quality and universally lacking in value, mainly baby-minding services usually by old women in their own homes. His views on the dame schools may have been true of many, but June Purvis²³ in her chapter on education and the working classes finds a number of sources that show evidence of the provision of a sound, if very basic and limited, education by some dame schools. It also appeared that many working-class parents preferred to pay more for an education provided by their own kind in a familial setting rather than have the views of the middle-class church schools imposed upon them. Philip McCann²⁴ was also one who found a good word for the dame and common day schools. Because they were run by the working classes for themselves they were often condemned by contemporary critics and historians, both likely to be middle class.

Sanderson's paper looking at industrial Lancashire²⁵ gives a good account of the growth of schools within factories and mills, or schools founded and/or maintained by factory and mill owners. Sanderson's work gives the names, dates and descriptions of methods and organisation of teaching in the schools provided in the period. It is not always possible to decide from the article how many of the children referred to were girls. Sanderson detailed many of these factory schools; from 1786 when Entwistles of Ancoats had set up a Sunday school in the mill and about 1788 where, in Cark in Furness, a Sunday school was started to teach children to read and write in the mornings and evenings; to the period from 1802 when most were begun following the Act for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others Employed in Cotton and other Mills and

Cotton and other Factories. Later the 1833 Factory Act made education compulsory for children in mills and factories other than those using cotton as their raw material, requiring mill and factory owners to prove school attendance of their young employees.

In his essay in the same book, J.M. Goldstrom²⁶ describes the social control as the use of literacy teaching to encourage church attendance, self-help and sobriety aiming to reduce crime and immoral behaviour as defined by the middle classes. He believed that claims of success in achieving these goals were greatly exaggerated. Sanderson in his article²⁷ recounts the reasons for the establishment of the various schools that began in the late eighteenth century. These were the rise in population, the depression of prices and therefore wages in the textile industry when workers could not afford to send their children to school. Many factory owners started Sunday or evening schools within the mill or factory to enable the children who worked for them to be taught reading and maybe writing. Sanderson shows how seriously a significant number of Lancashire owners took the responsibility placed upon them by Parliament in 1802 to provide education for their child employees. Details of these owners, their factories and dates are included in the article and assessed. Sanderson feels that the evidence shows that the 1833 Factory Act was a setback to the activities of the factory and mill owners with regard to its educational provisions. The issue became complicated and some of the owners were disillusioned and resentful. This Act took away their responsibility for educating their employees and introduced a system of requiring certificates to show that children had attended school during the previous week. However, the Act had its advantages. It now applied to factories whose raw materials were wool, flax, silk or hemp, not just cotton as previously and, of great importance, it provided for the first time a system of inspection of factories. Also Sanderson believes that the 1833 Act was more effective than the 1802 Act since it was more likely to be enforced because of the system of inspection. Some inspectors became very interested in the education aspects and were instrumental in improving matters. John Hurt also gives some statistics concerning the inspectorate established as a result of the 1833 Act²⁸. His table shows how it grew from two inspectors in 1840 to thirty six in 1861 and 73 in 1871. From 1852 there were also appointed assistant inspectors. Sanderson comments on the irony that education for some of the poorer classes was compulsory long before it was made compulsory nationally at the end of the century as many children in remote villages in Lancashire had

some access to an education solely because of the mill or factory school²⁹. Sanderson also uses a direct quote from the 1802 Act which shows that there was no intention to preclude girls from an equal education that is 'his *or her* apprenticeship' (my italics). The reduction or alteration of the curricula for girls seems to have developed for various reasons throughout the later nineteenth century.

However, in her article Marjorie A. Cruikshank³⁰ reveals some of the patchiness of school provision in the cotton areas up to 1840. Even at this fairly late date some quite densely populated areas such as Manchester, Salford and Blackburn had only one school and some like Eccles, a large parish, had none for the poorer classes. She concludes that, in spite of a spate of building schools and teaching by the clergy in the 1840s, the child population was growing far too rapidly for the Established church to cope and outside help had to be sought. However, her research was solely on schools provided by the church and covers only part of the area of interest to the current project. She makes no particular reference to girls' attendance or curriculum.

J.M. Goldstrom³¹ writes of education of the poor in general, from the time of the expansion of Sunday schools in the 1780s to beyond the 1870 Education Act. His introduction refers to the charity schools opened by the SPCK which provided moral and religious education for the 'fortunate' few throughout the eighteenth century. By the 1780s, Goldstrom says, various Evangelical groups were highly concerned by the lack of religion amongst the working classes and a high crime rate. He claims this gave rise to the proliferation of Sunday schools sparked by the activities of Robert Raikes of Gloucester.

A useful text concentrating on one type of school is Thomas W. Laqueur's³² comprehensive study of Sunday schools. He describes the schools that were held on Sundays but sometimes on other days or evenings. Their purpose was to teach reading and writing, and in some cases arithmetic and accounts were included during four to six hours each Sunday. Such schools might be run by mill and factory owners, some of whom based their schools on the teachings of their own church or chapel. Laqueur maintained that Sunday schools were very much a working-class creation and not imposed from 'above'. He described it as a way of ensuring the Christian future for a moral society when concerns had been raised about the lack of interest in religion by the working classes. Although sometimes run by churches, the Sunday schools were lay dominated and run in a

democratic way. He cites the movement as important especially before the establishment of the National Society and the BFSS in the early nineteenth century. Michael Sanderson, in his book throws doubt on this claim for Sunday schools as working-class creations and believes that they were still the product of middle class desire to control the morals and behaviour of the underclasses³³. Laqueur makes little or no reference to the education of girls and fails to make clear whether he does include them. However, his book is still the major reference work on this type of school.

In the early part of the nineteenth century two major bodies were formed in attempts to gain sole control of educating the poor. John Hurt in his book³⁴ describes the formation of the BFSS in 1808 'to propagate the non-sectarian system of education' after Joseph Lancaster, who was a Quaker and the National Society after Dr Andrew Bell in 1811. Both these men had for some years been advocating and practising a system of using monitors to assist schoolmasters to teach (or drill) huge numbers of children. Bell had developed his system in Madras in the 1790s and Lancaster had developed his system about 1803 in England.

H.C. Barnard³⁵ has a number of references to educating girls and women, although the main value of his work is its broad coverage of education in a number of different types of school. Barnard includes information on common or private day schools and factory or industrial or working schools (begun during the Industrial Revolution), as well as dame schools, SPCK charity schools and Sunday schools. Barnard describes in detail the curricula offered by the schools, but again he claims that dame schools are mostly worthless. Common day schools are described as being run by a man who was either handicapped or who had failed in other employment.

Very few of these writers have made clear whether they included the education of girls and although occasionally it was reasonably clearly implied, assumptions had to be made which may or may not be safe. References to children also showed a curriculum which included what may be termed girls' subjects, especially needlework and terms associated with sewing, and other domestic tasks. Where these subjects were not mentioned it could only sometimes be assumed that girls were included.

The curriculum in eighteenth and early nineteenth century schools is not always easy to define. Barnard³⁶ found that in the early days of Sunday schools the intention was to

teach only reading, it not being thought suitable to include subjects such as writing and arithmetic on the Sabbath. However, at about the same time, some schools run by industrialists had a much broader curriculum. For example Robert Owen, who in 1790 was a cotton spinner in Manchester and in 1779 had cotton mills in New Lanark, provided advanced education for workers' children. The schools were free, taught reading writing and arithmetic, plus geography, history, nature study, dancing, singing and drill. In his much kinder regime, punishment was avoided. Barnard describes the curriculum of the SPCK schools as always including the catechism, occasionally writing and arithmetic, plus 'habits of industry' covering some selection from spinning, sewing, knitting, gardening and ploughing. He does not distinguish differences between subjects taught to girls and those to boys, only maintaining that they had exactly similar opportunities and that these were very limited.

Neuberg³⁷ gives a detailed account of the ways and means of teaching in practice and the art of reading. He describes the materials used, often purely religious but some attempts were made to make texts simple for beginners and attractive and interesting to young children. Much of it had been first published in the seventeenth century and also included were aids for teachers on how to teach reading.

J. M. Goldstrom³⁸ mainly discusses the organisation of the BFSS and the National Society. He describes how they taught, their sources and materials, largely the Bible and religious tracts, their mechanistic methods and gives examples. They were increasingly criticized, especially because of their restrictions on teaching secular subjects and it was seen that the children were unlikely to have much understanding of the Bible's archaic language and its meaning. More basic teaching was needed and a much broader curriculum more relevant to the practicalities of living. By the 1830s and 1840s this was taken up by educationists within the BFSS and National Society and by government inspectors. A good source of secular material was eventually found and imported from Ireland, which had been financed by the English government and published by the Irish Commissioners. Thus began the recognition that Holy Scripture alone was not sufficient and more was needed to meet the needs of working class education.

In their article Kerri Allen and Alison Mackinnon³⁹ describe how the Society of Friends claimed that they inaugurated and continued an equal education for their girls.

Their more varied intellectual curriculum excluded 'accomplishments'. However, in general, their schools very much reflected nineteenth-century norms where working-class children were educated according to their station in life, the lower-class girls as domestic servants, the boys intended for trade apprenticeships. This will be examined in more detail since one of the Meeting schools, founded in 1834 and modelled on earlier such schools was at Penketh, Warrington, and Warrington Library has very comprehensive records of its hundred year existence⁴⁰.

The curriculum for the poor and for girls in general was most heavily influenced by two factors, class and religion. Whether one learned to read was dependent upon both and writing was often excluded from the education of the poor by the fears of the religious authorities. Girls of any class might not necessarily be taught such subjects as Latin, Greek, more advanced mathematics or history and geography because either it was believed to be beyond their limited intellect or because it was unnecessary. This meant that whatever their class, girls who were educated probably had a different or reduced curriculum compared with their male peers. Examination of the curricula of North West schools where available will show what girls in this region were being taught at various times.

One of the areas relevant to education that Neuberg does describe is the extent of literacy in the eighteenth century⁴¹. He points out that literacy is sometimes assumed to mean a competency in reading *and* writing, whereas it seems probable that many more people could read than could write. In support of this claim he cites the many thousands of religious books and tracts that were targeted at specific working-class groups by the SPCK in the eighteenth century which would indicate quite widespread reading ability, while proportionately fewer signatures in marriage registers are to be found. Also described are the chapbooks and other cheap literature, and the printers, publishers and sellers of these both in London and in the provinces. Several writers review evidence of literacy although its measurement is problematic. Sanderson in his book⁴² uses the ability to sign marriage registers as a measure of literacy. At least he says it is the only possible standard for measuring changes over time and differences between places and occupations but can not be used as a certain guide to the ability to read. Jane Rendall⁴³ refers to the literacy of women in her book, noting that by the 1830s women were catching up with the men. In 1780 the national figures were 68 per cent literacy for men and 39 per cent for women; by

1844 they were 63/52. There were, however, great regional variations. For example in Manchester in 1810-20 the level for women was only 19 per cent. However, since this aspect mainly concerns adults it is not to be addressed in this thesis.

In his recent article in *The Local Historian* Tony Fairman⁴⁴ describes and assesses educational theory and practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with especial emphasis on how reading was taught. Essentially in the years around 1800 there was a system of teaching children in tiny steps where they learned words firstly of one syllable and progressing to six syllables. The idea was that each stage had to lodge in the memory and the teacher should not go onto the next stage until this was certain. However, some of the 'words' being taught were not actually words but simply combinations of letters, to be committed to memory. Long lists of words were also learned like this. Fairman refers to Charles Vyse's *The New London Spelling Book* of 1791 in which tables of such words were given. He points out that the reading exercises following the tables sometimes only contained a few of the words memorised and in fact introduced new words not listed in the table⁴⁵. Such lessons must have been very tedious as some books expected children to be drilled in learning tables of three or four hundred words, some of them even invented words not making any sense. Apparently John Clare the poet had reported that his daughter Anna aged four years and nine months 'had much pleasure from Barbould's book', most likely meaning Anna Laetitia Barbould's book of 1795⁴⁶. The book referred to used real words and situations which could be understood by children. This remained in print for nearly fifty years. Charity schools were unlikely to use such material and usually selected theirs for moral and religious content and the religion of the author.

In fairness to the times he is writing about, Fairman points out that one should not judge the mechanistic method of teaching reading by today's standards. It probably resembled the somewhat mundane and routine way of life and work prevailing then. It still slowed ability to read simply because there was so much of it and much of it was unnecessary. Fairman concludes that charity schools taught little more than what he calls 'signature literacy', a word coined to describe writing ability with no reference to reading fluency. This seems to show that people who could sign their name, however imperfectly, would probably be unable to compose and write a letter for example. The other point he makes is that, in the case of marriage registers where many simply made their mark, it had

simply been too long since they had been in school and practised their signature and had just forgotten how. Fairman's article is a very timely addition to the literature on the teaching of reading at the opening of the nineteenth-century. However, he does not give any special emphasis to teaching girls, referring mainly to children or even specifically to boys.

Deirdre Beddoe includes a chapter in her book entitled 'The Education of Girls'⁴⁷. In this she maintains that most of the writing to date has concentrated on the education of middle-class girls, a minority, albeit an important and significant one. The importance and significance of this minority for the working classes was the possibility of the educated middle-class woman taking the opportunity of becoming a volunteer teacher and in turn influencing bright working-class girls to seek some training and employment as teachers. Rendall uses Laqueur's article and in her section titled 'New Jobs for Women' describes the jobs such as governess, government office work and retailing in which a better than usual education was needed⁴⁸. Although much of her book is concerned with education of middle-class women who would normally fill most of the above occupations, she does highlight an effect this had on educational progress for poor girls. That is the possibility of young women of all classes entering teaching at elementary level. This became much more possible in the nineteenth-century via the pupil teacher system. In her article W. Robinson⁴⁹ describes how, in 1846, James Kay Shuttleworth began the pupil-teacher system as a temporary measure to provide trained teachers. This meant that any pupil leaving elementary school could gain practical teaching experience until they were old enough to enter a training college. Not all did actually carry on to college but remained as uncertificated assistants. Far from being a temporary measure, these centres remained until they were abolished by the 1902 Education Act.

In spite of the apparent lack of writing on educating working-class girls there is the occasional exception, such as Meg Gomersall's book⁵⁰. She herself has noticed the lack of properly researched and substantiated evidence on girls' education in the early part of the century. She also noted that most work has been done on girls from higher classes or on the period after 1870. Gomersall looks at the subject from quite a wide range of viewpoints in her attempt to answer two particular questions she has posed. She asks in chapter three, the first in her book specifically looking at education, 'what was the purpose of schooling for working-class boys and girls?' and 'consequently what provision was there and did it fulfil

the purpose?’ She examines schooling as a form of social control in the early decades of the century, why there was some provision and its purpose and how it was perceived popularly especially by the working classes. She investigates the curriculum in terms of religion, reading and ‘really useful knowledge’, what people demanded and what seemed to have been achieved. She looks at the later decades of the century in the same way. This social control had come about in both the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries through the need, as seen by the middle-classes, to ensure the proper behaviour and deference of the lower classes and to improve their morals by educating them in the Christian way. The education should of course be limited and appropriate to their station in life. As far as girls were concerned it was recognised in the nineteenth-century that they should be educated equally with boys because of their importance in educating their children and being a civilising influence on their husbands. Reports of both the National Society and BFSS in some cases ensured that girls had equal opportunity for schooling, making provision of a girls’ school a condition of receiving grants for school building. There were continuing pockets of agitation for girls of all classes to be educated equally with the boys. Gomersall found that the working classes were also keen to have their womenfolk as educated as the males but that similar prejudices were as prevalent there as in the middle classes. Attempts in the early part of the century to provide compulsory schooling for all children were vetoed by the Tory government on questions of finance and control, obstacles which persisted through most of the century. Voluntary provision was accepted as the norm even from the 1830s when some controls were imposed as government grants were being provided⁵¹. Gomersall also describes the aims of schooling as being to ensure a supply of domestically competent girls, especially in the latter decades and examines standards of attainment and what she sees as deficiencies. Finally she assesses the significance of education to working-class women in industrial Lancashire and rural Norfolk and Suffolk.

Of all the literature reviewed this is probably closest to the research carried out here. The main difference is in the scope. Gomersall was writing about the national situation with a brief reference to local studies in industrial Lancashire and rural Norfolk and Suffolk, in her unpublished PhD thesis of 1991. As background reading again it is invaluable. This thesis will be a more in depth study of the provision of education in South Lancashire and North Cheshire.

Reviewing the literature of the history of education in England it is apparent that different areas of the subject have been covered fairly thoroughly. Since the available resources for researching the latter part of the nineteenth century are quite extensive and there was much more in the way of official documentation after the involvement of the State, it is relatively easy to form a picture. Also education prior to the Education Acts was mainly in private or local hands, provision was patchy over the country, and it was very much a matter of chance whether records were kept fully and whether they have survived intact if at all. Although there is a great deal written on the development of education from the eighteenth century and before and one does come across references to educating girls, these are so frequently on middle and upper class girls. Deirdre Beddoe pointed out that there is a great need for furthering the history of poor girls' education and she advocates a number of local studies especially of a comparative nature⁵².

As has been demonstrated, the county of Lancashire has been researched by one historian in particular, Michael Sanderson, from several different perspectives⁵³. He has investigated the effects of the Industrial Revolution on education for the poor in Lancashire and does have a few references to girls. He may have intended that much of his work would be understood to apply equally to the education of girls but this is not always clear. Material of an equivalent nature on Cheshire was more difficult to locate. Unlike Lancashire it was not heavily industrialised, but some pockets of industry did materialise from the Industrial Revolution, such as the silk mills in Macclesfield and chemical industry in Northwich and Runcorn.

The conclusion is that all this literature is valuable in providing background information, details of related areas such as literacy, education themes, people who contributed to the opinions of their time and/or involved themselves in education directly. There is also a picture of the progress and problems of developing an education system over time. There are a number of gaps to be filled, the main one being to discover the effects on poor working-class girls, a field which is still under-researched.

The Two Locations

Chester⁵⁴ is the county town of Cheshire situated on the English-Welsh border, fortified by the English in ancient times against the Welsh and a busy river port from

Roman times until the River Dee silted up. It was a bishopric that covered great tracts of the North and West of the country. Its cathedral clergy in the nineteenth century were the focus for activities related to helping the poor of the city. Concern was expressed about the lack of decent education that had begun to fall into neglect at the end of the previous century and the clergy saw the importance of providing the children with some form of schooling. Chester's population in 1750 was about 12,000, only growing to 16,000 in 1811 and to about 26,000 in 1851, less growth than the more industrialised towns of the county*.

Warrington⁵⁵, now in Cheshire, is at an important crossing of the River Mersey for anyone wishing to travel between the North and the South, having for many centuries the only crossing above the estuary. A Lancashire market town it was also a centre for a variety of industries including rope and sail making, pin making and wire drawing. There was in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries a copper foundry and, like Chester, it was a busy river port. Warrington, with a population in 1781 of 8791, was also recognised as a centre of learning with its Dissenters' Academy⁵⁶, a thriving library system⁵⁷ and the then nationally renowned Eyres' printing press⁵⁸. The Academy was staffed by a number of notable people including Joseph Priestley who was tutor in *Belles Lettres*. The library, founded in 1760, was a circulating library and William Eyres of the press was its secretary and librarian for forty years. This library formed the basis of the new library founded in 1848 which was the first rate-supported library in the country. Eyres' Press printed many famous works including John Howard's book *State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with an account of some Foreign Prisons* in 1777, which led to prison reform, and several works by Priestley including *An Essay on a course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life*. By 1801 the population was 10,567, presumably a literate society because there was at least one other private library and several other booksellers. Through the nineteenth-century the population increased fairly steadily to 13,570 in 1821, 18,184 in 1831, 23,561 in 1851 and by the time of the 1861 census the population was 24050***.

There is an advantage in looking at contrasting places and so the reason for choosing such towns as the focus for the research was that one was an industrial market

* Chester population figures from Alan Crosby, *A History of Cheshire*, Phillimore, Chichester (1996) p115.

* Population figures for Warrington from John Holman & Ian Sellers, *Warrington: A history for schools*, Padgate College of Education, Warrington (1972) p46.

town and the other was a cathedral city. Both at the time were fairly prosperous, and each had people who were aware and concerned about educating the working classes. There were contrasts in social class of those active in education provision but their motives were frequently similar for charitable work. Chester was more likely to be dependent upon old money, the Grosvenors, Dukes of Westminster, being resident in the city and Lady Grosvenor one of the ladies involved in provision of schooling for poor children within the period under investigation. Warrington's philanthropists were more often industrialists, merchants and professionals⁵⁹. Both towns had schools for the more affluent founded in previous centuries, and began to revive the schools for the poor at about the same time, the early decades of the nineteenth century. Management of such schools was likely to be taken on by professional people and their families in both towns.

In addition, archive material in both locations is excellent. The City and County archives for Cheshire are located in Chester and there are plenty of records relating to the early as well as later schools. Warrington Library has an extensive local archive that includes the records of several early schools and copies of correspondence relating to the local debate on education provision, especially in the middle of the nineteenth century. Both archives are easily accessible and the staff in both are well informed. A Cheshire Record Office archivist is on permanent secondment from the Cheshire office to Warrington library and there are also specialist archive assistants. Other archives in the region are similarly well maintained, the libraries of Liverpool and Manchester, the Lancashire record office in Preston and the John Rylands Library in Manchester.

Even with such excellent archive resources there are always some problems with the source material and specific references to girls' education. It will therefore be necessary to include much material relating to educating the poor generally. Apart from two schools established for girls only, that is the Blue Girls School founded in 1720, about twenty years after the Blue Coat School for boys in Chester, and the three schools of industry in Chester⁶⁰ that were founded originally in the late eighteenth century to teach spinning, weaving and knitting to girls, it is often difficult if not impossible to decide which records referring to 'children' included girls. It was also apparent that sometimes, even with the intention of including girls from the outset, when money was being raised any shortfall could be ameliorated by excluding girls and only teaching boys. It can take a certain

amount of deduction from notes written at the time to tease out the actual numbers of girls included. Not even the subjects can be totally relied upon as a guide although if needlework was included it is a reasonable assumption that it was for girls. Occasionally, both boys and girls were taught to mend their own clothes. Sunday schools were likely to be for both girls and boys but the proportions were not always stated. In any school it was often the girls who suffered first if problems of provision were encountered.

Chester does have better records relating only to girls, whereas in Warrington it was only possible to identify the sex of pupils when actual names were mentioned, as in the scandal at the Blue Coat School in the 1860s when some of the pupils giving witness accounts were girls⁶¹. When the Friends' Meeting school was founded in 1834 in Penketh, Warrington⁶², it was initially intended that only boys would be taught as they were felt to be more at risk of falling into bad ways than girls. However, when the school opened it was apparent from names mentioned that girls had in fact been included. In times of financial hardship, such as the severe debt problems of the Warrington Blue Coat school in the early decade of the century, girls were the ones to be sacrificed and not included until their education could be afforded easily.

The main sources used in both towns were the minute books kept by schools, usually from the original meeting called to solicit subscriptions, donations and voluntary help to build, establish and manage the schools. There was also correspondence, sometimes concerning the search for land on which to build or accommodation to rent for the schools. Sometimes it was an argument between opposing providers of education as that between the dissenters and the Rector of Warrington in the 1830s⁶³.

There is a thread running through all these records of the keen economy the people involved wished to observe. Every penny had to count and had to be seen to be being put to proper use. Annual reports were another valuable source and these sometimes gave details of numbers of pupils attending during the year. Naturally it was understandable that the investors should be reassured of the proper use of their money so one may assume that any problems of the school were unlikely to be reported extensively in an annual report. Often the best picture was presented and such reports normally included an urge for more contributions to the finances. Financial records were kept, listing donations and annual subscriptions and occasionally gifts in kind. Expenditure accounts were presented to

management committees each month with records of salaries to masters and mistresses and occasionally expense accounts. Most management committees were made up of volunteers from the professional classes and it is quite revealing to see how ladies became involved in managing girls' schools and built up their own expertise in this field. It seems safe to say that, in fact, such voluntary occupations developed in very similar ways to the careers of women in later times and gave the ladies an outlet that might not otherwise have been possible.

One of the problems of the writing of committee minutes, or notes, at the time was a lack of formality. For example, a course of action may be decided and noted at one meeting concerning the testing of the pupils on a particular date. One might then look in vain for a note of the carrying out of the tests. Occasionally decisions made might be deferred until later dates and then disappear from the meeting notes leaving one wondering if anything had actually happened and no report made or it had simply been forgotten about. Another problem is in the vocabulary used. Since anyone reading the notes soon after they were written would have understood the meaning of the subject of 'marking' being included in the girls' syllabus, there is no explanation of it. It may have been the making of clothing patterns before they were commercially available. There are occasional omissions where it seems apparent that figures were to be inserted later but were not, for example the numbers of pairs of shoes ordered for the girls in a school in Chester. Such details may not matter too much but indicate that the notes are only an outline record of what occurred. Other detail such as the purpose of providing clothing in the same school, using its provision as reward and its withdrawal as punishment, would have made interesting reading and given an idea of principles involved.

There are also published pamphlets including some eighteenth-century Warrington sermons given by the Rector on the subject of charity education⁶⁴. One of the uses of sermons at the time was to exhort Christians to help with promoting local schemes in whatever way they could, with voluntary work or money donations. An annual sermon was preached in Warrington to raise money through its collection to support the local Blue Coat school. From this attitudes to educating the poor and the reasons for doing it are made very explicit.

Thesis Structure

The first chapter will describe the context of the study, including an overview of state involvement, both direct and indirect, in the lives of the poor and their education. Some assessment of earlier centuries will be made setting the national education scene by the beginning of the nineteenth-century and its development from then on. There was a gradual though not regular increase in state intervention with investigation, debate, defeat, legislation and eventual taking control of all education by the end of the century. The establishment, particularly the Church of England, was especially influential in both advancement and hindrance of introducing education for all, countered by those who favoured the introduction of at least some degree of secular education. Other influences will be examined and all will provide the background against which the local development of educating the poor can be set. The final section will be a brief look at the onset of state control, especially the effects of the Newcastle Commission from the 1860s.

The next two chapters will focus on education for the poor, of necessity including boys but with the main emphasis on girls. Chapter II commencing with a brief account of schools in the region from the fifteenth-century and later, grammar schools in Cheshire and Lancashire, charity schools, a number of which were endowed by women, and schools established after the founding of the SPCK. The period covered by this chapter will include the revival of schools in both towns in the early decades of the nineteenth-century after problems encountered at the end of the eighteenth century and then development up to about 1830. Chapter III will continue with the decades from then until the 1860s/1870s. The content of both chapters will use the data particular to individual schools in Chester and Warrington, especially relating to the religious and other debates. Development of education provision throughout the period in the area will be examined and some assessment made of its quality and extent. There will be an examination of the influence of the National Society and the BFSS on establishing and helping to fund schools especially in Warrington. Although girls were almost always included they could often be squeezed out.

Chapter IV will concentrate on the role of women in the provision of girls' schools as financiers, managers and teachers. There are extensive records, especially in Chester, on the involvement of ladies as managers, written by the ladies themselves and demonstrating

their growing expertise as time went on. There is also considerable information to be gleaned about women as teachers and the lives of the girls in their charge. This was an important and exciting find and comprises archives showing the extent of women's involvement where educating poor girls was undertaken. I feel that without the careful records kept by the ladies we may never have realised how influential they were as volunteers at a time when, for many, professional involvement was impossible. However, to all intents and purposes they were professional educationists.

Finally an overall assessment will be attempted to show how education was provided before the state started to be involved from the 1830s and its more direct control developed from the 1870s. Some of this will try to show that both the quality and extent varied from place to place and at different times reflecting the opinions and efforts of people with the influence and the time and money to ensure provision. Their motives will also be examined and attempts made to show how they went about putting their beliefs into practice.

CHAPTER I
OVERVIEW OF PROVISION OF EDUCATION FOR THE POOR
c1780 TO 1860

Introduction

This chapter will attempt to provide the context for the local studies of Chester and Warrington, showing the development of education provision of the poor generally in England. It will show how involvement of the state increased over time, notably throughout the whole of the nineteenth-century, with the emphasis on funding and regulation of providers.

In the centuries preceding the nineteenth, since the passing of the Elizabethan Poor Laws, several attempts had been made to implement its provision for training the poor to a level enabling them to get useful employment. The aim was to reduce levels of poverty and thus to make them less of a burden on the rest of the local community. This tended to fail as the adults could not get work even after training. So attention was turned to the children in the workhouses, feeding and clothing them and providing basic education in literacy and numeracy, some work skills and teaching them to make their own clothes and shoes¹. The best workhouses had a reasonable degree of success and showed some compassion while the worst did not attempt to do more than provide basic often totally inadequate subsistence. So early state intervention directly or indirectly in educating the poor made for very patchy provision, the best depending upon who was implementing it and the worst useless and cruel.

In the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries there was growing concern about the moral state of the poorer classes. An early initiative was the founding of the SPCK which gave the impetus to the establishment of many schools for the poor. This concern increased during the industrial revolution when there was overcrowding in the towns and those who lived in the resulting slums were seen as the criminal and vicious classes. In order to impose some order and to improve the morals of the poor there were attempts to provide some teaching, not just to children but to adults also. Many of the Sunday schools were originally for both adults and children². Education provision was an attempt at social control. There was fear amongst the middle-classes because of rising crime, of the possibility of revolution as was happening in other European countries and worries,

particularly by the Church of England, of the absence of religious observance and falling congregations. One of the results of this early concern was the growth of considerable church, state and dissenting rivalry over who had the right or responsibility for educating the poor. This was to come to a head in the middle decades of the nineteenth-century when some of the consequences are evident in the local records³. There was also genuine concern by individuals that poor people were missing out by not being educated and should be provided for by some means.

Provision before the Nineteenth Century

Although early on educating the poor was not a high priority there was some charitable provision. As already noted the founding of the SPCK led to a number of charity schools being established throughout the eighteenth-century. Generally such schools set out with the intention of teaching girls as well as boys and occasionally were solely for girls⁴. A number of individuals were instrumental in endowing schools. Often it was by a legacy providing for the teaching of children till they were old enough to become apprentices. There were also philanthropists who established schools in their own lifetime⁵.

Philanthropy by employers was apparent by the late eighteenth-century when some mill and factory owners began teaching their young employees to read and write, starting schools which were held in the mornings, evenings, for some part of the working day or on Sunday. The children would attend in rotation for a morning or afternoon and the teaching was frequently associated with the master's church or chapel. In the North West Samuel Greg of Quarry Bank Mill at Styal in Cheshire built an apprentice house where his apprentices lived and a school for their education. From 1786 Entwistles of Ancoats, Manchester, had set up a Sunday school in one of the rooms in the mill and in about 1788, in Cark in Furness, a Sunday school was started, supported by the owners of a cotton factory, to teach 100 children to read and write⁶. Michael Sanderson maintains that there were few such schools and that the earliest state involvement was to make mill and factory owners in the cotton industries responsible for educating their young workers⁷.

There were a few early Sunday schools but the action of Robert Raikes of Gloucester was the spark that encouraged the national movement to flourish⁸. Part of a

longer evangelical movement these schools sprang up in most areas becoming popular with employers and parents alike as they did not impinge on the working week.

Not all school providers were employers, religious or rich. Some of the working class preferred to send their children to schools run by their own kind known as dame schools or private venture schools⁹. They might be owned by elderly women or by men unable because of some handicap to do other work. The instruction offered varied from almost non-existent, a baby minding service, to basic but limited teaching of reading and possibly writing. They were also said to be relatively expensive compared with charity schools which could be free or charge a very few pence per week¹⁰.

The Voluntary School Societies

At the end of the eighteenth-century two men, working entirely independently, arrived at a very similar solution to the problem of providing affordable mass education. Dr Andrew Bell, an Anglican army chaplain in India, worked out that one master with huge classes of maybe several hundred pupils, could 'instruct' them using a core of senior pupils, monitors¹¹. These he would teach lessons in a mechanistic manner that they would learn by rote. They in turn would each then 'teach' a group of younger children. Bell experimented with his system at a male orphan asylum in Madras and when he returned to England he wrote an account of his work¹². First published in 1797 it went through several editions up to 1814 being expanded from sixty to nine hundred pages in that time.

Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, opened his school in Southwark, London, in 1798, teaching reading, writing and arithmetic and charging four pence per week. He used the monitorial system from the outset¹³, which was said in fact to date back to Elizabethan grammar schools, and simply adopted and described in detail by Lancaster. His book was published in 1803 with full instructions on the system, school management and the curriculum¹⁴. It included information on the types of monitors used. His senior pupils could be those who instructed the younger ones having up to ten children for whom they were responsible, or they might be responsible for the organisation of books, slates, pencils or any other aspect of the school routine. Lancaster also advocated kindness and proper care of his charges. An appendix to Lancaster's book¹⁵ is of particular interest here. He wrote of the opening of a school for 150 to 200 girls 'within the last twelve months' (1802-1803?).

Although he said that there had been considerable difficulties the rate of success had been as he had expected. He believed that within a further year it would be possible to evaluate the application of the system to needlework and various other practical subjects. The girls were in the care of M and S Lancaster, who may have been his sisters as he also mentioned them in connection with financial support of the school¹⁶. He intended to bring his plans for educating females to the attention of the general public as a good example. The book also contains a list of some of the publications he used in lessons¹⁷.

Although it seems that there was no disagreement between the two men about the system, there was considerable religious controversy. Bell and his followers only taught the doctrines of the Established Church whereas Lancaster wished to include children of all denominations and for his schools to be non-sectarian. The Lancasterians formed the BFSS in 1808 and the followers of Dr Bell formed the National Society in 1811¹⁸. The two school societies went from strength to strength through the next few decades, aiding the design and establishment of National Society (Church of England) schools and BFSS (other denominations) schools. The competition between these two Societies demonstrates the rivalry between the Anglicans and the Dissenters in spite of the two methods of teaching being broadly similar. The monitorial system was adopted by some established schools such as the Bluecoat Schools¹⁹. It was seen as a good and economic way of teaching the masses. Between them and their schools they formed the mainstay of elementary education until the 1870 Education Act even though the system began to fall into disrepute in the 1830s as being too mechanistic and not conducive to understanding.

Role of the State

With education being seen as the responsibility of religious bodies the role of the state was somewhat uncertain but there were attempts to become involved from the start of the nineteenth-century with the 1802 Act. This was the 'Act for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others Employed in Cotton and other Mills and Cotton and other Factories' that had an indirect influence on educating the poor²⁰. It had been promoted by Sir Robert Peel, father of the future Prime Minister, who was a mill owner already involved in educating his child employees. Its effect was to reinforce the actions of those mill owners who were providing education for their employees and had

been for a number of years previously. It also provided encouragement to others to do likewise. It had its limitations in that it only applied to the cotton industry and only to those works employing at least three apprentices and more than twenty others. However, it did lay down the basic requirements of teaching reading, writing and arithmetic for some part of each working day for the first four years of an apprenticeship, plus religious instruction on Sundays. Although there were supposed to be visitors, appointed by JPs to regulate the provisions of the Act, this rarely happened. Sanderson believed that even without the inspections there was considerable progress over the next thirty years²¹. His article describes quite extensive provision in Lancashire, some for quite large groups of 100 or 200 children and some for just twenty, thirty or forty.

An attempt was made in 1807 by Whitbread the brewer to get the Parochial Schools Bill passed that would allow a system of schools supported by the rates and managed under the supervision of the clergy²². Although this was passed by the House of Commons it was rejected by the House of Lords, where it was thought it would undermine the interests of the established church. In 1816 Lord Brougham moved to set up a parliamentary committee to enquire methodically into how the poor were being educated²³. This was done in order to discover what was provided and who was providing it. The committee reported in each of three years, 1816, 1817 and 1818, firstly into the state of affairs in London then in the subsequent years into educational charities in England and Wales. Consequent upon these reports Brougham introduced in 1820 an education bill that would require all teachers to be members of the Church of England, the system of teaching should be controlled by the clergy and no denominational catechism should be included, only study of the Bible. This was opposed by all denominations as being an unacceptable compromise and the bill was defeated²⁴.

Church and State

The 1830s came to be known as a period of reform. The first Reform Act in 1832 began the process of electoral reform, extending the franchise and getting rid of some of the worst aspects of the parliamentary system. It was only a beginning, more symbolic than practical, but many ideas were starting to germinate, including some notion of universal education. After all some people believed it better to have a literate electorate if more of the

lower classes were going to be allowed to choose the country's Parliament. There were also fears about social and political unrest and the moral condition of those living in the town slums.

The next main involvement of the state directly affecting education was the Factories Act of 1833²⁵. This was important in that four inspectors were appointed whose duties included ensuring the provisions for educating factory children were being properly complied with. However, some mill owners found the strictures of the Act which imposed rules and regulations on the operation of their schools somewhat onerous. Provision of education became compulsory instead of voluntary and complications were introduced. The mill owners felt that they lost control as the Act took away their exclusive responsibility for educating their employees and introduced a system of requiring certificates to show that children had attended school during the previous week. This meant that the mill owner was not allowed to employ children who had failed to attend a school for two hours per day, six days per week, during the previous week. A voucher verifying their attendance had to be produced on the Monday morning. Since there was no longer any obligation for the mill owner to provide the schooling and children could attend outside schools the work force could be regularly depleted if they did not. This fluctuation would have made efficient running of a mill or factory extremely difficult. However, it did extend the requirements to mills whose raw materials were wool, flax, silk or hemp, rather than just those using cotton.

The inspection system was most valuable because some of the inspectors became very interested in the education aspects of the Act and were instrumental in improving matters. Sanderson names one in particular, Leonard Horner, whose activities were very influential in Lancashire²⁶. Horner's own reports, referred to by Sanderson in his article, gave glowing testimony to the education and other benefits provided by the mill owners in the county. The numbers of inspectors grew to 36 in 1861 and 73 in 1871. From 1852 there were also appointed assistant inspectors. This indicated that the government regarded the inspectorate to be useful and worth the cost involved²⁷. Another significant effect of the 1833 Act was that it resulted in compulsory education for some children.

An important result of the 1833 Act was the awarding of grants by the government for the building of schools from 1835²⁸. In that year £10,000 was granted by Parliament towards the erection of 'normal' or 'model' schools and was to be distributed by the two

schools societies, the major part by the National Society. This was likely to be because Church of England schools outnumbered those administered by the BFSS (see e.g. pp35-36 below for Cheshire and Lancashire statistics). There was also some provision for needy schools not connected to either society to receive some assistance. Therefore it would be necessary for any school wishing to be helped by the Societies to comply with their requirements and the government had to operate through schools established by religious organisations.

In the mid 1830s a group of gentlemen, dissatisfied with the Church and religion-dominated way of education, calling themselves the Central Society for Education sought to ascertain the objects of education by, essentially, scientific enquiry into the facts. The Society believed that the 'erroneous direction of the energies of mankind' could be corrected by education and that 'the condition of humanity is capable of an improvement which has never yet been known'²⁹.

Many of them were very highly placed in the aristocracy, parliament and society. Their president was the Right Hon. Lord Denman, Chief Justice of the King's (then in 1838 and 1839 the Queen's) Bench and their Chairman of Committees, Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P. The Committee of Management consisted of several lords, including the Lord Advocate, several professional men, military men and a great number of members of parliament. Among the eighteen life members listed in 1837, probably by payment of £10 or more, were the Duke of Bedford, Lord John Russell, Lord Robert Grosvenor and a few other members of parliament and gentlemen. Interestingly among the 137 members by payment of an annual subscription was the name of the Right Honourable Lord Lilford who may have been the father of the Hon and Rev Horace Powys, Rector of Warrington, whom we shall see was a great opponent of the activities of anyone attempting to support the provision of education by anyone but the established church³⁰. The second year, 1838, the life members list had grown to thirty two and included the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Right Hon J. Abercromby and two ladies, while the subscription list now numbered two hundred including six ladies. Two of these were Maria Edgeworth and Harriet Martineau, both of them educationists of strong and quite radical opinion on the ways of teaching children. 1839 saw both lists increased considerably and in 1838 and 1839 there were a number of overseas honorary members from Switzerland, Naples, Brussels,

Florence and the United States. It is little wonder that the Bishops of the Church of England felt threatened when people of such influence were setting out proposals to educate the poor using some methods which would probably preclude the indoctrination of any specific denominational dogma³¹.

The Society intended to inquire into the matter in five aspects and to find what was and what ought to be the education of both sexes of all classes. These were primary or elementary education, secondary education, superior or university education, special or professional education and supplementary education. For this thesis the emphasis is on the first aspect, elementary education. They published their reports annually in 1837, 1838 and 1839, consisting of chapters written independently by different members who had carried out the various investigations³². While the Society held itself responsible for the general views expressed, they explained that the individual essays were the views of the authors whose names appeared on each essay.

The actions of the Society were part of a general desire to discover the state of education of the poor, as was the setting up of a Select Committee in 1838 to find the best means of providing useful education for the children of the poor³³. The result was the formation of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education which comprised four Ministers of the Crown with the Lord President as chairman (at the time, Lord Lansdowne). The committee's first secretary from 1839 to 1849 was Dr. James Kay, who later became Sir James Kay Shuttleworth (after he married and took his wife's name in addition to his own)³⁴.

The report of the Select Committee was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on 13 July 1838³⁵. It comprised information from the annual reports of the National Society and of the BFSS, and from the Statistical Society of Manchester and the Statistical Society of Birmingham. The former described the state of education in the towns of Manchester, Liverpool, Salford, Bolton, York and Bury. Another report included was by the Manchester Society on the Condition of the Working Classes in 1834, 1835 and 1836. The process was described as 'a long and laborious examination of these different towns by an agent of the society, chosen and paid for the purpose'. The agent in Manchester was Dr Kay. It was reported that the Committee had 'examined this gentleman, and from all they

have been able to collect respecting these Returns, they have every reason to be satisfied of their substantial accuracy' ³⁶.

The conclusion the Committee reached on the evidence presented was that in the population of any town or city, a quarter would be aged five to fifteen years, and that this was the group for which many people believed education should be provided. The Committee believed that for the working classes especially those in large towns, education up to the age of thirteen would be as much as would be desirable, but that infant schools should be opened for children from age three. This would contribute a great deal to their future conduct and happiness. It was calculated that in large towns one eighth of the population should be in school. The calculations giving rise to this conclusion were based on estimates of the working class proportionate to the whole population in six towns. That is in Manchester it was found to be sixty four per cent, in Salford seventy four per cent, in Bury seventy one per cent, in Ashton eighty one per cent, in Stalybridge ninety one per cent and in Duckenfield (or Dukinfield) ninety four per cent. The report contained very scathing comments on the common day and dame schools that had been seen, saying that the education supposed to be provided was worthless and could frequently be left out of the calculations. In large manufacturing and seaport towns it was generally found that 'kind education' to working-class children was lamentably deficient, that bad as it is, it is still only available to a small proportion of those who should have access to it and that without some 'strenuous and persevering effort' on the part of the government, the 'greatest of evils to all classes may follow this neglect' ³⁷.

A table was given for the major towns, showing the total population, the children of the working classes at day and dame schools, at other 'better' schools and the totals³⁸. For Manchester with a population of five to fifteen year olds of 20,000 in 1834, there were estimated to be 11,520 children at day and dame schools, 5680 at better schools, giving a total of 17,200. Salford with a population of 50,810 in 1835, 3340 at day and dame schools, 2015 at better schools, giving a total of 5350. Bury with a population of 20,000 in 1835, 1648 at day and dame schools, 803 at better schools, totalling 2450. Ashton, Duckenfield and Stalybridge were counted as one population of 47,800 with a total of 2496 working-class children in schools but the breakdown of which schools was not given for these towns. Other statistics given were numbers in Sunday schools. In Manchester it was

reported that there were 10,284 in Church of England schools, 19,032 in dissenters' schools and 3812 in Roman Catholic schools. In Salford the figures were 2741, 6250 and 613 respectively and Liverpool, 6318, 3350 and 700 respectively.

The Committee recommended that grants to be made should comply with four rules. Firstly, that money must only be for erecting of new schoolhouses, not including residences for masters or attendants. It set out very specific rules and regulations for the size and design of schools and classrooms according to the numbers of pupils being accommodated³⁹. Secondly, that a sum equal to one half of the estimated expenditure was to be raised by private contributions. Thirdly, that the private subscriptions had to be received, expended and accounted for before any issue of public money. Finally, that the recipients must be 'deserving cases' and have a reasonable expectation of permanent support. All would be subject to audit of accounts and periodical reports as to the state of the schools. Preference was to be given to schools in large towns and cities where it was decided that need was most pressing. A list of grants already made during the years 1834 to 1838 inclusive was given. Through the National Society for each year was distributed £11,081, £13,002, £17,130, £11,456 and £17,041 respectively, totalling £69,710. Through the BFSS for the same years the amounts were £9796, £7176, £5281, £5810 and £6090, totalling £35,285. It was recorded that although £1000 had been granted by Parliament for establishing training schools for teachers, no part had been applied by May 1838⁴⁰.

Four conclusions that the Committee reached were tabled as resolutions. First that in the capital and in the large towns of England and Wales it was recognised that there was a lack of education provision for the children of the working classes. Secondly that it was believed desirable that suitable daily education should be within the reach of not less than about one eighth of the population. The third resolution stated that the amount of Government assistance should be subject to the rules as listed above. This monetary provision should be flexible to take account of districts whose poverty required some special assistance. Finally there was no recommendation to change the system of grants made by the Treasury or to extend their availability beyond the medium of the National Society and the BFSS⁴¹.

An additional resolution, proposing that there should be some provision for poor Roman Catholics or others who would not send their children to the Societies' schools, was

said to have been 'negatived'. Another proposal was the formation of a Board of Office of Education to be under the control of Parliament⁴². This formed the basis for the state to take some responsibility for elementary education. It worked with some difficulty as the Church of England resisted state inspection and it was the religious societies that were running the schools. The only real input of the state was through its system of grants as described previously, leaving the question of who was in charge, the Church or the state, unresolved.

It was such concerns which led to the final government intervention relevant to this thesis, that is the Newcastle Commission, full title the Report of the Commissioners on the State of Popular Education in England 1861⁴³. Its contents indicate its total remit, investigating under five headings, 'Education of the Independent Poor', 'Education of Pauper Children', 'Education of Vagrants and Criminals', 'State Schools' and 'Charitable Endowments' with a final part giving statistics.

Under the first heading, referring to the independent poor, there was an assessment of the pupil teacher system⁴⁴ which had effectively replaced the monitorial system. This was a scheme devised in 1843-1844 by James Kay Shuttleworth, delayed by political events and reported in the Committee of Council on Education minutes of August 1846. It was a crucial measure to rectify a shortage of trained teachers that enabled schools willing to take on pupil teachers gain extra funding. With the co-operation of the National Society, the scheme was extremely important in increasing the extent of state control of elementary education. It specified much higher standards in school organisation and equipment, the type of teachers employed and what was expected of those wishing to be apprenticed as pupil teachers and their training⁴⁵. Such teachers were described by the Commission as 'the sinews of English primary instruction'; it was said that 87.32 per cent successfully completed their apprenticeship and 76.02 per cent were candidates for Queen's scholarships⁴⁶. Most of the latter obtained the scholarships that meant they could then attend a training college and become qualified masters and mistresses. So far as the cost of such a system was to be borne, the Commission maintained that it was well worth the money as, even if they left, they had still worked for the salary received. The salary was thought to be very modest and they could probably have earned more elsewhere. However, three serious defects were pointed out. There was a national standard of pay, taking no account of local conditions, being insufficient for those working in some districts. The

Commission believed that pupil teachers, especially the girls, were imposed upon and were given too much work. Their training was criticised as being too mechanical and inadequate for the purpose of elevating the trainees' minds. The subsequent proposal to remedy the first defect was to leave local wage bargaining to school managers and to lighten the load by shortening the school hours.

The second defect could be corrected by enlivening the subject matter⁴⁷. Constant repetition of the same routine was believed always to cramp and formalise the minds of young people and a change of one of the subjects taught should be changed for another. Thirdly, the training course included no literary subjects whatever and omitting one of the books of Euclid could be an advantage, substituting standard English prose and poetry, some passages of which should be learnt by heart. Some of these would then be recited at the annual examination. Learning by heart was thought to be a most valuable exercise and was 'far too much neglected in elementary schools'.

The Commission's report lists the grants that had been given towards building schools from 1839 to 1860⁴⁸. These ranged from £30,000 to £160,000 between 1839 and 1852. Then in 1853 it was agreed that capitation grants should be paid and the total for that year was £260,000. This increased steadily to £263,000, £396,921, £451,213, until finally in 1860 the total was £798,167. Up to 1853 the grant for school building was at the rate of 2/6 per square foot if a proper master's house was included, or 1/8 per square foot if not. There were tables showing the numbers of week-day schools and scholars, and numbers of schools under several headings, e.g. in Class I, C of E, British, RC, various non-conformists, Friends etc., the numbers of male pupils, of female pupils, and the totals and averages in each school. School is defined by department, not just the building. In Class II were the same statistics for Ragged schools, Orphan and Philanthropic, Birkbeck Schools and Factory Schools. Class III gives the same statistics for Workhouse, Reformatory, Naval and Military schools and Class IV for Collegiate, and superior or richer Endowed Schools. Other tables showed the statistics county by county throughout England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales with the numbers of week day schools and scholars⁴⁹. In Cheshire where the population in 1858 was said to be 502,654 there were 423 C of E Schools with 15,529 boys, 13,540 girls, fourteen British schools with 1536 boys and 806 girls, thirteen Roman Catholic schools with 771 boys and 656 girls and 36 non-conformist schools with 2285

boys and 1593 girls. There were also found to be five factory schools with 460 boys and 450 girls and seventeen workhouse schools with 290 boys and 253 girls. In Lancashire the population was said to be 2,330,382. Here were found 1125 C of E schools with 53,636 boys and 45,180 girls, 80 British schools with 8936 boys and 5918 girls, 200 Roman Catholic schools with 13,065 boys and 14,520 girls and 139 non-conformist schools with 10,600 boys and 7997 girls. There were seven Friends' schools with 554 boys and 521 girls, 28 factory schools with 1977 boys and 1510 girls and 34 workhouse schools with 1809 boys and 1409 girls. These statistics show that there were clearly more boys in school but still a fair number of girls. The remaining few schools were for more affluent children. The differences between these two sets of figures are probably mainly owing to Lancashire being much more densely populated and more industrial and less related to differences of denominational worship⁵⁰.

The recommendations for the support of schools for the independent poor were the simplification of the grant system into two types. The first was to be paid out of general taxation on managers of the schools fulfilling certain conditions. The second was to be paid from county rates and would be conditional on the attainments of the children during the preceding year. The subjects to be examined were reading, writing and arithmetic plus, for the girls, plain needlework. This came to be known as payment by results and examiners, appointed by newly formed County and Borough boards of education, would carry out these examinations. All schools had to be registered with the office of the Privy Council on receiving a certificate from a government inspector that all conditions had been fulfilled including the state of the building itself. Capitation grants were specified with minimum and maximum payments set according to attendance figures, discipline and whether any of the teachers were properly qualified, pupil or assistant teachers⁵¹. The other main recommendation was the continuation of grants to training colleges for schoolmasters and mistresses. Various adjustments were made such as specific training for women to become infant school teachers, the syllabus should be made more appropriate and annual examinations should be implemented at the colleges in order for the trainees to be awarded certificates⁵². There was thus a new era of government finance and regulation of schools.

Conclusions

So it was that through the first half of the nineteenth-century, the evangelical revival movement produced a great deal of activity in educating the poor. The rivalry between the denominations and those who advocated more secular teaching created much tension but doubtless gave a certain stimulus to all actually to do something about education provision for what by this time were called the 'lower orders'. The increasing involvement, or as some would say interference, by the state added to all this and the result was much investigation and enquiry before the advent of a national system of education by the end of the nineteenth-century. The results at local level will be seen in the remainder of this thesis.

CHAPTER II
EDUCATION PROVISION IN THE REGION
IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

Since the intention is to identify the extent of education provision for poor children, girls in particular, before 1870 it is necessary to look briefly at what was being provided in the eighteenth-century and even a little earlier. Debate at national and local level by people with varying opinions resulted in the provision of a variety of schools to match.

The earliest schools for the poor, usually boys, included the grammar schools, some of which were founded by kings, for example, Henry VII and Henry VIII. The aim was to give the boys a basic understanding of Latin, hence the name grammar schools. However, there was often an understanding that the appointed master could supplement his income by teaching some wealthier pupils who eventually squeezed out the poorer boys. Many such schools became exclusive public schools while still retaining their charitable status by providing bursaries and scholarships for poor boys¹. There will be a brief mention of the local grammar schools and reference to the other types of school, those for the very poor, children receiving relief in the workhouses.

Other individual philanthropists were important in education provision and, since they were mainly of the wealthier class, their motives included that of improving the morals and behaviour of their inferiors. In the early centuries such people had what would now be termed a social conscience and, apart from a Christian duty to help those less fortunate than themselves, would probably wish to ensure their own entry into heaven in the next life². Later, from the end of the eighteenth-century, the providers of education were often employers of the poor with perceptions of the working classes crowded into town and city slums. It was thought such people were inclined to criminal activity, lacked any religion and were probably in danger of being led to revolution thus giving rise to great concern. One solution was education, based on the doctrines of Christianity, and the variety of schools in North West England reflected the beliefs of those establishing and managing them. Apart from religion the poor should be trained in useful skills and towards habits of industry. Book learning would be limited as it was not considered suitable beyond the

ability to read the Bible³. There were those who opposed educating the poor as it was thought likely that they would read other material and try to rise above their station.

Many schools founded by early philanthropists formed the basis of some of the most important schools in the country and prominently in the North West region, the Blue Coat Hospitals or Schools and these constitute a considerable body of the research carried out into Chester and Warrington. The influence of the SPCK⁴ will also be examined as it was a considerable force for education provision from its foundation in 1698, giving rise to the founding or strengthening of many schools throughout the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. The Sunday school movement, although attributed mainly to the work of Robert Raikes of Gloucester in the late eighteenth century, had already begun in a small way in towns such as Warrington even earlier. They were very important in both Chester and Warrington throughout the period.

Charity Provision and Endowments before 1800

As in other parts of the country, a number of grammar schools were to be found in the North West of England. D. Robson lists 26 grammar schools in Cheshire with dates ranging from Stockport in 1487 in the reign of Henry VII, two, Nantwich and Congleton, just noted as being founded during the reign of Elizabeth I, to Marple in 1714 and Halton in 1725⁵. Chester's grammar school is the King's School founded in 1545 to replace the old monastic school in the dissolution of the monasteries, the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII's reign. Although it was originally intended for twenty-four poor and friendless boys it eventually became exclusive and poor children were no longer admitted⁶. Early education in Warrington had included a grammar school founded in 1526 by the will of Sir Thomas Boteler. This was a very wealthy establishment being supported by extensive land and property rents in Lancashire and Cheshire until 1800 when it lost its good reputation⁷. There were also probably some private venture schools and dame schools for the poorer classes, although Alan Crosby claims that by the early nineteenth-century only seven per cent of Warrington children were receiving any proper education.

There were a number of early charities that funded education for poor children throughout the region and early schools were often founded by individuals who wished to help the poor. For example c1629 in Farndon between Chester and Nantwich a school was

built described as being in a croft worth thirty shillings per annum plus a garden. At nearby Clutton, Richard Holland left £100 to another school the interest of which would go to the master who had a small house and garden⁸. In Manchester in 1711 Catherine Richards of Strangeways Hall left £100 annually to widows of 'decayed' tradesmen and for apprenticing poor boys and girls of those tradesmen. At about the same time Anne Hinde bequeathed the residue of her personal estate to instruct twenty poor children, ten from Manchester, ten from Stretford, half boys and half girls, whose parents were not in receipt of relief. The children were all to be 'taught to write, to read perfectly any chapter in the Bible and to repeat the Church Catechism publicly in the Collegiate Church (now Manchester Cathedral) and in Stretford Chapel upon some Sunday every year'⁹. This school, known as the Green School because of the uniform, was still in existence in 1826 when there were twenty-eight boys and girls from Manchester and twenty-nine from Stretford being taught and clothed. The uniform was a significant emblem of such schools, the colour sometimes representing the donor and indicating the extent of their charitable actions. It could also be a sign that the pupils were in receipt of charity and make them easily recognisable by the community. The curriculum for all was reading, writing and accounts plus sewing for the girls. In 1723 William Baguley's will showed £200 for founding and endowing a charity school in Manchester, free to poor children¹⁰.

The founding of the SPCK in 1698 resulted in many schools being founded by the established church throughout the country and the adoption of some established schools¹¹. The SPCK was, and still is, an important national organisation and its wide ranging influence in promoting the cause of Christian education was achieved especially through the publication of great quantities of instructive literature. Schools that taught the catechism of the Church of England almost invariably used the books provided by the Society usually at discounted prices for bulk purchases (see p.50). Chester Blue Coat School for Boys was one such school, founded in 1700 by Nicholas Stratford, Bishop of Chester, as a direct result of the foundation of the SPCK. It is thought by local historians possible that the wife of Bishop Francis Gastrell was instrumental in helping to found the Blue Girls School in 1720 for the purpose of teaching poor girls the basic skills required for jobs in domestic service¹². It is not certain where the girls' school was originally housed, but it may have

been in the same building as the boys. The girls were taught to read and write as well as domestic subjects¹³.

Warrington Blue Coat School had been in existence for a long time, having been based on a charity founded in 1655 for 'y^e education and binding poore children of ye township of Warrington to Apprenticeships...' and other charitable provision for the poor of the town¹⁴. It had become solely an educational charity in 1711.

In Liverpool a Blue Coat school had been founded in 1709 which lasted for many years and the original building still stands, now a centre for the arts in the city. The main importance of the Liverpool school was that it was the model for other local Blue Coat schools and was used as a training school for the masters employed in them¹⁵. In 1774 William Enfield wrote *An Essay towards the History of Liverpool* in which he provided a chronology for the school¹⁶. He includes a description of the building 'erected for this charity is of brick, ornamented with Stone. The apartments are numerous and convenient. In the principal body of the building is a good hall and staircase, leading up to a large room, employed as a chapel and for other purposes. Behind the building is a large and convenient yard, and before it a spacious area inclosed with handsome gates and iron rails'¹⁷. He also gives a description of Liverpool trade and industry in about 1770.

The school originally provided forty boys & 10 girls with 'cloaths and learning' by an annual subscription of £30 and £20 granted by order of the Bishop from the sacrament money. The first Treasurer was Rev. Robert Styth till 1714. The school did not become residential till the second Treasurer gave rooms and raised further subscriptions for building. In 1714 Robert Styth died and was succeeded by Bryan Blundell, Esq. There were at this time 42 boys and 8 girls. Building of new premises began in 1716 which would have made it easier for the school to provide accommodation. The building was ready for occupation in 1718 when it was noted that 'children were admitted'. Enfield wrote that the scheme was completely executed in 1726 and 60 children were being taught to work by spinning. It was not until 1734 that it was said that children were provided with lodging and meat as well as clothes and learning¹⁸.

Over the next two decades the numbers of children gradually increased until by the time Bryan Blundell died in 1756 there were about 100. By the time Enfield published his essay there were 200 children in the school¹⁹. In 1740 a Decree in the Chancery at

Lancaster for the 'Charity School of Liverpool' was obtained, which resulted in the appointment of fifty trustees and two auditors²⁰.

At the other end of the spectrum the education of children in workhouses was often taken more seriously than that of their contemporaries on the outside. The workhouse in Warrington had itself had some provision for educating child inmates from the outset in 1729. Rule No.10 reads 'That Children under 6 years of Age be kept close to y^e Reading school & that Children above that Age not perfect in Reading & Capable of Work be Allowed one Hour every Day for Learning'²¹. When in the 1830s the National School was built nearby a resolution was recorded in the Overseers' Minutes of 4 March 1834, to the effect that Mr. Pierpoint and the other overseers, should apply immediately to the National School Committee to request the admission of Workhouse Children to the School free of expense. A note added to this minute in a different hand and colour of ink simply reads, 'refused'²².

Most of the above schools catered for the upper ranks of the working classes, artisans perhaps fallen on hard times or with large families, unable to pay school fees for all their children, and orphans of such people. On the whole the poorest, the ragged street children, those regarded as 'vicious' and criminal classes were not considered worthy of education. The exception to this was the provision of some education in the workhouses as a result of the provisions of the Poor Law.

The advent of the first Sunday school in Warrington would have been an important event for the education of the poor. This was opened in 1779 in Latchford, not then strictly part of Warrington township but described as a hamlet. It became part of Warrington when the town was incorporated as a borough in 1847. St. James' Church, Latchford, was part of the parish of Grappenhall and was built in 1777 as a chapel of ease. It was not consecrated until 1781 possibly because of matters of ownership of the building and land²³.

The Sunday school was begun in 1779 by the Rev. James Glazebrook, originally a working-class man, who had been a collier in his home at Ironstone in Shropshire. The first Vestry Book of the church records payments of 4/- to the Schoolmaster for each of the months of April to November 1779. There were no payments for December or January 1780. During a period when Glazebrook took on an additional living in Leicestershire, his duties at Latchford were taken over by two curates who neglected the Sunday school so it

failed to flourish. When Glazebrook died in 1803 his successor was Rev. J. Grant, who was very interested in the school. He revived it till in 1804 it catered for about 200 boys and girls. Rev. Grant wrote 'A Manual of Religious Knowledge; for the use of Sunday Schools, and of the poor in general'. The second edition 'greatly enlarged' of this manual is the one referred to here. It was apparently used by other schools which were opened in the neighbourhood and contains the claim that 'The Manual is now used in many Sunday Schools throughout the kingdom'²⁴.

There is a record in Warrington Library of the formation of Ashton and Darwen Sunday and Day schools and the Sunday school was established at Darwen Chapel on May 11, 1806²⁵. Ashton is a little to the North of Warrington. The school was founded and managed by the Revd Thomas Exton and the Revd Edmund Sibson. It appears that this was a non-conformist establishment and its aims can be found in the form of a note intended to solicit a subscription as a 'Report of the Daily & Sunday Charity School'. Its aims were described as a design to give instruction to children of parents whose poverty meant they were excluded from available education. They would be rescued from ignorance, taught the early principles of honesty & integrity, obedience to their parents and respect to their superiors. Most importantly they must learn to revere their Creator to the benefit of society. This would increase the proportion of its 'peaceable, virtuous, & useful members'. It was intended that the school would be modelled on [Circus] Street School, Liverpool, which it was said was conducted on the basis of the plans of Dr Bell & Mr Lancaster. The School was to be under the management of a Committee of six Members chosen annually. Details were given of the entitlement of subscribers to recommend annually two children according to the amount of their annual subscription and some benefactors of (probably) £10 or upward could recommend one child annually for life. In conclusion it was said that 'the obvious Utility of such an Institution, requiring as the Committee presume, no further appeal to the Liberality of the enlightened public, they respectfully solicit your patronage & Support'²⁶.

Cheshire at the end of the eighteenth-century was in a state of working-class political agitation, not helped by food shortages and increasing prices. There was a spate of rioting across the County from 1795 including in Chester itself. Cheshire was under-represented in Parliament until 1832 and it is possible that this may have helped fuel a

demand for better education provision and inspired the middle-classes to begin to take action²⁷.

In Chester at the beginning of the nineteenth-century a review was carried out of the existing provision of education for the poor and in the Minute book of the Committee of Sunday and Working Schools Society the first entry dated September 1st 1803 noted that there were at least nine Sunday Schools. These had been part of a very ambitious plan drawing up detailed rules and creating Sunday Schools and three working schools for girls in the city²⁸. The prime movers in 1787 were a local physician, John Haygarth, the Bishop Beilby Porteus and others who had become very concerned at the number of girls who could not pursue useful employment as they were unable to knit, sew or spin. Bishop Porteus preached a sermon in the Cathedral on 14 February 1787 for the benefit of charity schools to highlight the plight of the girls in particular. In this a plan was proposed to link the Sunday Schools, the Blue Girls school, the Green Cap school and a new day school, plus four working schools. Each of the last would admit forty girls specialising in one aspect of the domestic skills. In the first the girls would learn to knit, then move to the second where they would be taught to spin. The third year would be in the next school learning to sew and finally in the fourth, learning to 'wash and get up linen'. The last school was not established because of a lack of sufficient work²⁹.

An elaborate set of rules was drawn up to govern the operating of the schools³⁰. The first rule described how the schools would be managed by 21 people, comprising nine clergy of the nine parishes of the city plus the resident Prebendary (formerly a canon of the cathedral), a Treasurer and a Secretary, plus ten others selected by ballot from subscribers. Selection would be carried out at a meeting to be held on the last Thursday in April each year. Regular meetings were to be held at the Blue Coat Hospital on the first Tuesday in every month, a quorum to consist of three of the 21 members. According to rule three the Sunday Schools were to instruct the children in reading, no mention of writing here, and in the first principles of Christian religion. The working schools would instruct girls in the crafts of knitting and sewing plain work and the pupils would be selected from the best attenders at the Sunday school and the most deserving (not defined). The third school, which had taught spinning, had ceased to exist by the time of the review. Rule five stated that the children were to attend a church service on every Sunday morning and evening³¹.

The four ladies who were involved in the management of the Blue Girls School plus eight lady subscribers were to be invited to act as visitors or managers of the working schools³². They were to record their findings and notes in a book that was to be presented to the main Committee each month. These ladies would have the power to expel any teacher or pupil although an appeal process was available to those so dismissed. 'Proper' books were to be purchased by the clergy from the SPCK. Progress through the schools was defined by rule nine, that is, after three years in the Blue Girls' School all scholars should attend the knitting school for one year, and the sewing school the following year. How many girls should actually proceed each year was to be decided by the Lady Visitors³³. Apart from accurate pupil registers, a record of work done was to be kept. Profits from the sale of the girls' work were to be divided, half going to the Mistress and the other half to be used to buy clothing for the most deserving (not defined) of the girls.

The Working School times were laid down in rule eleven – from Lady Day to Michaelmas (25 March to 29 September) attendance was to be from eight in the morning till noon; in summer from one to five in the afternoon and in the winter one to four. The next rule fixed the Sunday school times as eight in the morning in summer, nine in winter and one in the afternoon until Divine Service. The children had to return to their schools after the service to be dismissed. Rule thirteen said that the names of all scholars were to be recorded and called each morning and evening. The records were to be shown to visitors and to the Committee so that a check could be kept on absenteeism and enquired into. Finally, the fourteenth rule prescribed the saying of suitable prayers as directed by the clergy at the beginning and finishing of the day's duties³⁴.

By the turn of the century the nine Sunday schools were still in existence at a number of locations in the city³⁵. There was one at the Weighing Machine in Foregate Street where fifty children were under the care of Thomas Meakin. These children attended St. John's church regularly and Meakin was recommended by the vicar, Mr. Richardson. The school held at Glovers Stone* also for fifty children who attended St. Martin's church was kept by Elizabeth Dunbavand. A somewhat decayed school with few pupils was held in Lower Lane by Eliza Hanna (or Hannah), who was said to be old but 'respectable and attentive'. Mr Armitstead, who at the time seems to have been the Rector of St. Martin's

* Glovers Stone was a place near the Castle where non-freemen of the city could trade (CRO staff member)

according to the Clergy Call Books of 1804 and 1811, was requested to supply more children and if considered necessary to find an assistant for the teacher. It was said that the children would attend Holy Trinity church. There was a long established Sunday school in a room at the Blue Coat hospital kept by William Taylor catering for about forty children. It was intended that Mr Ireland, the vicar of St. Oswald's church, would try to increase the numbers of children to 100 from the Upper Northgate area and find an assistant for the teacher. Another old school was found to exist in Lower Bridge Street run by Joseph Young and the vicar of St. Michael's church was requested to fill it up to forty children. In the area of the Old Dee Bridge called Handbridge were two schools. One, run by James Robertson and his wife, was able to take upwards of eighty children who were already identified. The other had fifty children instructed by James Hughes. Both schools would attend St. Mary's church. An application by Elizabeth Robinson led to a decision to establish a Sunday school in Lower Bridge Street presumably in addition to the one already there. It was also found that two teachers in Schools of Industry, Mary Parry and Ann Monford both had charge of a dozen little boys on Sundays. However it was noted that there still remained a large number of children not attached to any Sunday school³⁶. It appears that there was already in place a reasonable structure on which to re-build the Sunday schools, although a great deal of work would have been necessary to ensure their healthy survival.

The non-conformist Society of Friends, were also beginning to consider their shrinking membership and the need to begin to educate their young people³⁷. At the end of what was known as their 'Quietist period', consisting of much of the eighteenth century, plans began to be laid to found schools for Friends described as 'not in affluence'. This was an extremely slow process and establishment of the school in Penketh, Warrington, did not happen until the fourth decade of the nineteenth-century. This was an important school in the area and its establishment and management will be described in the next chapter.

It seems obvious that for a long time there had been some provision for educating the poor and by the eighteenth-century this included the development of schooling for girls. With the advent of Sunday schools the possibility of poor boys and girls being taught to read grew. Of course, writing was not always considered to be an appropriate subject for the Sabbath day. The nine Chester Sunday schools were part of an ambitious scheme,

which included the schools of industry specifically for girls. In Warrington the initiative was in the hands of individuals such as the Rev. Grant in Latchford. By the turn of the century there came the realization that apathy had crept in and renewed efforts would be needed to revive the situation.

Educational Revival in the early part of the Nineteenth-Century

As provision was very much dependent upon the good will and efforts of individuals it appears that this had begun to show signs of flagging. Possibly the younger people of the community had failed to take over the work from their elders who would be too old to carry on. Maybe they had not then been encouraged to assist and had not become interested. In most branches of the Christian church there was a fear that the working classes were becoming godless and were leading immoral lives in the slums of the towns which had spread during the Industrial Revolution. It was believed to be necessary to boost church congregations and for the middle classes to ensure the moral health of their 'inferiors'. One way to do this was by education. This resulted in both Chester and Warrington communities beginning a drive to revitalise and improve education provision for the poor during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

As noted above the Sunday and Working Schools in Chester were investigated and plans laid for their futures³⁸. A review was carried out of the existing provision and in the Minute book of the Committee of Sunday and Working Schools Society the first entry dated September 1st 1803 noted that attendance in the working schools (frequently also referred to as Schools of Industry) was 49 and in the Sunday schools 112. Similarly the following month showed attendances as 42 and 149 respectively. These figures remained at about the same levels each month for some time until in 1808 it was decided eventually to try to improve matters. Things had obviously moved very slowly, it having taken about five years to decide how to proceed and form a group willing to take on the initial task of raising interest³⁹. At the meeting of 31st May 1808 it was resolved that an address should be placed in the *Chester Chronicle* of 3rd June. This was an appeal to the 'more opulent parishioners' by the parochial clergy to respond to 'this interesting subject', i.e. the education of the children of the poor. An additional note was added, 'NB. The original establishment of Sunday Schools in Chester comprised, besides a competent number of Schools solely for

Sunday Instruction, three working schools for Girls consisting of forty children each, in which they were taught Knitting, Sewing and Spinning; the two former remain, although reduced in number, the latter has for many years been discontinued'. It seems that there was no response as a further entry reads, 'Nothing however took place'⁴⁰.

Further efforts were attempted later that year and, as a result of an appeal by the Lord Bishop and others to the Mayor, who placed a notice in the newspapers, a meeting eventually took place. At this first meeting, held on 16 December 1808, the list of those attending included Earl Grosvenor, the Lord Bishop, the Dean, five aldermen, several clergy and gentlemen totalling forty-five listed by name, plus others shown only as '&c &c &c'. This was followed up by a general meeting of Thursday 22nd December at the Exchange where it was resolved that the clergy of each parish would go from house to house in order to ascertain the numbers of children likely to be sent to Sunday School, or girls who might engage in the Schools of Industry⁴¹. There were also listed the names of gentlemen parish by parish who were asked to accompany the clergy. It was intended that subscriptions and benefactions would be solicited from the parishioners. There were eight parishes listed; St. Bridget's, St. John's, St. Mary's, St. Martin's, St. Oswald's, St. Peter's, St. Olave's and Trinity. It was also resolved that an annual sermon was to be preached in the Cathedral to be attended by all the Masters, Mistresses and children of the schools. No collection would be taken at this service. A Committee meeting was held on Saturday 24th December at which the process of collecting materials was begun. It was decided that one thousand copies of a paper entitled a 'Plain and Serious Address to the Parents of Poor Children on the Subject of Sunday Schools' which was published and sanctioned by the SPCK would be printed and distributed on the house to house calls. In addition a general statement of the object and the proceedings to date would be drawn up by the Chairman, circulated in a handbill and published in both Chester newspapers previous to the visits by the clergy. However it seems that the statement was too long for insertion in the papers and it was noted in the minutes that both the *Chester Courant* of 27th December and the *Chronicle* of 30th December explained this, stating that it would be published separately⁴². Their readers were exhorted to pay it careful attention and to support the Plan.

During the early months of 1809 the clergy and gentlemen who had been asked to visit the parishioners were provided with forms to complete with details of benefactions

and subscriptions⁴³. Any sum was to be accepted for either category. They were urged to visit without delay and also to look out for both suitable premises for the different schools and suitable persons as teachers. All these tasks were carried out by most clergy and responses to all their requests for scholars, funds, possible premises and offers from people wishing to be teachers began to be received. At the April 1809 meeting salaries were decided for the different types of teachers. Mistresses of Sunday and Working Schools were to be paid £20.0.0 per annum while teachers of Sunday Schools were to be paid on a sliding scale - 8 guineas for fifty children, 7 guineas for forty children and 6 guineas for thirty children. The collector's salary was set at £10.10s 0d per annum. The Treasurer was directed to pay a sum of £48.14.8d being the balance due to the executors of Rev^d J.H. Landen, the late treasurer, on account of the Old Sunday and Working School establishment. No further explanation is given of this transaction. Similarly it was reported on April 20th that two teachers had been dismissed as being unfit, but with no explanation of why⁴⁴.

Evidence emerges from time to time in the Minutes that many of the same people were involved in all the schools in Chester that were run by the Church of England such as the Bishop, other clergy and some of the professional people, doctors and lawyers. In addition the ladies appear to be the wives, daughters and sisters of such men. These will be mentioned in more detail in Chapter IV concerning women's involvement. The attendance figures had remained at about the same levels for some time until in April 1809 it was stated that Sunday schools should be re-established 'to collect and teach as great a number of children as was practicable'. Churches were thought to be the most practicable places for teaching and each parish was asked to report on the possibility. The charity would provide stoves to 'air' the churches if necessary. There had been six resolutions agreed at the initial 16 December 1808 meeting the first of which is of primary relevance here: 'That Sunday Schools be restored as per the original plan of 1787'⁴⁵. The next concerned the reinstatement of 'the Schools of Industry for Female Children on Weekdays forming part of the plan and supported from the same fund as far as present circumstances may permit'. The remainder were about the raising of finance, the system of management and the forming of what now might be called a steering committee and its meeting times.

The Committee met as planned, the Minutes list all fourteen rules and after considering each one separately they were adopted unchanged. The clergy and gentlemen who had been asked to visit the parishioners were urged to visit without delay and also to look out for both suitable premises for the different schools and suitable persons as teachers⁴⁶. As in the case of the Sunday schools the clergy carried out these tasks and similar help began to be offered to re-establish the working schools. There were some donations received, suggestions about premises and people were coming forward for consideration as teachers. All this was recorded in Minutes of meetings held in the main weekly. For example on February 16th 1809⁴⁷ it was noted that 'Mary Parry, wife of Richard Parry of the Gorse Stacks, Joiner, was appointed schoolmistress on the strength of character references, to teach forty poor Girls in Sewing, Knitting, Reading &c. according to the Plan laid down'. The Rev^d James Ireland and Rev^d William Richardson would furnish her with 40 names of girls of St. Oswald's and St. John's parishes to be instructed. The Chairman would ensure a supply of proper books.

At the same meeting a list of school and religious books had been 'left upon the Table' for inspection by the Committee⁴⁸. On February 23rd 1809 the following book order was drawn up to be paid for out of the fund of benefactions. There were 50 Oxford Bibles, 150 Books of Common Prayer, 100 Sallon's (or Fallon's) Abridgement of the Holy Scriptures, 100 of Mrs. Trimmer's Abridgement of Scriptures History consisting of lessons selected from the Old Testament and 100 of the same with lessons from the New Testament. There were 300 Ostervald's Abridgement of the History of the Bible, 500 copies of the Church Catechism on Pasteboard and 200 Catechisms 'broke into short questions with answers at length'. Fifty copies of Brooke's (William, Esq.) Short Addresses to the Children of Sunday Schools on particular texts of Scripture were ordered together with 400 copies of a Child's First Book Part the 1st and 200 of 'Part the 2nd'. One hundred copies of Fox's Lessons for Children were ordered. The books of Mrs Trimmer, a Church of England educationist, were well represented. There were 100 copies of each of her Charity School Spelling Books containing the Alphabet &c with short stories of Good and Bad Boys, the same with Stories of Good and Bad Girls and her Charity School Spelling Book Part the 2nd containing Words divided into Syllables, Lessons with Scripture [Names] &c. The last text book was Crossman's Introduction to the Knowledge of the Christian Religion of

which 50 copies were ordered. Finally there were 500 copies of Morning and Evening Prayers from the Liturgy on Pasteboard. The books were ordered from the SPCK, and paid for, the cost being £43.16.8d⁴⁹. It was noted that some of the above book orders were increased to enable the Committee to supply the Blue Coat and Green Cap Schools.

The re-establishment of the working schools was carried on apparently with great enthusiasm⁵⁰. Premises were still being sought and in May 1810 a new building known as the Union or Yorkshire Hall in Foregate Street was investigated with a view to using its upper part. The proprietors offered the Committee this part which had been used as a Sunday school, or any other suitable part of the hall for a Sunday and Weekly school for £40 per annum. This was considered to be exorbitant and the amount offered was reduced to £30. The Committee still refused to pay more than £20 and no further reduction was forthcoming. No other details were given about the negotiations of November and December 1810 and January 1811 concerning the rent but the building was obviously used as in May 1811 a general meeting was held in the hall.

It seems that a school referred to as the Green Bonnet School in Princess Street may have been one of the Working Schools. One of the lady visitors made suggestions about the running of this school⁵¹. Firstly, that the daughter of Mrs. Smith, the teacher, should take the girls who were capable of work into a separate room after their spelling and reading lessons with her mother. Secondly, as a reward the best scholars should receive a green bonnet, the possibility of becoming Probationers and being recommended to be admitted into the Blue Girls' School. Carrying on in education would have been seen as an advantage and it may be assumed that it might lead to better employment even if only a position in a better class of household. This would be possible as the same ladies who visited the Working Schools were also on the Committee of the Blue Girls' School. Note that the term 'best' is not defined so it is not clear whether such girls would be the best behaved, the best academically, or simply the quietest who gave the mistress the least trouble.

At the May 1811 meeting it was announced that twelve girls had been elected as the most deserving on all accounts to be admitted into the Ladies' New Charity School in St. Martin's in the Fields, the new building of the Blue Girls' School after they had been evicted from their previous premises, to be opened on Monday 1st July 1811⁵². The girls' ages were three of 11 years, eight of 12 years and one of thirteen years. This was treated

with great ceremony and a procession, headed by the twelve girls, went to the newly erected school. All the children were there dismissed except the twelve chosen, who with their parents, were given directions to attend at the new school so that they could be told what going to the school entailed.

In March 1816 the state of the charity was reviewed and on 14th at a general meeting it was 'Ordered unanimously that the five Sunday and Working Schools be henceforward consolidated into one'⁵³. The ladies were to form a Committee to superintend the School and frame suitable rules for its management. In view of the long waiting lists, a sign of the schools' reputation, it was decided that no children under the age of 8 years were to be admitted. There is no explicit reason for the consolidation and one can only speculate that perhaps it made management easier to have one establishment rather than several. Single decisions could be made in the ladies' Committee affecting the school and implemented immediately.

The salary of the Mistress would be £60 per annum out of which she was to appoint a Deputy to be approved by the ladies who would fix the stipend. The Trustees of the Blue Coat Hospital agreed to this procedure and the ladies requested the Dean to apply to the 'National Institution' (presumably the National Society) in London for a properly qualified mistress, that is one trained in the Society's methods⁵⁴. However, the entry in the Minute book for 7th June 1816 records that with the school 'in its present state' only one Mistress was needed and she should be paid £40⁵⁵.

The consolidating of the schools meant that a fresh search for accommodation had to be instigated and it was decided on 14th March 1816 that permission would be sought by the Committee from the Blue Coat Hospital Trustees to use the room formerly used by the Green Cap day pupils of the Blue Coat Hospital and the Board room on Sundays⁵⁶. On 19th March it was noted that the Trustees had agreed. Somewhat confusingly, the Ladies Meeting of 25th March reported that a request was made to the Mayor and Corporation for *their* permission to use these same rooms. A response from the Mayor was not recorded until 25th September, when it was noted that the Assembly of the Corporation of September 12th had 'considered the prayer of petition' and permission was granted 'during the Will and Pleasure of this Incorporation'. This does, however, show that the ladies were

capable of acting with autonomy although most of their major decisions do seem to have been brought before the main committee with requests for action to be taken.

The meeting of 25th March was called to choose the 150 most eligible girls from all applicants and to create a waiting list⁵⁷. It seems that the rule about the age of admission was adhered to fairly rigidly and was reiterated in July 1820. Then in 1821 an exception was recorded on 3rd April to admit Martha Roberts, not yet 8, 'because of reading well and being perfect in the Catechism'⁵⁸.

The normal business of administering the school as previously minuted was continued apparently seamlessly as is shown by the recording at the end of March 1816 of approving the payment of salaries and gratuities amounting to £44.10.3. The appointment of the Mistress was to be made after application was made to the National Society, for a properly qualified Mistress and their recommendation received. Also in May it was decided to ask if Miss Nield of the Countess Grosvenor's School would send one of her monitors to assist in arranging the school system when the school was opened two days later on Monday, 20th May⁵⁹.

The girls who had been selected were notified to attend on this date, with their parents in the first instance. Also the Ladies who were to be Visitors of the school were requested to attend on the same day at 10 o'clock. Application was made to Mr Halton of St. Peter's Church for seats for the children in the church⁶⁰.

Decisions were made on the way the Consolidated school would be run. On 3rd September 1816 it was decided that for this year the girls in this school would have the same holidays as the boys in the National School, commencing on the same date, although no details of these were recorded. Admissions would only be made on Board Days and the girls' parents would be required to attend at the time of admittance. Girls who were expelled would not be allowed anything for any tickets in their possession. The tickets in question would have been rewards for good work and could normally be exchanged for books at an allotted time⁶¹.

Some repairs and 'fitting up' of the school were necessary and the meetings of 25th September and 6th November 1816 dealt with this. A voluntary contribution had been made in March solely for this purpose. The work included some joinery, plastering and glazing work. It was an example of the continuing attention that the ladies paid to ensuring regular

maintenance of the schoolroom, deciding on the work, putting out tenders, selecting and supervising the contractors. There was annual whitewashing, additional fittings and improvement in general conditions such as ventilation and supply of water over the years. Entries in the minutes were intermittent but some records and all accounts were kept⁶².

Throughout the first year the Handbridge Sunday school was obviously giving cause for concern although no details are given. On 28th March 1816, an entry records that the Sunday school would be continued for another quarter until a decision could be made whether to continue or discontinue it. At the following quarter commencing July 1st the same decision was made. At the meeting of 25th September it was ordered that another quarter's reprieve be allowed 'under an understanding that it be weekly till further orders'. Finally on 20th December 1816 it was decided that 'Handbridge Sunday School be given up at Lady Day next' (25th March 1817)⁶³.

From the continuity of the Consolidated Schools Minutes it seems that everything carried on smoothly for many decades. Although there are some reports of problems of discipline and management decisions that the ladies found difficult there is rarely any reporting of major mishaps. It is possible that the reasons for some omissions are that it was important to show the main committee that the ladies could cope quite satisfactorily with whatever they had to face. It would also be necessary to reassure any donors and subscribers that their money was being used wisely and thriftily.

In Warrington the Bluecoat School had had to be closed in 1802 because of bad management leading to a debt of £178.13s.4½d. Mr. Webster, the Master, was paid up to the end of September and allowed to remain in his house till the end of the year. A plan for its future management was published which was designed to avoid the problems that had formerly plagued the school, causing its closure and a public scandal⁶⁴. This plan was very detailed and was in effect a complete re-organization of the school, its aims and structure. The children to be admitted would be one third orphans, one third who had lost either parent and one third children from large poor families. The education provided would be basic, as no attention to the higher branches of arithmetic would be paid. 'Above all, they should be taught the great truths of Christianity, and early trained to habits of industry, cleanliness, decency and order'⁶⁵. It was decreed 'Not more than a *fourth* will be females, and no child will be admitted under *seven* years of age, or above *nine*'⁶⁶. The children

would leave the school at age fourteen and be apprenticed to trades according to their own inclination or that of their friends. The school re-opened on 1 May 1804, as a day school only, with 15 boys and 5 girls. A new master was appointed, Thomas Bullock of Shrewsbury, at a salary of £40 per annum. By 1808 it was said to be nearly out of debt, rather later than had been anticipated⁶⁷. However, it was felt that the income was not sufficient to run the school with so many pupils. Out of £350 per annum, outgoings including the cost of the Master, came to £194, leaving only enough, £156, to maintain eight or nine boys. There was no mention at this point of teaching any girls. By 1812 the financial situation improved and with all debts paid, an income of £411. 5. 1½d and £588 in hand, it was planned to revert to running a boarding school 'upon the Old System' which would then presumably include some girls once more⁶⁸.

At this time it was decided that this newly structured establishment would adopt the new teaching system and would be run on Dr. Bell's plan as described in Chapter I. It was decided that Mr. Bullock should be given notice to quit on 25 March 1814, and that a new master should be sought in Manchester who understood Dr. Bell's system⁶⁹. Thus Mr. Robert Horrocks was appointed at a salary of £80 per annum. Although it had been stipulated that the new master should be 'a proper Master, understanding Dr. Bell's System' it was still deemed desirable that Mr. Horrocks should be sent to Liverpool to the Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital 'to receive the necessary Instruction on the System of Dr. Bell's Madras School'. The Liverpool School was said to have a high reputation for proficiency in Dr. Bell's plan and was the training school of choice for many primary schoolmasters⁷⁰. The records from here are somewhat sparse and the intervening years to the early 1830s do not appear to have been of sufficient interest to generate detailed accounts of activity. The great educational revival that was generated during the 1830s will be the subject of the next chapter.

Conclusions

After the somewhat quiet end, with regard to education, to the eighteenth-century a flurry of activity in both Chester and Warrington revived the schools there and ensured that the first third of the nineteenth-century would see a steady continuation of provision for poor children as the populations of both towns grew. The very early schools, the grammar

schools had changed from their original aims and many had become more exclusive and attractive to the middle classes. The SPCK gave impetus to the early eighteenth-century drive to provide a Christian based education and it was a major influence for the countrywide establishment of new schools and the reinforcement of existing schools. Notable were the Bluecoat schools and the North West region was no exception with some of the largest being established in Liverpool, Chester and Warrington. As could be seen the end of the eighteenth-century was again marked by a slowing of educational opportunities for the poor but with the advent of the Sunday school movement another renaissance was beginning. The local efforts were apparent with the early nineteenth-century revivals and the formation of the two School Societies, the National and the British and Foreign meant that a formal framework was in place for the monitorial teaching method. This had been adopted with great enthusiasm and would enable a basis for the training of teachers which was beginning to be seen as more necessary.

In Chester in particular girls were well provided for and the professional approach of the ladies' Committee was very significant in the success of both the Blue Girls' school and the Consolidated Sunday and Working school. It seems that the national debates especially inside the established church were filtering down to local level quite quickly and effectively. Warrington too saw the recuperation of the Blue Coat school after its financial problems and there followed a period of settled development for a while. The next important phase was a new drive for educating the poor in the early part of the 1830s and this will be explored in chapter three.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE 1830s AND 1840s

Introduction

As already noted the 1830s were significant in the nineteenth-century as a time of reform and, in the case of elementary education, enormous expansion. The two major voluntary schools societies became more and more involved and there was a gradual increase, year on year, of state funding. There was growing denominational rivalry fuelling this expansion and the established church became unhappy with moves in Parliament to establish more secular education. There were many problems with establishing schools and keeping them going was no easier than it had ever been. Finance obtained from the government had to be more than matched by local fund raising and was dependent upon an assured continuance of regular subscriptions. Not all areas in the region were affluent as the Warrington Education Society realised when it knew it had to raise considerable amounts locally and described the town as a rather poor district. Also managers were inexperienced and had to learn how to run the schools as they went along. Inevitably mistakes could be made and they had to tread very carefully.

In the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution Warrington was growing apace. In the late eighteenth-century and the early nineteenth-century industries of national and international importance were established. Warrington was a centre of glass making, wire drawing and weaving, machine tool, spade and shovel manufacture. A contemporary account in the Universal Directory of Trade and Manufactures of 1792 described it as a populous and rich market town but its streets were dirty, narrow and ill paved¹. Especially needed at this time were more schools. In this chapter development of three of the town's schools in particular will be examined, the first National school, the Warrington Education Society and its establishment of the BFSS school and the Quaker School at Penketh. The final move was the establishment of the Chester Diocesan Board of Education.

Expansion of School Provision

There had been, from 1810 to 1830, a spate of school building and many hundreds of children were processed in the National Schools. Although new schools were being built

at this time a number that had been in existence for many years were adopted by the National Society and altered to comply with the Society's rules. In 1835, £10,000 had been granted by Parliament towards the erection of 'Normal' or 'Model' schools and was to be distributed through the National Society and the BFSS with the greater proportion through the National Society.

In Warrington, it wasn't until 1833 that a National School was built, although, according to Ruth Charlesworth, the Blue Coat School records show that 'in January 1812, the Trustees of the Charity were requested to turn their attention to the proceedings of the "National System for Education of the Poor", commonly called Dr. Bell's Plan' ². A notice was put out that a public meeting would be held on 21st June 1833 in the Sessions Room of 'the Inhabitants of the Town & Neighbourhood of Warrington who are friendly to the Establishment of a National School for the said Town & Neighbourhood'³. It was agreed to build the proposed school, a Committee was set up and the process of acquiring land, approving plans, tendering and selecting a builder was completed without delay. The new school was built in Church Street on land given by John Ireland Blackburne, Esq., near to the Parish church, St. Elphin's and close to the workhouse which had been there for over one hundred years⁴. The school was built within seven months and opened in January 1834. According to the National School Log Book Warrington had a population of about 18,000 (1831 Census) and it had been estimated that the number of children between the ages of seven and thirteen was about 2500 and that they were mainly the children of weavers and mechanics⁵.

It was important to appoint a Master for the School as early as possible and it was hoped that he would be in post in time for the opening. The selection process is described in the Minutes of Meetings held in January 1834⁶. An advertisement was placed in six newspapers in Liverpool, Manchester, Preston and Chester and also in the *London Morning Herald*. It called for applicants for the posts of Master and Mistress who must be fully competent to undertake the management of the school. Applicants were to supply testimonials to character and certificates of qualifications. These were received by the Secretary by Saturday 4th January 1834. At the Committee meeting of Monday 6th January the appointment of Mr. Henry Ibbotson as Master was decided purely based on his testimonials. No interviews were held and it was decided not to engage Ibbotson's wife as

Mistress because of her inexperience. Instead it was left to Ibbotson to hire a female to assist him in teaching the girls. His choice, Miss Hulme, was later found by the newly formed Ladies' Committee to be unsatisfactory and they requested the National Society to help by providing a temporary mistress.

When the National School was built near to the workhouse a resolution was recorded in the Overseers' Minutes of 4 March 1834. It read 'That Mr. Pierpoint on behalf of himself & the other overseers apply this day to the National School Committee to request the admission of Workhouse Children to the School free of expense'. A note added to this minute in a different hand and colour of ink simply reads, 'refused'⁷. At a meeting of the National School Committee of the same date it was 'Resolved That the Children belonging to the Workhouse cannot be admitted, unless they come in under the existing rules'⁸. It was not until July 1835 that it was noted in the Minutes of the Guardians that 'the recommendations of the Rector be approved of and adop'd (sic) relative to the children in the poorhouse being sent to the National School to receive instruction, and that a subscription of £2 per annum be paid for the same subject to the approval of the commissioners of the poor laws'⁹.

In November 1839 Mr Powys, the Rector of Warrington complained to the Guardians of the Poor of the state of the children attending the school. He said most of them were covered in a rash or other skin eruptions and that many were often absent for about half the week. That day there were seven absent and six of the girls in the school were described as diseased. Almost all the boys were covered in bites. The National school committee called in Mr Hunt, the medical officer, who diagnosed a kind of ringworm and treated them. He recommended that the boys should have mutton broth thickened with barley once a week instead of pea soup. This was agreed. It was also agreed that the children should thenceforward attend for a full day instead of the half day as previously¹⁰. It is interesting to note that the original eighteenth-century rules had provided for children to be taught for one hour each day. It was decided that attendance for a whole day would be an improvement as there would be less disruption as children came and went.

The meetings from March 1834 were held once a month instead of the initial ones which had been arranged to suit the work needed to establish the school, approximately once per week. The meeting of June 3rd records the receipt of £120 from 'Society, London'

and that arrangements should be made for the National School children to walk in procession as had become the custom during Newton Races. This had been begun some years previously by the Rev. Powys to counteract the perceived evil of families attending the races and Warrington Walking Day still takes place every July, now being an ecumenical event¹¹.

During the first year a regular record of the routine management of the school was kept. On Tuesday 1st July 1834 the minutes record the expulsion of three boys by request of the Master because of them continually being absent without leave. All other measures to correct them he said had been ineffectual. The request by Miss Churchill for a Testimonial was agreed to and it was resolved to draw one up because of her highly meritorious conduct as a schoolmistress. Miss Churchill had made the request because of the probability that she would be called back to London. This seems to indicate that she had been sent by the National Society in response to the request for a temporary mistress¹².

In August 1834 Mr. Glazebrook, who had been the Secretary to the Committee from the outset, resigned and his resignation was accepted reluctantly. Rev. T.V. Bayne was appointed in his place. Also at this meeting is the first reference to the Sunday school as it was decided that Mrs Hall should continue as Mistress of the Sunday School. She would receive the same salary for that year. At subsequent meetings in 1834 the details of managing the school were minuted. The admissions of children, the expulsion and admonition of boys for non-attendance, purchases and the decision to set winter hours for attendance as occurred in the Central School in London, the children to be dismissed each day at 4 o'clock from 1st November to 1st March were recorded. It was also decided in October to purchase two clocks and a sum of £15 was voted to provide gas lighting for the school. At the December meeting Mr. Ibbotson had his request for an increase in salary from £70 to £80 granted¹³. At a meeting held in February 1835 the Rector suggested that a public examination of the children should be held on 7th May at 11 o'clock, that afterwards the annual report should be read and visitors appointed for the coming year¹⁴. However, at the next meeting on May 5th the idea of the examination was deferred until another year.

The meetings during 1835 became badly attended. Some contact was maintained as the Secretary continued to record the admissions of children to the Schools at each meeting date¹⁵. On 3rd November the Treasurer attended in order to inform the Committee of the

'embarrassed state of the School funds', but only one member attended. This continued to be the case of none or only one attending through December, February 1836, March and April, until on 3rd May at a meeting attended by Rev. H. Powys, Rev. T. Lowe and the Secretary, it was decided to call a special meeting on the 19th May. The aim of this meeting was to discuss the state of the finances and the measures to be taken. The debt had reached £101.15. 1¾¹⁶. It was only two years after the opening of the National School and it was already showing signs of failing and was in poor financial health. On Sunday July 10th, 1836, the Rector of Warrington the Rev. Horace Powys, preached a sermon in an attempt to raise interest and subscriptions from the wealthier people of the town. He first preached on the value of the kind of education being offered to the poor, noting that apart from the Blue Coat school with a roll of about 100 day boys, 30 girls plus 24 boys and 16 girls 'on the foundation', and the Ladies School of Industry with an average attendance of between 70 and 80 girls, there were only some small private or dame schools which were expensive, charging from 2d to one shilling per week, and worthless¹⁷.

The National and Sunday Schools report attached to the sermon gives details of the problems¹⁸. In the two years since the School opened there had been a steady decrease in attendance. When opening in February 1834 there had been 328 boys and 204 girls. On the appointment of the new mistress in July 1834 the number of girls had dropped to 96. In January 1835 there were 220 boys and 90 girls. Then in July 1836, there were only 156 boys and 77 girls. The totals over the two years had been 538 boys and 301 girls. The committee of the school then carried out a detailed survey during the summer of 1836 by visiting all the parents concerned to find out why those who had left had done so. Out of 174 boys, 58 had left to go to work as their parents needed them to earn some money; 44 had gone to other schools because 'they learned little, and were too much beat at the National Schools'. Twenty-five had left the neighbourhood or could not be found. Four had left because of the rule compelling attendance on Sunday, seven because of illness, two were dead and 36 gave 'frivolous excuses' such as want of clothes, or no reason at all. The reasons given for the girls leaving were similar to the boys'. Twenty-one had left to go to work, seven to other schools, one girl complaining she had not learned. Thirteen had left the neighbourhood or not been found, four because of illness and twenty-two gave 'frivolous excuses'. However of the last cited, five girls were readmitted. This seems to

indicate that the working-class pupils and parents were not happy with middle-class ideas and methods of education.

The report claimed that the National Schools could offer a much better education than the other establishments at less cost. The curriculum for the boys was described in the introduction to the Report as comprising reading, writing, and arithmetic, and for the girls, reading, writing, cyphering, knitting, marking, and plain needle-work. The rate was 1d per child per week. It was also claimed that 'Both schools are conducted by experienced teachers whose services have been obtained at considerable expence; and who have themselves been carefully trained for their occupation'¹⁹, unlikely in the absence of any teacher training at this time. This latter claim is difficult to substantiate by referring to the account of the selection process which was mainly on written character references and not by interview or reference to any academic qualifications. The exception to this was probably when teachers were recommended or supplied by the National Society, which was not always the case.

It was decided to ask the National Society for advice, and to call a general meeting of the Friends of the National School on the Monday after the annual sermon at 12 o'clock on 11th July 1836. At the July meeting an appeal was made to the consciences of the Friends that the Schools should be enabled to remain beneficial to the poor and outlining the difficulties of doing this. A way of doing this was to try to get the clergy of the town and as many lay people as possible to form a visiting committee that would take on the superintendence of the schools. The core of this Committee should be formed from those present at the meeting. It was then resolved to canvass the town and neighbourhood to collect donations in order to clear the debt and to solicit annual subscriptions for the schools' future maintenance. One clergyman and one layman were to be appointed for each week to superintend the education of the children²⁰.

It may have been that the failure of the school was partly down to the incompetence or negligence of the Master, Mr Ibbotson, or blame was attributed to him. In October events occurred which eventually led to his resignation. It appeared that he took exception to comments by visitors on his management abilities and his lack of attention to 'mental cultivation and to punctuality'. The Committee minutes also record that the 'Master's note on the last subject does not show that defference (sic) to Visitors' remarks which is due to

them²¹. At the following meeting Mr. Ibbotson requested that the previous meeting's comments about him be rescinded²². This was refused and Mr. Ibbotson said he would like answers in writing and asked if he was still the Master of the school. The Committee replied that they were satisfied with improvements in the school. Mr. Ibbotson appeared to be satisfied with this comment. However the Committee then drew up a list of resolutions outlining the duties of the Master which might have been seen to imply criticism of Ibbotson's conduct. These were that the Master should do more teaching and spend less time sitting at his desk, that he should ensure his attendance at the school during the prescribed hours on Sundays and superintend the behaviour of the boys going to and while in church. He was to examine the cards of Sunday attendance at the beginning of each week and to report defaulters. He was to be responsible for the supervision of the thorough cleaning of the school every Saturday and to ensure that the fires were lighted when required, and the school opened by 9 o'clock. The Master should not leave the boys' schoolroom during school hours except in emergency and not allow other business such as sick club collections to interfere with the main task of teaching. He must also give the monitors extra teaching and closer supervision. By 6th June Mr. Ibbotson appeared to have reconsidered his position as he gave six month's notice from that date²³.

His successor, Mr. T. Lyne, was selected in the same manner as previous masters, again no interview being held and he was appointed in August 1837. However, in March 1839, this appointment was shown once more to have been a serious misjudgement by the Committee. Complaints against the master were that his behaviour was disrespectful and improper, that he was not keeping the attendance register properly and indeed he was found to have been falsifying the record. He was also accused of using an excessive and unwarrantably severe mode of chastisement²⁴. The findings were confirmed and in March Lyne was summarily dismissed, paid up to date and given an advance of a quarter year's salary. However he continued to cause trouble, trying to disrupt the school and had to be removed from the School house by the constable. The parents were informed in writing and told that the school would continue. Then the procedure for selecting a new master was commenced.

The National School Log Book was kept for several more years, although the minutes were generally a record of admissions of pupils²⁵. It appears that throughout there

were fewer girls admitted than boys often by a considerable number. The feeling that is generated is that the administration of the girls' school was less important generally than that of the boys'. The appointment of a mistress was, after the initial mistake, undertaken by the ladies' committee and it is possible that they were more careful in this task than the main committee had been. The curricula for boys and girls were similar with the addition of knitting, marking and plain needlework for the girls, but it is not clear from the available records to what level in any subject the children were taught. Whether they could learn very much from the monitorial system is also debatable and may have been the reason for many of the children leaving.

Each year the Committee minutes recorded the arrangements for the annual procession in Newton Race week²⁶. In May 1837 the order of the procession from the town centre to the Parish Church was given and is a useful list of which Anglican Schools there were at the time. These were the Blue Coat School, the National and Church Sunday Schools, St. James's School and St. Paul's School all well recorded in the archives. There is not a great deal to be discovered about the Ladies School [of Industry] except for a brief letter and a note of it teaching 100 girls in 1833 in the National School application questionnaire (required to be filled in by the National Society). Nor is there anything on Orford School and the Poor House School is only mentioned briefly as already noted. Then the Clergy were next in the procession with their respective schools, again not detailed but possibly Sunday Schools, followed by the Parochial authorities, Gentlemen and Parents of the Children.

Chester Diocesan Board of Education

All this activity in other establishments, including the formation in 1837 of the Central Society for Education, which appeared to the Church of England to be threatening its position as the main educator of the people in England and Wales, was soon countered by attempts to regain its former dominance. A decision had been taken by the senior Bishops of the Church to organise local boards of education. Locally a meeting of the Chester Diocese was held in Warrington in 1839 from which the directions of the bishops were discussed and acted upon²⁷. Bound documents include 'A Verbatim Report of the Great Diocesan Meeting at Warrington for the purpose of organizing a system of National

Education in connexion with the Established Church', which was held in the National School.

The introduction was by the organiser, the Reverend and Honourable Horace Powys, Rector of Warrington, who pointed out 'that Parliamentary Committees have been appointed in three successive sessions, the object of which has been to do away with the exclusive, and properly exclusive, teaching of the Established Church'. He goes on to refer to 'an impending evil'. The opening address was given by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Right Reverend John Bird Sumner, who set out the purpose of the meeting.

'We might have met to determine, that so far as in us lies, all with whom we are concerned should be educated, and that the pious wish of one of our sovereigns should be carried into execution, that every child in his Kingdom should be able to read the Bible... But that alone is not our object; our object goes further; it is that the young shall be educated in the truths of the Bible according to the principles embodied in the creeds, and articles, and formularies of our National Church'²⁸.

The meeting is said to have lasted upwards of five hours at the end of which several resolutions were made²⁹. These were to extend and improve the system of education on the principles of the Established Church and, to this end, establish Deanery Boards to oversee the schools and give any help necessary. The system would include adopting the formularies of the Church, acceptance of inspection by a paid Diocesan Inspector, supervision by the clergy and the making of regular statistical returns. A fourth resolution was to establish a training college at Chester for the education of masters (men only at this stage, not women). It was also decided to establish two model schools, one for the commercial and one for the working classes, in some convenient place. A paid Secretary would be appointed and with the inspector would be under the direction of the Diocesan Board. Finance would be by means of a Diocesan subscription to be entered into immediately to meet the first costs and to provide future support. This would be collected by a committee to be set up in each deanery and paid to a Diocesan treasurer to be appointed. This report was adopted at a meeting held at Newton on September 19th 1839³⁰.

As can be seen this was a very ambitious plan and it is possible that similar activities were going on throughout the country. It is known that many of the plans were carried out in that the training college at Chester was established within a few years and still exists to this day, still training teachers and recently becoming the University of

Chester. At least one of the model schools was founded and this school was attached to the college.

Rival Schools

In 1838 some other gentlemen of Warrington decided that education of the working classes was not of sufficient standard or quantity. It is possible that this view was fuelled by the problems of the National School, the assertion of Anglican authority and growing rivalry from the other denominations in the town. A meeting was called and held at the Savings Bank on 29th November for the best way to extend education to the people without respect to religious doctrine³¹. They called themselves the Warrington Education Society. It was agreed that the immediate object should be the establishment of a school for boys and girls, the extent of which would be decided when it had been discovered how much money could be raised. At the next meeting on 14th December donations were made amounting to £295 and annual subscriptions promised for £30.10.0d., but two people declined to support the society, Thomas Lyon and the Rev. James K. Hornby³². It may be assumed that Mr Lyon was a member of the established church and Mr Hornby certainly was. The first task for the Society was to find suitable land for building a school and local landowners, including a Mr Leigh would be approached. At this meeting was the first mention of the impending controversy between this society and the Rector, the Honourable and Reverend Horace Powys. Apparently the Rector had preached a sermon on the previous Sunday in which it was reported he had made deleterious remarks and cast unfounded aspersions on the aims of the society. It was decided that the Chairman, William Stubs, a local industrialist, would write to Mr Powys and ask him to clarify what he had said. The next meeting on 28 December was largely filled with the correspondence between the two men³³.

The correspondence was written in terms of extreme courtesy and couched in terms of mutual assurances of respect. In such a way a quite vitriolic discussion was conducted. For example, in the first letter of 14 December, Mr Stubs recounted the report that Mr Powys had claimed that in the central school of the BFSS the pupils were allowed to pass over the name of Jesus in any passage of the scriptures without reading it out. Also that he had recommended that his congregation should not contribute to the Warrington Society

because of its connection with the BFSS. As Mr Stubs pointed out no such connection had been made. The meeting had been private and had been attended by gentlemen of almost every denomination and political leaning who had contributed to the discussion and the formation of the aims and objectives had been decided upon after full discussion and voting by all present ³⁴.

In response on 17th December, the Rector refused to recount any extracts from what he had preached, saying that he felt it would only involve him in a useless controversy with both the Warrington and the BFSS. He felt that at some future, more suitable, occasion he might well justify what he had said, but assured Mr Stubs that he disclaimed any intention to ascribe dishonourable motives to the Warrington Society. He signed off 'with much personal regard'. The final letter dated 18 December from Mr Stubs pointed out that it would have been quite reasonable not to publish extracts from the sermon had they been related to matters of doctrine. However, he felt that when public statements were made which were derogatory to character they should be repeated whenever properly requested to do so, and backed up with proof. He also said that, since no connection between the Warrington Society and the BFSS had yet been made and were a matter for determination by the votes of subscribers, there could be no such proof. On examining all available evidence Mr Stubs wrote that he doubted that such a matter could even get into a court, let alone procure a conviction. He said that in spite of the Rector's assurances of not intending offence by his words he could not say what interpretation would be put upon them by others and therefore injury had been inflicted publicly and extensively. The letter closes with the usual assurances of personal regard ³⁵. It is unclear how this controversy is concluded insofar as there is no further reference to the rift between the two parties.

The Education Society minutes continued with the recording of the process of acquiring land, obtaining building estimates and appointing a builder³⁶. In April 1839 the offer of land from Thomas Leigh was accepted at a ground rent of two-pence per yard, the amount to be acquired to be sufficient but not to exceed 1000 square yards. Plans were drawn up for a school to accommodate 300 boys and 300 girls and the decision was taken to seek estimates for this. Officers were appointed and a building committee was formed. This committee met in June 1839 to consider the tenders and the successful one was for £1200. To defray this cost in the end an application was made to the BFSS for a grant and a

questionnaire was received from the Lords' Commissioners of HM Treasury³⁷. The secretary was directed to answer the questions and forward them to the Secretary of the BFSS. A grant of £235 from the Society would be available when certain conditions were fulfilled. The proposed school plan had to be modified to comply with the Society's requirements. On 7th November 1839 a Mr Alcard was asked to prepare new plans to accommodate 200 boys and 100 girls, so it rather seemed that the girls were going to be served less well than the boys. The meeting in November 1839 described the new plans to a reduced scale, the school to be 61 feet long by 30½ feet broad, the walls to be of brick fourteen inches thick with the front coated with cement. There would be a Welch (sic) slate roof supported by a frame of American pine and the building would be two stories high. Other materials were specified in detail and the total cost would be £656. It was now intended to accommodate 240 boys and 240 girls³⁸.

The reply to this, signed J.P. Kay and dated 18th May 1840, enclosed a certificate that the money would be paid as soon as the necessary voluntary subscriptions were assured and the future of the school certain. The Warrington Society was requested to accept this offer and its conditions by 1st June as there were other parties who had made similar applications to be considered. The Society should reply to 'The Clerk of the Council Whitehall', and endorse it 'Education'. The grant appears to have been received sometime in 1841 but the correspondence is mainly on the fulfilling of the conditions³⁹.

In the meantime new tenders were considered ranging from £440.10.0d to £520, the successful one being that of James Pierpoint for £447. The building proceeded but in September 1840 a problem was reported that Mr Pierpoint had violated the contract by using a cheaper pine. It was decided that no money would be paid until a deduction had been made for the difference. The new school would need to be heated and ventilated and it was agreed to insure the building for £400 with the Protestant Dissenting Fire Office⁴⁰.

On 12th November the minutes reported the correspondence between Mr Stubs, now the President of the Warrington Education Society, a Mr Wardell, Lieut. Fabian (possibly a local official of the BFSS) and Mr Henry Dunn, the Secretary of the BFSS concerning the appointment of Mr Wright (Jun^r) as schoolmaster. Mr Wright was at that time at Brenton Institution in Hackney Wick and it was resolved to write to Mr Dunn to ask his assistance in engaging Mr Wright as master at a salary not to exceed £100⁴¹. The meeting of 15

January 1841 included a copy of a brief letter from Mr Dunn to Mr Wright informing him that he was wanted by Warrington immediately, he would be paid £90, hopefully to be increased to £100 and possibly more later. Mr Wright would not be responsible for the girls' school⁴².

In early December 1840 it was agreed that the building committee in conjunction with Mr Wright who was present at the meeting would arrange to furnish the boys' schoolroom⁴³. Also the fitting up of the girls' schoolroom was to be carried out to accommodate 50 pupils. This seems to be a reduction in the planned numbers but there was no explanation. Mr Wright recommended the purchase of books, maps and prints and it was agreed this would be done. He was also authorised to spend a week in Liverpool studying the method of running schools described as Caledonian (another name for Dr Bell's plan). It was decided that the Warrington school would be opened on 4 January 1841. Almost as an afterthought it was noted that Mr Dunn would be asked to engage 'the female teacher' mentioned in his letter. She was not considered sufficiently important to be named here.

At the meeting of 15 January 1841 some of the final building details were cleared up when it was agreed that two barriers should be erected to make the girls' staircase safe⁴⁴. The building committee was directed to hand in the account to the government in order to apply for the promised grant. Since the boys school had 100 on the list it was decided that no more should be accepted until 15 February but that a list of names for the future should be kept. It was also decided to make it a condition of acceptance into the school that all children had to be vaccinated unless they had already had smallpox. A public announcement was to be made and arrangements for free vaccinations were to be provided in the school by two local doctors and two surgeons on a specified day. There would be no charge or inconvenience to the parents but if they objected their children were to be removed from the school. Later, in April 1841, the chairman, writing to Henry Dunn, the Secretary of the BFSS, would report the satisfactory opening of the school and express his pride at the decision to have the children vaccinated. He reported that forty-four children had been vaccinated, only one parent had objected and his two sons had been expelled as a consequence. He maintained that in the National School ninety-nine children required vaccination but the parents of ninety-six had refused. This shows that the rivalry and

possibly animosity between the dissenters and the established church were still in evidence⁴⁵.

On 1st March 1841 a decision was taken for the committee to meet without summons on the first Friday of each month. If this occurred then there is no record of a further meeting until 4th June. It is worth noting here that after the initial four years the meetings were held sporadically. There were meetings on 4th October 1841, 27th May 1842 then the 7th November 1842 was to be the last one for over a year until those of 2nd January 1844 and 1st February 1844. There were no more in 1844, none in 1845 and then on 29th October 1846 a general meeting was held. Following this was a gap of two years and eleven months until 8th June 1848 when a meeting was called because the committee had been notified of the imminent arrival of an inspector from the Council on Education. It seems that, unless it was felt that there was some crisis or significant event to be dealt with, the schoolmaster was left to his own devices without any involvement of the committee. The significance of this non-action will become apparent later⁴⁶.

The minutes of the June 1841 meeting raise some confusion about how many children attended the school⁴⁷. At this meeting it was decided that a number (unspecified) of boys could be admitted in addition to the two hundred already in the school. Most of the minutes appear to be concerned only with the boys' school and little further mention had been made of the girls or Miss McDaniel after the provision of accommodation and the mistress's appointment. Then on 4th October 1841 it was recorded that a donation of £5 would be given to Miss McDaniel in addition to her salary of £45. From then on she would be paid £50 per annum. Also at this meeting Mr Wright's salary was confirmed at £100 from the outset and he was authorised to pay a total of three shillings per week to the monitors with a limit of 6d each. The master and mistress were asked to give a report to be included in a published report⁴⁸. The meeting of 27th May 1842 stated that the report had not been published because 'it was expedient to withhold it'. No explanation for this decision is given⁴⁹. Various other building arrangements were made at the October meeting and the committee members and officers were re-selected.

The meeting of May 1842 also noted that since no report had been published no subscriptions had been collected. Finances appeared to be getting in a poor state and it seemed that some subscribers were becoming concerned⁵⁰. Nine subscribers of ten shillings

or more called the general meeting that was held at Mr Stubs's file works on 7th November 1842. At this meeting the minutes of the two previous meetings were read. The treasurer was owed £101 and there were several outstanding accounts. However, in spite of there being a resolution that the President and Secretary should prepare a report including the treasurer's accounts to be presented at an adjourned meeting, there was no further record until the meeting of 2 January 1844. The intervals between these meetings and subsequent ones seem to be careless in the extreme. Apart from the initial setting up of the school the Committee seemed to take no interest in the way the master was running the school. The girls' school was not mentioned at all for a considerable time⁵¹.

As noted above, it was not until an inspection of the school by Mr J. D. Morell from the Council on Education was imminent was another meeting held on 8th June 1848⁵². At this meeting some of the financial problems were resolved by giving Miss McDaniel notice to quit at summer and a Miss Parkes was to be asked to take over on terms to be decided. Also Mr Wright's terms were to be altered by apparently reducing his salary and he was asked to explain why attendance had been so poor. His terms were proposed as £70 for 145 boys, £75 for 155, £80 for 165 and so on up to £100 for 205 boys. Mr Wright resigned with effect from Michaelmas day. It seems that teaching staff were to be penalised for the incompetence and lack of involvement of the management committee. A graphic example of the ignorance of the committee of what was actually occurring in the school is to be found in several minutes⁵³. On 30th September 1848 it was resolved that Mr Wright should be thanked for his services during the previous eight years and the committee's obligation to him expressed. They said that they had been perfectly satisfied with the way in which he had conducted himself as Master of the Boys' school. At the following meeting it seems apparent that only then was his letter of resignation read to the committee. It was then recommended that he should withdraw the objectionable remarks that he had made and decided not to confirm the vote of thanks recorded previously.

The next appointee for the boys' school was a Mr Brewtnall who took up his post at the beginning of October 1848. A lengthy report on the condition of the school was made by Mr Brewtnall after he had been in post for a month as he wished to make it clear what he had to contend with from the beginning⁵⁴. He noted that he had had no visits from any gentlemen since he had arrived. Apparently no register had been kept and only imperfect

lists of those enrolled and the boys had not been 'classified' as was usual in BFSS schools. He assessed the standards attained in each subject and noted that subjects such as mental arithmetic, grammar, geography, composition, linear drawing and others were not taught at all. There appeared to have been no 'intellectual and moral training' and that any rough honesty was probably a natural trait. He found that there was only one set of monitors instead of two and that they were 'tyrannical, capricious and inflicted corporal punishment on their classes at will'. Attendances were irregular, boys often late, their behaviour uncontrollable and they were not especially clean or tidy. He was rather scathing about the paucity and condition of books and apparatus and recommended that a library should be provided as books could be obtained from the Borough Road school (the BFSS model school) at 35s.0d for 60. After this he asked that he should be allowed to distribute publicity describing the benefits and improvements and urging parents to send their children thus filling up the register. He also requested that members of the committee should visit regularly and that the townsfolk be informed that the school was open for inspection by anyone from 10 to 12 in the morning and 2.30 to 4 in the afternoon each day⁵⁵. After this meetings began to be held a little more regularly although still quite widely spaced through the year. It appears that Miss Parkes had accepted the appointment as she is mentioned in later minutes.

It had been proposed that an infant school would be set up by the Warrington Education Society to be considered when the elementary school had been established. At the meeting held on 29 November 1838 one of the resolutions passed was 'That the ulterior object of the Society be the formation of Infant Schools, as soon as the requisite funds can be raised'. However, this school had not materialised by the time the elementary school was due to be opened on 4 January 1841, nor apparently when the chairman wrote to the BFSS in April 1841 describing the success of the school, saying that they still had limited accommodation so were restricted in how many children they could admit⁵⁶.

Rather interestingly it appears that there were some children of the Roman Catholic church attending this school as a decision was taken in January 1851 that such children would not have to read the Scriptures in the authorised version⁵⁷. Many of the committee were industrialists whose companies are still in evidence to this day. The Reverend Philip Carpenter was the Unitarian minister, very active in education in Warrington and whose

sister Mary began the ragged school movement in Bristol. The Unitarians were justifiably proud of their involvement in educating the poor being leaders amongst Dissenters in education. In spite of its very shaky beginnings the BFSS school in Warrington developed into a very reputable school and continued well into the twentieth century, becoming known as the People's College. It had been a project begun with much enthusiasm and many good intentions. There were similar problems to those in the National School about the selection and employment of the right teachers but the main problem seems to have been that the managers did not realise what a considerable regular commitment the establishment and running of such a school would entail. Eventually this school seems to have managed to transcend a number of the religious divisions apart from the established church.

The Quakers

As mentioned in chapter two a long slow process led eventually to the establishment of a Quaker school in Penketh, near Warrington. The Quakers had always been proud of their liberal ideas on education. From their foundation in the seventeenth century by George Fox (1624-1691) they believed in an education which was relevant to daily life. William Penn (1644-1718) wished his children to have a liberal education 'in which their studies should be related to the things of everyday life'. It was also said that 'the lasses were never left out of Fox's educational schemes; they were to have opportunities similar to those enjoyed by their brothers'⁵⁸. In fact Quaker women played an important part in education at all levels from very young children to adults, especially those who themselves were involved as educators. It was recognised that, unlike other dissenters, there was no religious instruction, priest hierarchy or bible reading at Quaker meetings, with individual worship and silent meditation, there was a need for a 'guarded education'. This should consist of a good example of how to live life according to Quaker beliefs from parents from birth and from teachers and other members of the Society⁵⁹. Camilla Leach in her article explores the work of four Quaker women who were active in education in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and who wrote texts for children of all ages, their parents and teachers. They offered advice and guidance in the principles of Christianity as practised by the Society of Friends. Much of their teaching was in accordance with the beliefs expressed in

the writings of the English philosopher, John Locke (1632-1704). These include the idea of a newborn being a 'tabula rasa', a blank slate upon which all teaching and life experiences form the person, negating the idea of original sin as taught by Roman Catholics and Anglicans⁶⁰.

A survey of educational provision had been carried out and Dr. John Fothergill (c1712-1780), a member of the Society reported to a Yearly Meeting in 1760. He had found that there were too few schools with only 630 children being educated, less than half those who required education; there were not enough Quaker teachers and of those few were either skilled or held any qualifications⁶¹. The Yearly Meeting of 1778 further expanded upon the idea of education and details of the proposed curriculum stated. Girls were explicitly included and were to be taught the same subjects as the boys with the addition of 'housewifery and useful needlework'. The curriculum was reasonably liberal for the time as teaching the poor to write was thought by many such as Hannah More to be unnecessary and possibly even dangerous. Only a few charity schools treated girls with any degree of equality, not always teaching them to write or the more advanced arithmetic that the boys may be taught⁶². However, we may infer that there was still awareness amongst the Friends of the poor children's station in life by teaching the girls domestic subjects. The term 'useful' needlework implies plain sewing, not decorative stitching such as embroidery.

Action was not taken immediately and in fact in only one area did the circumstances appear opportune to carry out the recommended action. At Ackworth in Yorkshire a building that had been used by a branch of the London Foundling Hospital became available and was deemed by the Friends to be suitable for use as a school. It was acquired, the school was opened in October 1779 and by the end of the year there were 49 pupils⁶³. This was the first of eleven such schools and all used Ackworth as their model to a greater or lesser extent. However, the next one was not opened until nearly thirty years later, at Sidcot in 1808 and the rest were opened over the period 1811 to 1842⁶⁴. Three more schools were opened later but these were for the more wealthy Friends.

The Lancashire Quarterly Meeting in 1829 carried out something of a feasibility study, enumerating the children within their area, who should be included, how much it might cost and how the money should be raised. It was found that there were three hundred and ninety five children under the age of fourteen of persons 'not in affluence' of whom

105 were boys aged six to thirteen who attended the meetings. Their parents were 'desirous that they should receive a religious and guarded education, in a manner consistent with our religious principles'⁶⁵. The proposal at the 1829 meeting was that initially only boys, about fifty of them, should be educated as 'boys being more exposed, and less under the care and control of their parents' were more in need than the girls⁶⁶. Costing was carried out by examining the Liverpool Blue Coat School. It was found that the average expense of educating each child in the most recent year was ten guineas, made up of £5.10. 0d for food, £2.10. 0d for clothing and £2.10. 0d for salaries, wages, repairs, etc. It was felt that it would be necessary to add another two or three pounds to defray rent and tax costs. It was estimated that donations totalling five or six hundred pounds, annual subscriptions of £400 or more, plus parent's contributions, would be needed. The latter must not exceed ten pounds per annum and would be according to the parents' ability to pay⁶⁷.

A school eventually opened in April 1834 with eight children although the search for suitable premises was still going on. At a meeting of the School Committee on 30th April** a report is included of inspecting property belonging to Jos Edmondson. It was decided to offer him £60 per annum for the use of the building plus £3 for the garden. This arrangement would be just for one year as the land was not near enough to that which two of the Committee, James Cropper and Isaac Cooke, had offered to the school free of charge⁶⁸. This land was owned by Cropper and comprised five acres at Penketh. It was offered for building a Friends' boarding school on condition that the Manchester monthly meeting, known as Hardshaw East, and the Liverpool monthly meeting, Hardshaw West, would join forces to establish and manage the school⁶⁹. Plans were also made for how the school should be run, with moral and religious education balanced with 'a considerable proportion of agricultural and other employment'. This would help to defray the costs of the school and provide the children with 'the advantage of the habits of useful employment of the body as well as the mind'. It was also decided that an advertisement would be circulated seeking a Superintendent and a Matron, possibly a married couple if both qualified, at salaries of about £50 and £20 respectively. They must be Members of the Society and it

* Note: the Friends used numbers for the days of the month and the months of the year so that 30 April was written 4 Mo 30. This was because the names in common use were not of Christian origin, e.g. Thursday is named for the Norse war god, Thor, and August for the first Roman emperor, Augustus.

was made explicit that their keep would be the same as the children's, i.e. they were 'not to be provided with a Table separate from the children at the expence of the Institution'⁷⁰. The correspondence dealt with the practical aspects of renting premises for the school, what was to be included and what notice there should be for terminating the tenancy. It all seems to have been carried out very amicably as both parties appeared to have had more or less the same terms and conditions in mind when offer and acceptance were made⁷¹.

The management, curriculum, entry and attendance conditions, payment of fees and personal requirements are all set out in a document which was intended to be given to parents or friends of children when applications for admission were made⁷². These regulations reiterated the object of giving the children 'a religious, moral, and useful education'. Also included would be labour for the purpose of inculcating habits of industry. The basic curriculum for both boys and girls was set out and comprised reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar. Additionally, other subjects, not specified but in the English language, would be included where possible. The boys' labour would be mainly agriculture with other useful manual employment. The girls were also to be taught needle-work, knitting and housekeeping, at the same time assisting the Matron with the household chores in turn. The fees were to range from six to fourteen pounds per annum, those being paid for by the Monthly Meetings to be set at £10 per annum. It was a requirement that the fee for the year should be paid in advance. It was decided that the health of each child should be ascertained prior to admission, certifying that none suffered from sores, fits or infections likely to cause expense or harm to 'the family'. Specifically mentioned were whether children had had measles, small-pox (or had been vaccinated) and 'hooping-cough' (sic)⁷³.

Other terms and conditions of attendance were detailed and the document concludes with a list of clothing to be sent with each *boy*. No similar list is included for the girls although they are mentioned at each stage⁷⁴. The process of setting up the school and its aims and objectives were recounted at a meeting of the Committee for the School. The reason for the detail is given as the desire to inform the Friends, especially those of the Lancashire Quarterly Meeting of 'the origin of the Establishment, its present state, and the prospects which in the judgement of the committee, are desirable and attainable'⁷⁵. It was reported that, after eliciting promises of subscriptions and donations early in 1834, a Committee was set up comprising twenty-four Friends, all men. The school had opened in

September 1834, with eight children, increasing by the time of the Meeting on 6 April 1835, to thirteen boys and three girls. Three more boys and four more girls were waiting to be admitted, increasing the numbers to twenty-three.

The administration of the school, the conditions provided for the children, the master and the matron equally are described in some detail, together with what work was being carried out by the children⁷⁶. From this report can be seen some detail of the subjects mentioned above, which were spelling, slate and mental arithmetic plus geography with the study of maps. The methods are described, reading and subsequent interrogation, with the words and sentences used expanded to graft on more and more information. This was deemed to be a very successful method and the members of the Committee were satisfied that the children were progressing well. There was apparently quite progressive provision for the children as a small library had been set up for their use in their own time. It was made known that offers of 'useful and unobjectionable books' would be welcomed⁷⁷.

It was at this meeting that the decision was taken to go ahead with the building of permanent premises comprising a house and schoolrooms on land that had been given by Isaac Cooke and James Cropper for this purpose. Subscriptions would be sought and it was thought that £800 would be sufficient and economy could be achieved by making the bricks on the ground from the excavations for the cellars⁷⁸. In the first annual report of the state of the school in 1836 there is an account of what actually happened in the process of building the permanent school. Cooke's and Cropper's gift had been modified to a transfer of the lease plus £200 cash and two cottages. The Trustees of the school would pay the reserved rent of £22.10s. per annum. In the accompanying statement of accounts it was noted that the cost of building had increased to £816. 4. 6d, that for fixtures and fittings was £209.15s and, as some of the outbuildings had to be completed, about £150 more would be needed to do this, plus some unspecified sum to buy more furniture⁷⁹. It was also noted in the statement of accounts that there had been an average of thirty-one children in the school. By the second report dated 15th of 9th month, 1837, this had increased to thirty-seven but with room for more it was hoped that applications would be received from other parts of the Lancashire Quarterly Meeting for suitably qualified children⁸⁰. In this report the Committee continued to express satisfaction that the children gained a great deal from combining manual work with their studies and their learning was not impeded in any way. The boys

were producing enough vegetables for all the family and the girls were making and mending all their own and some of the boys' clothes⁸¹. By the middle of 1838 when the third report was published it was found necessary to employ a person to help and to supervise the work of the boys on the land. This enabled some boys to continue their lessons with the master while the rest worked outside. There had been a female servant and now a girl was employed to assist in the house. There were by this time twenty-nine boys and sixteen girls in the school. The increase in numbers had necessitated some alterations to the buildings and, if those on the waiting list were to be admitted, extra school accommodation would be needed. Of course this meant that more debt would be incurred and it was hoped to raise the funds readily. How was not stated but the usual way was to seek donations and subscriptions from Friends in the area of the Quarterly Meeting⁸². In the fourth report in 1839 when the progress of the children was stated there was reference to 'a knowledge of the elements of several of the useful sciences'. There was no detail of what was being taught but it may indicate a reasonably broad curriculum for its day. If the girls were being taught some science, and there is nothing to indicate that they were not, it showed quite advanced thinking. However, in the absence of more detailed information, one can only surmise what may have been⁸³.

The statements of accounts attached to each annual report became somewhat more detailed by 1838 especially with information of numbers of children and names and designations of the staff. At this time an inventory was included which named William Thistlethwaite, Master, and Maria Whitten, Mistress. It was noted that there were two female servants and one agricultural labourer, the latter not being boarded in the house. The numbers of children were detailed thus: in the seventh month of 1837 there had been 22 boys and 15 girls. Since thirteen boys and eight girls had been admitted and six boys and seven girls had left, this changed the totals to twenty-nine and sixteen respectively⁸⁴. In the fourth report, 1839, it was said that with 31 boys and 15 girls the school was full. However, in subsequent years numbers continued to rise, 33 boys and 24 girls in 1840, 37 and 24 in 1842, 35 and 26 in 1843, and then levelled out at a total of about sixty children until the tenth report of 1846. In 1847 the eleventh report showed twenty-nine boys and thirteen girls, a total of only 42. The increase in numbers generally appears to have been accommodated by purchasing extra land, altering buildings and taking on extra staff. The

staff was listed in 1839-40 as including an apprentice to the Master and an additional female teacher in 1843. The latter was employed 'with the view of affording increased facilities to the Education of the Girls, and of insuring a more close and constant supervision of them during the hours of recreation'⁸⁵.

It can be seen that the wheels ground very slowly in this Society of Friends. The eleven schools for their poorest children took sixty-three years in the building and establishing, from 1779 to 1842. No information was discovered about the total numbers of children who were taught except for the initial Ackworth forty-nine pupils and those of Penketh School which seem not to have exceeded about sixty in the first twenty years. Since the Lancashire Quarterly Meeting had identified nearly 400 children under 14 years of age in the early 1830s, the Penketh School, intended only to cater for about fifty, was a very small contribution. No others of this type for poor children were planned or established in the area. If similar proportions obtained throughout the system then only about twelve per cent, if that, may have been catered for at any one time.

Initially intended to admit boys only it is apparent that girls were included at Penketh within the first year, probably from the outset. It does also seem that the girls' curriculum was kept reasonably close to that offered to the boys, possibly identical and including science and mathematics. There were fewer girls at the school. During the years 1836 to 1846 the average number of girls was about 40 per cent of the total. No reason for this has emerged except the original intention to teach boys only. So it may have been a conscious or not so conscious act by those recommending or those selecting the pupils, or that not so many girls were applying. It also appears that in times of less good fortune the girls were the ones who had to go. In the Penketh Story it is said that, owing to the inadequate and inexperienced management by William Thistlethwaite's successor, Thomas Groom (aged only twenty-two when appointed), the school ended up within two years in a 'deplorable state'. It was thought necessary by the Committee to close the girls' school in 1847⁸⁶. The twelfth annual report 1848, records that 'In the summer of last year, the Committee deemed it needful to discontinue for a time the Girls' School; the subject of the re-opening of it has not been overlooked, but the Committee are not prepared to recommend this step at present'⁸⁷. It was not until the fourteenth report that the announcement was made that the Girls' School would re-open at Midsummer, 1850⁸⁸. The

school, under the Headship of Samuel Evens between 1848 and 1850, regained its stability and its finances began to recover from the precariousness of this period. The cost per child dropped eventually to a more manageable level of £18.19. 4d from the recent high of £25.14. 7d in 1849.

One may conclude that although the Society of Friends school grew slowly it was relatively stable compared with the other Warrington schools and did reasonably well in educating those girls who attended, judged by the standards then obtaining. However, it does appear that, even with their high principles and good intentions, girls' education could be abandoned in hard times.

Conclusions

Reforms in many aspects of life were the hallmark of the 1830s and 1840s, not least in the field of education. New schools were established, some by the Church of England and some by others dissatisfied with the education provided by the Church. Denominational rivalry was very much in evidence as shown by the correspondence between the Anglican Rector and the Warrington Education Society. Also apparent were the fears of the Church of England hierarchy in establishing Diocesan Boards of Education as evidenced by the words of the Rector and the Bishop at the great meeting of 1839. Voluntary education and the system used under the auspices of the National Society and the BFSS were falling into disrepute, possibly the reason why some children left the National School, and it was becoming apparent that matters needed to be improved. The newly established schools were founded with enthusiasm and good intentions by local people who led busy lives as solicitors, doctors, clergy and industrialists. They then found that they had neither the time nor the commitment to continue the maintenance of their schools beyond selecting the teaching staff and raising finance. Even this latter was often left to slide leading to debt and discontent. The exception to this seems to have been the Friends' school where in the main continuing involvement ensured reasonable stability.

However, action was being taken in educating the poor and all the schools were catering for girls as well as boys. They were still treated differently though with a less ambitious curriculum and were easily sacrificed when problems arose. Even in the Friends' school, proud of its claim for educating girls equally, the girls' school was closed for about

three years owing to the appointment of a young inexperienced headmaster who allowed the school to fail.

CHAPTER IV
WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE EDUCATION OF POOR GIRLS

Introduction

There is a great deal of evidence illustrating the involvement of women in the education of poor girls and to some degree in managing schools for poor children in general. From the early days of the foundation of charities to help the poor, affluent women have left sums of money in their wills to help educate both girls and boys. As described in chapter II Catherine Richards of Strangeways Hall included girls in her legacy to help apprentices and Anne Hinde was quite specific that the children to be educated with her legacy were to be equal proportions of boys and girls from Manchester and Stretford. The schools which were set up for very young children of the poor were known as dame schools because so many of them were owned and run by women in their own homes as their sole means of making a living.

Throughout the history of schooling women had been involved as financiers, managers, visitors and teachers. Some like Mrs Trimmer wrote books of guidance for teachers and school managers and lessons for the children. This lady had strong views on educating children in the Anglican tradition. She wrote tracts and educational works and in 1786 one children's book, later known as 'The history of the Robins'. The robins of the title have names which sound rather like forerunners of Beatrix Potter's characters, that is Pecksy, Flapsy, Robin and Dick¹. Mrs Trimmer belonged to the Established Church, and was a supporter of Dr Andrew Bell and his method of teaching by the monitorial system. She opposed Joseph Lancaster because he was a dissident, a Quaker, and was in favour of non-sectarian education². Mrs Trimmer's works were her 'Abridgement of Scriptures History' consisting of lessons selected from the Old Testament and a similar one of lessons from the New Testament, her 'Charity School Spelling Book containing the Alphabet &c with short stories of Good and Bad Boys', the same with 'Stories of Good and Bad Girls', her 'Charity School Spelling Book Part the 2nd containing Words divided into Syllables, Lessons with Scripture [Names] &c'. They are listed in the record of preparations for re-establishing the Chester Sunday and Working Schools in 1808 and also for the Blue Girls' and Green Cap schools³. Mrs Barbauld, in contrast was a Unitarian, a renowned eighteenth

century poet who wrote hymns, verse and lessons for children. She was the daughter of John Aikin a tutor at the Warrington Dissenters' Academy and later, with her husband, opened a school in Palgrave, Surrey⁴.

Those who were the financiers, managers, visitors and authors were women from the affluent upper and middle classes, while the teachers of the poor were more likely to be of the working class. In some respects the last were treated as servants, employed solely on evidence of their moral character and dismissed for disobedience or inappropriate behaviour and this will be examined in this chapter. By the start of the nineteenth-century and the early education revivals of the Chester and Warrington schools women were active volunteers in these schools. This would be seen as a necessity for the proper care of girls as men would not be expected to be in charge of a female school. Also, since schoolmistresses were paid so much less than the schoolmasters, the teaching of girls was apparently thought to be a lesser skill or of lesser importance. In one sense it would seem that this voluntary work replaced the careers which were denied to women of the professional classes and this aspect will be examined in the light of the records relating to the schools of the two towns. From the names listed in records of donors and subscribers of, for example, the Consolidated Sunday and Working School in Chester and the National Schools in Warrington, it is probable that they were the wives, daughters and sisters of the clergy, the local landed gentry and professional men of the towns such as doctors and lawyers. For example the first meeting of the Ladies Committee of the National School was chaired by the Hon Mrs Powys and included the wives of Rev T. Bayne and Rev Hornby. T.K. Glazebrook was on the main committee and Mrs Glazebrook on the Ladies' Committee as were Mrs Lyon and Mrs Patten. In Chester the same people were involved in the Blue Coat Schools (boys and girls) and the Sunday and Working Schools, later the Consolidated Schools. For example, the Treasurer of the Blue Girls' School was a Mr Humberston and there were a Miss Humberston and a Mrs P. Humberston on the Ladies Committee of the Consolidated School in 1850. Miss Humberston is also mentioned in several other years. Dr William Makepeace Thackeray was a local doctor and a prominent activist in local education, also the uncle of the famous author, and the names Miss Thackeray and Eliza Thackeray were recorded as being on the Ladies Committee in 1830 and 1840. The latter was also one of the signatories in the Blue Girls' Visitors' Book and named as a possible

trustee for buying the government stock for the Consolidated Schools in 1816 (see p86.) Other names included Mr Venables, school secretary, Charles Potts from whom a cottage was purchased and Rev. W. Harrison all of whom had apparently related ladies on the Committee. A Miss Potts was asked to withdraw from the Committee at which the price of the cottage was to be discussed and Lydia Potts was one of the ladies named as a potential trustee for buying the Consols (see p86)⁵. Relationships in the Warrington BFSS school ladies committee were similarly apparent, for example, Miss Stubs, Miss Crosfield and Miss S. Crosfield, Mrs Wilson, Miss Carpenter and so on. Mr Stubs was the chairman of the Society, Mr Crosfield appeared to act as Secretary and Mr Wilson was the Treasurer. Miss Carpenter was probably related to the Rev Philip Carpenter, the Unitarian Minister⁶. Some ladies may have been financially independent and able to make reasonably substantial gifts of money.

Women as Managers

Evidence of early involvement of women as managers is especially found in the records of the Chester schools. For instance during the restoration of the Hunter Street School several ladies were sent letters in early 1809 inviting them to become visitors to the Schools of Industry which were being revived after falling into neglect at the end of the eighteenth-century. A list was drawn up in early 1809 of those who were to be invited to act as visitors or managers of the working schools with immediate effect for April and May. These were the four lady managers of the Blue Girls' school and eight others⁷. The activities of the visitors were referred to regularly as they made various reports and recommendations to the committee. One such recommendation was about the running of one of the schools. This was the Green Bonnet School in Princess Street, probably one of the Working Schools. It was suggested that the daughter of Mrs Smith, the teacher, should take the girls who were capable of work into a separate room after their spelling and reading lessons with her mother. Also that as a reward the best scholars should receive a green bonnet, the possibility of becoming Probationers with a recommendation to be admitted to the Blue Girls' School⁸. This would be possible as some of the same ladies who visited the Working Schools were also on the Committee of the Blue Girls' School. In 1816, when the Sunday

and Working Schools were consolidated, the ladies were formed into a Committee to superintend the School and frame suitable rules for its management⁹.

The business of the Ladies' Committee was as wide ranging as that of any modern management committee. They dealt with all the finances, made decisions about the fairly frequent purchases and occasional sales of government stocks. They sought and approved estimates for work to be carried out and supervised the work in progress. They examined quarterly accounts of all the expenditure of the school, purchased all the material for the girls' needlework and arranged for clothing and shoes to be made or bought as required. They decided who should be admitted to the school and who should be expelled and the relevant criteria for the decisions. Punishments and rewards were decided by the ladies and policy concerning school hours and holidays was formed. They also determined how much absenteeism could be tolerated before sanctions were applied. Similar decisions were made by, possibly some of the same ladies, of the Blue Girls' School¹⁰.

The ladies also looked after the business of maintaining the school building and approved payments for work done. Some repairs and 'fitting up' of the school were necessary at the time of the consolidation¹¹. A voluntary contribution had been made in March 1816 solely for this purpose. The note in the September minutes reads 'New casing the floor and repairing the stairs'. The November minutes included the accounts and showed that Mr Cole Carpenter was paid £21.8.8d, Cole Whittle & Co. Ironwork were paid £1.3.1d and Late Hollinsworth paid £2.6.7d, which totalled £24.13.4d. It was to be paid from the special contribution. Two more accounts, to be paid from annual income, were noted: John Wynn Plaisterer (sic) £2.7.11d, and Peter Sadler Glazier £1.0.9d¹². The Mistress was to be provided with a new stool and in December it was ordered that a set of fire irons and a coal box should be bought.

The maintenance of the schoolroom was attended to regularly. In August 1818 it was ordered that during the summer the schoolroom was 'to be whitewashed and colour^d as high as the roof only'. The whitewashing was done annually, sometimes in the summer and sometimes during gleaning when the girls were given time off. In February 1820 the fireplace in the schoolroom was to be enlarged and a new grate added. Mr Venables was requested to apply to Mr Whittell for stoves belonging to the school to be returned from the adult school. It doesn't indicate where they were intended to be used. Then in April 1822 it

was decided that the schoolroom should be better ventilated but there was no mention of how this was to be achieved. Ten years later in 1832 the Governors of the Blue Coat School gave their permission for a slide to be let into the window for ventilation. Whether these were connected decisions is unclear but it is more likely that something had been done in 1822 and merely improved in 1832¹³. It is clear that these responsibilities and activities reflected the ladies' skills in running a domestic household, understanding of current employment practices, keeping accounts and supervising work done by servants and tradespeople.

At the 1 September 1848 meeting of the Warrington Education Society several ladies were requested to be visitors of the girls' school¹⁴. From then on the involvement of the ladies became more apparent. In Warrington this was later than in the Chester schools where a number of schools were for girls only, whereas in Warrington the schools were mixed with fewer girls involved generally. Then when it was decided to extend the school a committee was formed consisting of many of the main committee, twenty three men, plus about twenty six women (assuming that where 'misses' were referred to there were two unmarried ladies).

Details of the Friends' school at Penketh can be found in the Women's Committee notes¹⁵. Although reasonably detailed in the years from 1850 to 1853-4 they can be somewhat sketchy after this where they actually exist. At most of their meetings the discussion was mainly about the household linen, and the decoration of the house. For example the girls' bedrooms were at one time whitewashed and wallpapered. They noted that the dining room was wallpapered and details of the furnishing of a teacher's bedroom include a chest of painted drawers, a looking glass, a drugget for the floor and the dyeing of bed hangings. In 1853 a Christmas holiday of ten days was mentioned when a treat was provided for those children who were remaining at the school. This cost £1-10-9d and there was 16s 9d left for future use.

Raising and Handling Finance

When in 1811 the ladies of the Blue Girls' School published a pamphlet it was to thank the subscribers of the previous year's charity assembly and the donors since that occasion who had enabled the building of new school premises in the Saint-Martin-in-the-

Fields area of the city near the infirmary¹⁶. The pamphlet was also an appeal for more funds. Although the ladies claimed to have procured the building materials and furnishings 'upon reasonable terms', they found that the price of timber and other materials had increased so much that there was a considerable shortfall. They also noted that several of their subscribers had died and they would need replacement subscribers if they were not to suffer a reduction of the school's income and consequently have to reduce the numbers of girls catered for¹⁷

The finances of the Chester Consolidated schools charity were carefully managed and minuted. In December 1816 an instruction was given to purchase £100 worth of 3% Consols for the use of the charity in the names of Jane Hesketh, Sara Susana Mainwaring, Lydia Potts and Elizabeth Thackeray as Trustees¹⁸. In the minutes of the following meeting Mr Venables reported that the bankers had informed him that married ladies could not act as trustees on the purchase of funds in the Bank of England according to an order by the last Board. The order was altered for the Consols to be purchased in the names of the (male) Trustees of the Blue Coat Hospital with the addition of the Rev. Thomas Armitstead¹⁹. It seems strange that neither the gentlemen of the Committee nor the Treasurer knew of the law in this respect. Interestingly they were obviously prepared for their womenfolk to handle such business. The charity made similar purchases of Consols from time to time, sometimes £100 worth, sometimes £50, always at discount, so £100 might actually cost less than £90 including expenses. The cost of £50 worth recorded on 2nd December 1817 was said to have been £41.17.6d including expenses. Where these concerned the girls' school it was the ladies who decided to buy and requested the men to proceed. Occasionally these investments were realised when major capital expenditure was necessary as in 1852, when the ladies were faced with the prospect of having to build a new school, they set about this project in their usual business-like fashion. Much negotiation was carried out and, in 1853 when the price was finally agreed, the Trustees were requested to sell £450 stock to cover costs. Money for prizes, rewards and gifts for the girls were accounted for in the School Account book, kept meticulously from 1810 to 1878. Amounts such as £10.10.0d in 1810 and 1811 and £9.9.0d in 1813 are examples²⁰.

Administration of Schools: Teachers, Pupil Teachers and Curriculum

It was the Ladies' Committee of the Chester Consolidated Schools that was required to select a Mistress at a salary of £60 per annum. They were also to approve the deputy the mistress was required to appoint and fix her stipend. The ladies later took the decision that with the school 'in its present state' only one Mistress was needed and she should be paid £40 per annum. The ladies then requested the Dean of the Blue Coat Hospital to apply to the National 'Institution' (presumably the National Society) in London for a properly qualified mistress²¹. The main tasks of the ladies' committee were the admission, educational processes and welfare of the girls and mistresses. They also decided the future of the girls on leaving, approving choice of position and ensuring that when they left they had sufficient help to reflect well on the school, for example, a certain amount of clothing and maybe a Bible and Prayer Book. The female teachers were paid less than and, in schools for boys and girls, were treated as inferior to the masters who were sometimes responsible for selecting them. This reflects the general attitude of society at the time to women and girls as being less intellectually able and not so intelligent as men and boys.

Where it was deemed appropriate the teachers in schools for both sexes might be husband and wife, he teaching the boys, she the girls. For example, when Mr Ibbotson was appointed as master of the Warrington National School in 1834, it was decided not to engage Ibbotson's wife because of her lack of experience in education and it was felt that as a young married woman she was liable to have to leave soon should they start a family. It was thus left to Mr Ibbotson to appoint some female to assist him²². It was clear that the appointment of a mistress was not considered to be worthy of too much of the Committee's time at this stage, and soon after, the newly formed Ladies' Committee decided that Mr Ibbotson's choice, Miss Hulme, was unsatisfactory. The resolutions passed at their meeting in 1834 were that Miss Hulme was not considered sufficiently acquainted with the system to fill the situation of Mistress and that certain steps should be taken. Firstly, the Secretary was to be requested to write to the National Society to secure a competent person and the Gentlemen's Committee were to be requested to enquire into the nature of Mr Ibbotson's agreement with Miss Hulme. Also when writing to the National Society, the Secretary was asked to request instructions concerning the method used by the Central School for

supplying the girls with work, and if possible to obtain a copy of the General Rules or a plan for conducting a girls' school²³. It wasn't until 6th May that there is a record of the appointment of a new mistress for the school. From detailed accounts presented on 3rd February 1835 one can see the number of women who had been employed. Miss Saunders had received £3.3.0d salary, £3.10.6d travelling expenses and had claimed 3.0d for the school; Miss Hulme received six week's salary of £6.6.0d; Miss Churchill, nine week's salary of £9.9.0d, £4.10.0d travelling expenses and 11.4d expenses for the school. Mrs Hall received three quarters of a year's salary of £3.0.0d; Miss Davies half a year's salary of £25, travelling expenses amounting to £4.12.0d, £1.12.6d school expenses and 10.6d for a chair. From the amounts listed it is possible that Miss Saunders had taken over from Mrs Hall as Mistress of the Sunday school. Miss Hulme had been in post for six weeks until her dismissal, Miss Churchill was possibly the temporary schoolmistress supplied by the National Society and had been in post for nine weeks until Miss Davies was appointed²⁴.

Selection of schoolmistresses was the province of either the schoolmaster in combined schools or, in the case of the Chester Consolidated School, the responsibility of the ladies committee. Recommendations for such posts could be received from anyone of standing, the clergy, the subscribers and donors of funds and consideration was usually of their perceived moral character. In the various religious schools it was normally a requirement that the teachers were members of the relevant establishment.

The Chester schools were quite fortunate in that their schoolmistresses tended to be competent and satisfactory and most stayed for a reasonable period of time. In the Blue Girls' School the ladies demonstrated their respect of and care for a valued teacher by rewarding the long and loyal service of Mrs Sarah Parry when she completed 28 years as matron on 1 August 1841. The accounts for 1841-1842 include two entries: the first reads 'Paid Mrs Parry balance of salary on retirement £10.18.0'; the second reads 'Paid Mrs Parry half year allowance for long services as matron £15.0.0'. Subsequent annual accounts show similar entries for Mrs Parry's allowance for a full year as £30.0.0. During the same period the new schoolmistress's salary was £31.10.0. Mrs Parry seems to have been regarded as an exceptional woman²⁵.

Although there is no mention of the appointment of the first Mistress of the Consolidated Schools she is mentioned by name on 4th March 1817 when it was recorded

that a gratuity of three guineas was to be given to Mrs Richards for 1816²⁶. This was a substantial amount at the time and reflects the opinion of the managers of the lady's worth. She received gratuities in subsequent years, usually of two guineas. During 1826 when Mrs Richards was indisposed a Mrs Johnson was engaged to cover at 6s.0d per week and again in 1828 for the same salary. When Mrs Richards was ill in October 1829 the children were given their holiday then instead of at Christmas. The retention of Mrs Richards appears to be unusual. She was a married lady and it appears that at least some of her absences recorded in the Minutes as illness, indisposition or confinement were indeed to have her babies. At least a printed history published in 1915 by the then honorary secretary draws this conclusion. She was obviously a highly valued teacher only resigning in April 1835.

Advertisements for a replacement teacher were placed in the Chester papers, the *Liverpool Mercury* and a Shrewsbury paper²⁷. Two candidates were furnished with further details, Mrs Jones of Shrewsbury and Mrs Whyte of Maghull, near Liverpool. On 12 June 1835 Mrs Ann Whyte was appointed. She stayed until her resignation on 9th September 1837 and was granted a testimonial to the Governors of the Liverpool Church School. On 10th October Miss M. Ludlow was appointed. No mention was made in the minutes of her resignation, only that on 11th November 1838 advertisements were to be placed for a mistress for the school 'in the stead of Miss Ludlow'.

It seemed that selection procedures were improving as, in the December, Mr Venables was requested to write to several applicants to inform them that 'the Ladies are unwilling to select anyone they have not seen but if they think it worth their while coming to the board in person on Tuesday 18th inst. the ladies will then consider'²⁸. On 18th December it was reported that the Ladies having examined testimonials and interviewed each candidate separately, have resolved to appoint Mary Ann Dale with effect from 5th February following. This efficiency seems to have lapsed on their next appointment on Miss Dale's resignation in September 1844²⁹. She was replaced by her sister, Miss Jane Dale, at a salary of £40. This appointment seems to have gone satisfactorily to begin with but ended less so when she gave notice of a quarter on 1st October 1850 in consequence of her marriage when she became Mrs Cotgreave. Mr Edwards, now the secretary, was requested to write to the Training School for Mistresses at Warrington to inquire if there was a suitable person whom the Principal could recommend. A Miss Jones was elected and

it was intended that she would spend the month of Mrs Cotgreave's notice at the Grosvenor School observing the method of instruction. However, in the event, on 14th October it was decided that Mrs Cotgreave must leave with immediate effect due to her misconduct, which was not explained, and that Miss Jones should take over forthwith.

It appears that the girls were not the only ones who could be manipulated at times of financial trouble. In 1848 at the Warrington BFSS School it was decided that they could resolve their problems by giving the Mistress, Miss McDaniel, notice to quit at summer and asking a Miss Parkes to take over on terms to be decided³⁰. The terms would no doubt be less than were agreed for Miss McDaniel. If Miss Parkes refused then the Secretary of the BFSS, Mr Dunn, was to find another suitable teacher to be paid at the rate of £30 for 50 pupils, £35 for 60 pupils and so on up to £55 for one hundred pupils. This solution did not only apply to the school mistress for the master, Mr Wright, was also to accept a similar system of payment and to explain his poor performance at attracting and keeping pupils. He resigned. It appears that Miss Parkes had accepted the offer of a post on the proposed terms for in September 1848 she was granted twelve shillings per quarter to buy reward books for the monitors, 1/6 per quarter for reward books for the children and six shillings for the purchase of sewing materials for use in the school³¹.

Teachers were often provided with some accommodation as at the Chester Consolidated Schools when in 1857 it was decided that it was necessary to provide a schoolhouse for the Mistress³². When Miss Jones gave notice to leave, the advertisement for her replacement placed in the local papers in October 1857 stated that 'The School is not at present under inspection but is intended to be so soon as the necessary arrangements can be made. Salary £40 p.a.'. On 3rd November the advertisement was placed again with an addition which stated 'together with such privileges and allowances as shall hereafter be granted by the Government when the school shall be put under inspection'³³. Miss Cubbon was appointed on the recommendation of the Reverend H.C. Stubbs of Warrington Training College at a salary of £40 plus lodging allowance 'until a School House be erected'. The accounts of April 1858 show 'Lodging Money 2 weeks @ 3/6 and 9 weeks @ 4/6, totalling £2.7.6.' In May 1861 the accounts show the last payment before she moved into the house, 8 weeks £2.4.0³⁴.

During 1860 negotiations with a Mr Charles Potts had resulted in the purchase of a cottage and garden adjoining the school. Mr Potts accepted £195 in the June and the purchase was completed³⁵. It appears that a new house was to be built and an estimate was obtained. In March 1861 a special meeting of subscribers was held 'to consider the advisability of introducing Industrial Employment in connection with the School'. The following meeting on 4th April decided that this would be implemented. This term 'Industrial Employment' (or later Training) was not explicitly defined. However, it was decided to give Miss Cubbon three months notice because of her incompetence and lack of experience in such industrial work. Miss Cubbon would not actually move into the new school house which was to be furnished at a cost of not more than £30. However this amount was exceeded by almost £16. It is a possibility that the schoolhouse was used also for teaching domestic skills to the girls and justified the extra amount spent³⁶.

By late April Miss Cubbon had applied for a situation as Mistress of the Bangor National School and the Rev. E. Pugh had written to the Chester Committee asking if she could be released on or about 1st May if it was decided to appoint her. This was refused unless a replacement could be found. This did not happen in time, then a Miss Collins was appointed from May 27th and furnished with the house and coals. This seems somewhat strange as a further person, Miss Challinor, was engaged in August to assist, for one year, on three afternoons per week in the Industrial Training of the children. In August 1862 it was ordered that a salary of £5 be paid to Miss Challinor for attending at the school on three afternoons per week to assist in teaching the Mistress to sew³⁷. One wonders if this episode involved a scheme to get rid of Miss Cubbon although there is no indication of any dissatisfaction with her as a Mistress in the preceding minutes.

Given the rather limited attention paid to the process of selecting teachers who could actually teach, it seems surprising that some excellent teachers were appointed. Qualifications were largely unknown in the early years of this period. Anyone who was respectable, perceived as of good moral character and, where appropriate a member of the relevant church, could be employed as a master or mistress. Although, as was usual at the time the female teachers earned much less than the males, they could sometimes be provided with some perquisites such as accommodation or lodging allowance. Their positions could however be quite precarious, being dismissed when finances were a

problem or when new practices were introduced. If their behaviour was seen to be disrespectful or less than moral they could be summarily dismissed. Properly treated a good teacher might give long and loyal service but it is possible that at times turnover was rapid because of the way they were regarded by the management committee.

In January 1850 there appeared an important development in the Warrington Education Society school, the implementation of indentured apprenticeships for pupil teachers in both schools for five years. There were four boys selected and two girls and, with their parents present, the indentures were read and signed by the appropriate parties. In addition Miss Parkes requested that another girl be allowed to attend classes for pupil teaching so that she might qualify for entrance into the Borough Road school, the 'model' or 'normal' school of the BFSS and training establishment for its teachers³⁸.

The first reference to a pupil teacher in the Chester Consolidated Schools is in 1860. This records that Emily Lloyd should be given five shillings for her assistance while Alice Nightingale, a pupil teacher, was absent through sickness³⁹. Then in June 1861 the Secretary was requested to write to the British School in Ryecroft, Manchester, for a character reference for Sarah Harmsworth, proposed as a pupil teacher⁴⁰.

The Newcastle Commission in 1861 investigated the situation of pupil teachers and came to some conclusions about the way they were trained and paid. It was apparent that pupil teachers were being employed in the Chester school. In 1863 it was reported that Martha Lloyd, having passed her examinations for a Pupil Teachership, and a copy of the Agreement entered into between the Managers, Pupil Teacher and her father having been received from the Privy Council, a discussion took place about the amount of the salary to be paid⁴¹.

At the June meeting the scale of payments to Pupil teachers was agreed and immediately revised:

Year 1	2/- per week)		3/- per week
Year 2	3/- per week)	crossed out	4/- per week
Year 3	4/- per week)	and replaced	5/- per week
Year 4	5/- per week)	with	6/- per week
Year 5	6/- per week)		7/- per week ⁴² .

There is little direct reference to the actual curriculum in the Consolidated school except for knitting, sewing and moral teaching Most information is to be gleaned from

indirect information such as the book list referred to in Chapter II. All the books have some basis in scriptures or at least have a strictly moral tone. There are indications of teaching reading with three of Mrs Trimmer's spelling books. Three of the books do not really reveal their purpose in their titles but some were probably readers. These were *A Child's First Book Part the 1st* and *Part the 2nd* and *Fox's Lessons for Children*. In December 1818, the Consolidated Schools Committee was requested to attend on the first Tuesday in February at 10.30 to examine the children's progress made in the new system of education during the previous year. This would have referred to the adoption of Dr Bell's Madras monitorial system⁴³. There is no further reference in the minutes in February or later as to whether this test took place or of any results. In February 1819 it was decided that every Wednesday afternoon the Mistress was 'to drill the Monitresses and confine herself to this only. The rest of the children to be occupied in knitting or similar'.

On 6th July 1819 it was resolved that the girls should be allowed to sit during school hours, except during Catechism. However, those who misbehaved would be obliged to stand. Also in this minute it was recorded that the two first rules of Arithmetic were to be taught⁴⁴. In December the Ladies adjourned their meeting in order to examine the classes 'in reading & C'. Then on 6th June 1820 it was reported that Mrs Richards was to discontinue to teach the children to write, except the monitresses. The implication is that up to this date the girls had been taught both reading and writing. The next reference to this subject was a note on 2 July 1839 when it was recorded that the question of teaching writing would be seriously considered at the following meeting. Those present were very much in favour of recommending it as it was believed that they were the only school in the city in which the girls were not taught to write. On 6th August the question was to be deferred to the next Board and that the next Board deferred to October. There was no further record of this subject being discussed or decided upon⁴⁵.

In the Friends' School at Penketh some detail of the curriculum can be gleaned from the Women's Committee notes as the women examined the children regularly. In the latter part of 1851, for example, favourable comments were made on their writing, needlework, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, geography, the Scriptures and history. The women, however, felt that the younger girls should have a simpler geography⁴⁶. As the tenth report of the main Committee reported in 1846 there was general satisfaction in academic standards. It

was found that most could read pretty well, several very well. Most, especially the boys were doing well in arithmetic and improvement in writing was thought to be even more satisfactory than in previous years. It was noted that the girls as well as the boys had a good general knowledge of English grammar and geography⁴⁷. In *The Story of Penketh School* the curriculum is also mentioned as including in addition to the aforementioned subjects, drawing, mathematics (separately from arithmetic), calculation and tables, spelling, composition, dictation, scientific instruction, amounting to forty-six hours per week. A further three hours or so per day were spent in labour, the boys outside and the girls on domestic duties and sewing⁴⁸.

Welfare of Pupils and Teachers

Decisions were made regularly from the beginning in 1816 on the way the Chester Consolidated school would be run. Admissions would only be made on Board Days (the day on which the Committee met) and the girls' parents would be required to attend at the time of admittance⁴⁹.

Provision of clothing for the girls was recorded throughout the minutes. Clothing was a very complex subject. It was used as a reward for good and prompt attendance and given or withheld especially when the girls left the school. The children could pay pence into a fund each week as long as they did so regularly, there was no catching up later. Care was taken to ensure that good value for money was obtained and that the girls were properly dressed and well shod⁵⁰. There is no mention of whether the girls made any of their own clothes but some of their needlework was sold to help support the charity. This had been estimated to be worth about £8 in 1809. The purchases of their clothing were recorded, as on 7th October 1817 when 60 gowns and 60 bonnets were ordered to be bought⁵¹. These were to be given to the 60 children who had improved, had been of good conduct and had contributed the amount of 4s.4d during the year when they quitted the school. They would also receive a pair of shoes. The gowns would cost 4s.6d each, totalling £13.10.0d and 2s.6d each for the bonnets, totalling £7.10.0d. Others who had made the requisite contribution would receive a pair of shoes and a bonnet. The meeting of 17th October reported that a source of cheaper clothing had been found and now all those who had contributed the required 4s.4d and fulfilled the other criteria in the year could receive

gowns and bonnets. The costs were now 3s.7d for the gowns, totalling only £12.12.5d, and 1s.6d for the bonnets, totalling £5.6.7d. This was a total saving of £4.1.0d. On 23rd December it was decided that the fund for clothing would allow for stockings and these were ordered. Clothing continued to be recorded as in the ordering of buying check for 75 slips in July 1819, in October 350 yards of brown stuff for frocks, in November 130 hats from Nantwich and an entry of 3rd October 1820 recorded, 'ordered – bonnets be provided and – pairs of shoes'⁵². Obviously the quantities were to be inserted later but were not. In the Blue Girls' School it was apparent that the girls knit their own stockings as evidenced by the entry of 7th August 1821 when 30lbs of worsted for stockings was ordered and in June 1826 the Mistress, Mrs Parry was ordered to purchase worsted for girls to knit their stockings⁵³.

When the Sunday and Working Schools were consolidated in 1816 it was decided by the Ladies Committee that for that year the girls in Chester Consolidated school would have the same holidays (not defined) as the boys in the Blue Coat School, commencing on the same date.(see n.21). Thereafter during the history of the Consolidated Schools the subject of holidays and other time off seems to have been something of a problem for the ladies. The first reference is in the rules drawn up originally in 1787 and re-adopted in December 1808 when the schools were revived. Rule number 11 gives the time of the Working Schools as from Lady Day (25th March) to Michaelmas (29th September), 8am to 12 noon and 1pm to 5pm. In winter school would commence at 9am and end at 4pm. There were to be eight holidays at Christmas and every Saturday afternoon⁵⁴. There is some confusion about other days as in July 1812 it was reported that the whole of Thursday should be a school day and the whole of Saturday a holiday. The implication seems to be that only part of Thursday had been a school day. Again in November 1818, after the consolidation of the Working and Sunday schools, it was ordered that the children should attend on Friday afternoons as on other days. This also implies something different about Fridays previously⁵⁵.

In September 1812 and referred to in several minutes over the years, it had been decided that permission would be granted for time off for those girls whose parents needed them for gleaning during harvest. By 1835 this time off was confirmed as a fortnight's holiday during the gleaning season. In June 1839 it was resolved that the week's holiday

allowed to the children at Whitsuntide, which had replaced the afternoons allowed during Chester Races week, would be added to the gleaning season holiday. Only the afternoons of Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week would be allowed in future⁵⁶. In 1826 and 1828 when the Mistress, Mrs Richards was ill a substitute was engaged to cover her absence. However, in October 1829, when she was again ill, it was decided that the children should have their holidays then instead of at Christmas. This appears to have lasted from 6th October until about 26th October, almost three weeks⁵⁷.

It was decided on 1st June 1841 that the children would be given a half day holiday on the Queen's Coronation day. Sometimes holidays were juggled for other reasons. In 1840 the Mistress, Miss Ann Dale, requested that the Christmas holiday should be reduced to just one week and the remaining week added to the gleaning fortnight. This was because her friends and relatives lived in York and she had to spend much of the vacation time travelling⁵⁸. This was agreed to but in 1849 when Miss Dale's successor, her sister Jane, made a similar request for the same reason the re-arrangement of the holidays was only allowed for the one occasion. It appears that Jane may have asked for an extra week at Christmas. It was said that in future it must be strictly understood that the holidays would be four weeks at Midsummer, one week at Christmas, none at Easter, Whitsuntide or any other day except cattle fair days⁵⁹.

On 3rd July 1860 it was decided that the Midsummer holiday was to be from 5th July to 5th August. It was resolved that no holidays would be permitted excepting the ordinary vacations of Midsummer and Christmas. No mention is made here of Easter, Whitsun, race week, gleaning time or cattle fairs. In July 1861 the Midsummer holidays were postponed for no stated reason. In August the children were to have a school treat on Friday, 30th then a week's holiday commencing 2nd September⁶⁰.

School hours were not altered so frequently but in 1842 it was decided that, instead of allowing a break at midday from 12 till 2 in the summer, the children would return at 1pm and finish at 4pm⁶¹. This was because the extra hour allowed too much time for the children to stroll into the lanes and fields. They then returned late, nearly exhausted and not fit for the afternoon's school work. In 1850 this was altered again to make the afternoon hours in winter from 1.45pm to 4 o'clock and in summer until 4.30pm⁶².

The frequency of the decisions concerning attendance times and holiday allowances would seem to indicate the ladies were unsure of what they should be doing. All these changes create quite a confused picture and indicate a level of uncertainty in how to manage this aspect of school life. They seemed anxious to maintain discipline concerning attendance without upsetting the custom and practice of the communities they were operating in. Parents could withdraw their children, subscribers and donors might question how their money was being spent and the school finances put at risk.

Discipline was another matter for the ladies to deal with and the Chester Consolidated Schools meeting of 6th April 1819 was devoted mainly to disciplinary measures⁶³. It was reported that a rod had been allowed in the school which Mrs Richards promised to use with moderation. A Black Book was to be provided in which would be recorded the names of girls brought before the Board for ill-conduct. Mrs Richards was instructed to suspend any girls who should be 'so refractory as to set at defiance the restrictions and rules of the School'. It was also decided that on Board days the children would be kept in till the meeting concluded, and although this is not explained why it may be assumed that it was in case any of the girls needed to be seen. At the same meeting it was recorded that Mary and Ann Nield were to be suspended until 'their Mother makes a proper apology to Mrs Parry'. Four other girls were expelled but no reason was given⁶⁴. At the outset in 1816 it had been decided that girls who were expelled would not be allowed anything for any tickets in their possession. The tickets in question would have been rewards for good work and could normally be exchanged for books annually⁶⁵. Other attempts were made at forming policy for expulsion⁶⁶. On 7th December 1824 it was decided that any girl absent three days in the month would be expelled and one Sunday would be equal to two days. However, at the meeting of 21st December it was apparent that some unease had been felt at this decision. It was pointed out that, as many girls may at times be of great service to their mothers on one day in each week, no such absences would be sufficient reason for expulsion. However, in March 1825, it was decided that any girl being late four times in the month would be counted as having been absent for one day. This demonstrated some compliance with local custom and working class norms.

In the Chester Consolidated schools the committee always seemed to support the teacher. For example, on 2nd March 1819 it was ordered 'Eliz. Horton be dismissed this

school because her Mother abused Mrs Richards and interfered with her in the discharge of her duty⁶⁷. Girls could be expelled for a variety of reasons, sometimes not described in detail in the minutes, and not always given at all. In July 1816, three girls, two of them sisters, were discharged for improper behaviour; on 12 May 1821, two girls were expelled for bad attendances. On 3rd October 1826, two girls were expelled ‘in pursuance of the eighth rule’, of which we have no definition since new rules had been drawn up but not listed. In April 1829 nine girls were expelled for misbehaviour and two girls were suspended. Other reasons given at various times were for non-conformity with the rules and persistent lateness. In October 1850 seven girls were expelled when their parents had failed to attend the Board to explain their repeated absences from school. One girl’s Mother had attended to explain that her daughter’s absence had been caused by a bad head. The girl was readmitted on producing a certificate that her head was cured. However, she had to send in her school frock. In November 1850, two girls, Catherine and Elizabeth Allen were expelled for misconduct and disobedience and their names were to be posted in the school as a warning to others⁶⁸. Occasionally those who had been expelled would be reinstated as on 4th March 1817 when it was recorded that one girl was restored⁶⁹. Lesser punishments were mentioned at times. On 10th November 1818 it was decided that any child who had been refractory during the month would be brought before the monthly Board. The withdrawal of clothing was used as punishment as in 1824 when Hannah Coleclough was ‘deprived of her dress because she added ornament to it’⁷⁰. She was expelled in May 1825 for not conforming with the Rules and it was reported that her Mother had also ‘countenanced her in her improper conduct’. In December 1828 a girl was ‘to forfeit her Bonnet, Tippet and dress till Easter’. Her younger sister was suspended at the same time and one of them, possibly the younger one, was expelled in April 1829. In September 1848 it was ‘ordered that Mary Price have her stockings taken from her until she conforms to the Rules of the School and is more obedient to the Mistress’. Also her Mother was required to attend the next Board⁷¹.

The records of the Blue Girls’ School were somewhat different on the question of discipline. Discipline does not seem to have been a great problem at the school or disciplinary measures were not recorded in the Visitors’ book. Only one reference to

trouble was discovered when a girl was dismissed for being most impertinent to Mrs Parry and for her general bad behaviour⁷².

Another thread in the Minutes, the obverse of punishment, is the tradition of giving rewards at least in the Consolidated Schools whereas there is no reference to rewards in the Blue Girls' School. This was begun early in the history of the revived school⁷³. It was suggested at the meeting of 25th May 1809 that the best scholars should receive a green bonnet, the possibility of becoming probationers of the Blue Girls' School and a recommendation for them to be admitted to the Blue Girls' School. One of the first recorded incidents was in May 1811 when twelve girls aged from eleven to thirteen were elected as being 'most deserving on all accounts' and were admitted to the Ladies New Charity School in St. Martin-in-the-Fields, due to open in the July. This was the new building of the already established Blue Girls' School and from then on deserving girls from the Working and Sunday Schools who were not going directly into service could go on to the Blue Girls' School⁷⁴.

When children left, other than to go on to the other school, usually into service, they might be given a certain amount of clothing according to how they had behaved and improved in the school and as long as they had regularly paid 1d per week for the full fifty two weeks of the year, their 4s.4d. So the best could have a pair of shoes, a dress or gown and a bonnet. The rest would receive a pair of shoes and a bonnet. This practice, first noted in October 1817, carried on throughout, subject to variations, according to behaviour, regular payments every week and whether the girl left with a good character or was expelled⁷⁵. The very best girls could also be given a Bible, a Prayer Book or some other book, or some combination of these. For example in the summer of 1830 Ellen Farrington was given her clothes, a Bible and prayer book when she was described as leaving with good character.

In December 1817 it was decided to give the Monitresses one penny per week but this was discontinued in July 1820. At the same time, 1817, the two best girls in each class were to be rewarded with one penny per fortnight each⁷⁶. In April 1823 three of the monitresses were rewarded each with a Bible and prayer book 'for their strict attention to duty during Mrs Richards' 'confinement'. The following year one of the three, Mary Price, was presented with a book, 'The Pious Country Parishioner'. At the same meeting it was

recorded that Harriet Cotgreave was needed at home by her Mother but, as a reward for good behaviour, would be allowed to attend school whenever possible. She could also have her clothes at the end of the year.

By the 1820s several books in addition to the Bible and prayer book were being given as rewards and leaving gifts. They included a 'Manual of Devotion', 'Lectures on St. Matthew's Gospel' by Reverend W. Marshall, 'Lessons for Young Persons in Humble Life', 'Lives of the Apostles' and, much later, in the 1850s, 'The Broken Arm'⁷⁷. No details of these publications were given and only one has the name of its author recorded. In December 1824 it was decided to give a small reward to the best girl in each class at Christmas. This reward is not specified nor is there any indication that the fortnightly rewards decided upon in 1817 were still being given. In December 1825 a system was introduced whereby the girls could, at the discretion of the ladies, be given tickets as rewards for merit⁷⁸. In fact tickets were first mentioned in September 1816 when it was decided that no girl who was expelled should be allowed anything for any tickets she might have. In April 1826 books were distributed to the girls for the tickets they had earned. A year later 100 books were given as prizes for proficiency and good attendance. In October 1832 the books distributed were described as annual prizes.

From the Minutes it is not always clear precisely what the criteria were for punishment or reward except in a few cases. Phrases such as 'ill-conduct' or 'breaking the rules' might mean anything from whispering or giggling church to breaking one of the Ten Commandments, for example, stealing, displaying envy or even blasphemy. Being the 'best' girl may refer to the brightest student, one who could recite the Catechism perfectly or the meekest, best behaved child who had been least trouble to the mistress.

The accounts were useful in discovering what was referred to in the Minutes simply as the usual treat⁷⁹. This treat was provided during race week in early summer. On 30th April 1839 it was reported that the children should be given the usual treat on the Friday of race week instead of them going to the races. It may be that it had normally been given at some other time, possibly at the end of the school year. The accounts for 1857 give clues to what it comprised; purchases included flour for currant bread, 12s.0d, butter and lard, 2s11½d, groceries, £1.4.10½d and oranges, nuts, milk, etc., £1.0.2d. The total was £3.0.0d. In 1858 the list was similar but no currant bread was mentioned. Instead, bread and butter,

etc., costing £2.1.0d was purchased, additional payments were made to a Mrs Podmore, 1s.0d, for water 1s.0d and 6d for an organ boy. This totalled £3.11.1½d. In 1857 the Committee had rejected the idea of an excursion up river in a steamboat as 'not desirable'. In May 1859 the usual treat was provided but in March 1860 it was ordered that it should be dispensed with.

On reading the entries in the minutes referring to gifts it seems that eventually these became Christmas presents for all the children, not just the most deserving. The first entry was in 1819 when a Mr Folliett gave books and toys to the school⁸⁰. (There was a Mrs Folliett on the Ladies' Committee). This is the only mention of presents that were only for enjoyment rather than being of a practical or moral nature, although doubtless they would be suitable for the recipients.

Women played an important part in the Friends' School in Penketh with regard to their welfare as well as their education. In the sixth annual report of 1842 the hope was expressed that children would continue to be cared for after they left the school, especially with regard to procuring suitable situations⁸¹. This had been a recommendation of the previous Yearly Meeting⁸². It can be seen from a minute of the Women's Committee of 1850 that girls leaving the school were interviewed and given 'advice which appeared suitable'⁸³. The Women's Committee had been appointed in 1843-4 by the main school committee 'to inspect the Domestic Arrangements of the Family'⁸⁴. In the ninth report of the main Committee details were presented of 121 children who had left the school in previous years⁸⁵.

Conclusions

It seems from the evidence, and there is a great deal more that could be quoted for all the schools involved, that women of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries were very actively involved in educating the poor. They certainly carried out more duties than simply being somewhat passive chaperones and Sunday school teachers. The records show the development of ladies as managers as they tried to formulate policies for the best running of girls' schools. It may be assumed that they were offered advice and guidance from the men on many of the practicalities but probably brought the feminine outlook on what was proper for girls and practicable in their communities. Their expertise was initially

in matters which could be related to the domestic scene, the employment and regulation of servants, keeping accounts and supervising workmen, purchasing clothing and materials for making clothes and the teaching of needlework and other plain crafts. The lady managers treated the teachers as servants but could be very supportive and appreciative in their regulating of the school. It is also possible that the terms that were offered were at least acceptable at the time. They displayed some uncertainty when it came to fixing such things as holidays, dealing with absenteeism and some degrees of punishment, such as when to expel and when to allow that girls were different from boys in needing to be at home to help their mothers. They also displayed pragmatism in these matters by realising that they had to allow some conformity to societal norms of the working class.

Their financial acuity seemed to be very well honed. They were determined that the schools should be run as economically as possible. Raising voluntary contributions is always difficult and has to be sustained when one's survival depends on regular payments from local beneficiaries. Interest had to be maintained constantly and new donors found from each generation. Although it is possible that great inflation was not a problem in the period examined, prices could be increased even during work in progress. They had to account for every penny and reassure the beneficiaries that their money was being used efficiently and effectively and, probably, that the recipients were properly grateful.

Their methods for selecting teachers was no different from that of the men's system of requesting testimonials and being mainly concerned with moral character and religious observation. On only one occasion did it appear that matters were improving when the ladies of the Chester Consolidated schools in December 1838 decided that they would make no appointment without having first seen the applicants. However, this seems to be an isolated incident or at least no other reference has been found regarding interviews and the next appointment without interview seems to have been less successful.

Their involvement in the actual education provided again reflected their familial experience and they were often more concerned with the moral and religious teaching and domestic skills, with the ability to examine the children in their reading, numbering and needlework. The exception seemed to be the ladies of the Friends' School who also interested themselves in the teaching of grammar, geography and history. At this school the

ladies also appeared to have been involved in some of the boys' learning, possibly the very young ones. They specifically suggested a simpler geography for the younger girls.

As seen, women were involved as teachers in all girls' schools and some stand out as being particularly well respected. It seemed that Mrs Richards of Chester was indeed a married lady and the 'Mrs' was not a courtesy title. From the records it appears that some of her periods of absence, covered by monitors, and described as confinements, not illness, were indeed when she was having her babies. This might seem very unusual but there are a number of other teachers who bore the same title. Perhaps, when a good teacher was in post, the fact that she was married was not regarded as an obstacle. Some may of course have been older and past child bearing age, or were widows. The ladies quite often supported the teacher when she was faced with abusive parents or recalcitrant children and they could be flexible about when holidays could be taken for the convenience of a teacher.

Whether as philanthropic actions or a desire to find meaningful 'work' it is obvious that the ladies put their all into managing the schools of this region.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to discover the extent of education for poor girls in two towns in North West England during the early decades of the nineteenth century. It has shown that the issue of educating the poor never really goes away. Early on this was the concern of the upper and middle classes about the working class; in the twenty-first century it is the concern of government to reach and effectively teach the disaffected, especially boys, of particular ethnic and socio-economic groups.

Early providers of education for the poor usually intended that girls would be included as well as boys and by the end of the eighteenth century the Sunday schools aimed to offer some basic education for all. The evangelical movement was matched by industrialists who, often for philanthropic reasons initially and then as required by government, made some efforts to educate their child workers. The secondary literature describes the extent of the educational debate and increase in provision from the late eighteenth-century. This local study of a limited range of schools in Chester and Warrington bears this out. It also shows the distinct movements around the turn of the century and in the 1830s. Different kinds of schools and curricula were provided by the different denominations. Political conservatives, often High Church Anglicans would only educate the poor within their own doctrines. The political radicals, for example the Dissenters, advocated non-denominational even secular education for all, encouraging people to think for themselves and form their own opinions. However there is little discussion in the secondary literature of the place of girls or of how new schools fared. The local study shows that girls were included but that their education could be suspended when fortunes turned down and schools failed. This happened quite frequently as the volunteers struggled to establish and maintain the schools. Through the first half of the nineteenth century the State, the Established Church and other denominations vied with each other for who should control mass education. This was the national setting for this local study.

There was at this time a busy period of revival in both Chester and Warrington and the local scene through the nineteenth century reflected the activities nationally. The SPCK was influential throughout the whole of the period studied and the voluntary school societies played a major part for the first four decades of the nineteenth century.

The concentration of provision of education for poor girls in Chester spanned a considerable period from the early decades of the eighteenth century, mainly the Blue Girls School, and on through the nineteenth century, with some ups and downs. The schools of industry and the Sunday schools were important and their fortunes fluctuated until their consolidation into one establishment in 1816, after which the Chester Consolidated School seemed to flourish with a fair amount of consistency at least according to the records. That it remained in existence through the century is not in any doubt and that the number of girls passing through the system appears to have been a significant proportion of the population of the city.

In Warrington the situation is not quite so clear cut. In spite of reasonable prosperity as a market town it did not have the considerable wealth of the cathedral city or the influence of the major landowners, the Grosvenors, Dukes of Westminster. Here the provision of education was very dependent upon the efforts of influential professional people and the clergy maintaining sustained pressure on the consciences of those able to subscribe and donate funds on a regular basis. However, it is obvious that here girls were being educated in schools built to accommodate them as well as boys though sometimes in smaller numbers. Also, as elsewhere, it seems that their education could be dispensed with first or reduced in times of hardship.

Although throughout the period the intention to educate girls continued, their education was still regarded as peripheral and could be dispensed with as the need arose. They were seen mainly as potential wives and mothers whose need for an education was never to be as great as that of boys. They were allowed to be absent or to leave school entirely in order to assist at home, they were taught to less advanced levels than the boys, and expectations generally were lower except in a few cases.

There is a growing literature on the role of women from the 1860s in the establishment of and running of secondary schools for girls. It is apparent, especially from the extensive evidence found in this study, that similar efforts began to emerge in the 1830s for elementary schools for girls in provincial towns. This forms a main thread to emerge showing the development of quasi-careers for the women in the elementary schools of both towns. These ladies were in the main related to the men who had established and managed the schools. Where girls' schools were opened alongside the boys' schools it was necessary

for the ladies to be asked to assist in their management presumably on the grounds of propriety. Then as they became involved and interested they applied themselves to the task of management in the fields that would now be called human resources, financial management and professional development. They learned as they went along, recording their actions in some detail usually in order to present the record to the main committees. Some Chester ladies, led by the bishop's wife, established some schools solely for girls. Their activities have formed a central theme of the research especially that of the ladies' committee of the Chester Consolidated Schools Society. It is possible and would be interesting to discover if these ladies may have been instrumental in helping and encouraging some of the brighter girls in their charge to become teachers and obtain qualifications to this end.

The existing literature largely overlooked or made assumptions about what was provided for poor girls. I feel that this study has in some part remedied the neglect of this and has added to our understanding of the topic. Further local comparative studies could be of great use in widening our knowledge even more.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Introduction and Literature Review

1. *Report of the Commissioners on the State of Popular Education in England 1861*, (Newcastle Commission) British Parliamentary Papers Session, 1861.
2. For example, Derrick M. Kay, *The History of Lymm Grammar School* (Sherratt & Son Altrincham, 1960) Warrington Library Local History Archives (WLLHA) 5387; H. Lievesley (ed.) *The Boteler Grammar School 1526-1976*, WLLHA p5283 .
3. For example, John Hurt, *Education in Evolution: Church State, Society and Popular Education 1800-1870* (London, 1971).
4. Meg. Gomersall, *Working-Class Girls in Nineteenth-Century England: Life, Work and Schooling* (London, 1997).
5. Victor Neuberg, *Popular Education in the Eighteenth Century England* (London, 1971).
6. *Ibid.* Quoting Isaac Watts' essay, 'Towards the encouragement of charity schools'.
7. Brian Simon, *The Two Nations and the Education Structure 1780-1870*. (Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1974).
8. P. O'Brien, M.D., *Warrington Academy 1757-86 Its predecessors & successors* (Wigan 1989)
9. *Ibid.*
10. Brian Simon, *The Two Nations*.
11. Ruth Watts, 'Some radical educational networks of the late eighteenth century and their influence' *History of Education* 27 (1998) pp.1-14.
12. Brian Simon, *The Two Nations*.
13. James Newcomer, *Maria Edgeworth* (Bucknell, Texas, 1973).
14. Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, edited by Sylvana Tomaselli, together with *A Vindication of the Rights of Men*, (Cambridge, 1995).
15. Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man 1791/92* (Reprinted Prometheus Books, New York, 1987).
16. Janet Bottoms, "'Awakening the mind': the educational philosophy of William Godwin" *History of Education* 33 (2004) pp.267-282.
17. Victor Neuberg, *Popular Education, etc.*
18. Pauline Heath, 'Mrs Trimmer's Plan of Appropriate Instruction: a revisionist view of her textbooks' *History of Education* 32 (2003) pp.385-400.
19. J. Goldstrom, *Education: Elementary Education 1790-1900* (Newton Abbott, 1972).
20. Michael Sanderson, 'Education and the Factory in Industrial Lancashire 1780-1840' *Economic History Review* 20 (1967) pp.266-279.
21. Phillip McCann, (ed.) *Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century* (Methuen London, 1977).
22. Victor Neuberg, *Popular Education*.
23. June Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England* (Buckingham, 1991).
24. Phillip McCann, *Popular Education*.
25. Sanderson, 'Education and the Factory'.
26. J. Goldstrom, 'The content of education and the socialization of the working-class child 1830-1860' McCann, *Popular Education* pp.93-107.
27. Sanderson, 'Education and the Factory'
28. John Hurt, *Education in Evolution*.

Introduction and Literature Review (continued)

29. Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society in England 1780-1870* (London, 1983).
30. Marjorie A. Cruikshank, 'The Anglican Revival and Education: A study of School Expansion in the Cotton Manufacturing Areas of North-West England, 1840-1850 in *Northern History* 15 (1979) pp.176-190.
31. J. Goldstrom, *Education: Elementary Education*.
32. Thomas W. Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850* (New Haven, 1976).
33. Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change.*,
34. John Hurt, *Education in Evolution*.
35. H.C. Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760* (London 1961).
36. *Ibid.*
37. Victor Neuberg, *Popular Education*.
38. J. Goldstrom, The content of education.
39. Kerri Allen and Alison Mackinnon, "'Allowed and expected to be educated and intelligent": the education of Quaker girls in nineteenth century England', *History of Education*, 1998, 27. pp.391-402.
40. *The Story of Penketh School* (unattributed) WLLHA p23981, *Annual Reports of the Committee for the Management of Penketh School* (Penketh School Annual Reports) Penketh 1834-1934 WLLHA S1026005, and other documents relating to the school.
41. Victor Neuberg, *Popular Education*.
42. Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change*.
43. Jane Rendall, *Women in an Industrialising Society: England 1750-1880* (Oxford, 1990).
44. Tony Fairman, 'Schooling the Poor in Horsmonden 1797-1816 *The Local Historian* 35 (2005), pp.120-131.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Anna Laetitia Barbauld, *Lessons for children of three years old Parts I-II* (1788).
47. Deirdre Beddoe, *Discovering Women's History, A practical guide to the sources of women's history 1800-1914* (London, 1993) p.48 passim.
48. Jane Rendall, *Women in an Industrialising Society*.
49. Wendy Robinson, In search of a 'plain tale': rediscovering the champions of the pupil-teacher centres 1900-10, *History of Education* 28 (1999), pp.53-72.
50. Meg Gomersall, *Working Class Girls*.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Deirdre Beddoe, *Discovering Women's History* p.49.
53. Michael Sanderson, 'Education and the Factory'.
54. For example, Alan Crosby, *A History of Cheshire* (Chichester, 1996).
55. Alan Crosby, *A History of Warrington* (Chichester, 2002); G.A. Carter, *Warrington and the Mid-Mersey Valley* (1971).
56. P. O'Brien, *Warrington Academy 1757-86*.
57. W.B. Stephens, *Adult Education and Society in an Industrial Town: Warrington 1800-1900* (Exeter, 1980).
58. P. O'Brien, *Eyres' Press 1756-1803 An Embryo University Press* (Wigan, 1993).

Introduction and Literature Review (continued)

59. For example, Rev & Hon Horace Powys, Rector of Warrington, Rev Phillip Carpenter, Unitarian Minister, Peter Stubs, Joseph Crosfield, Industrialists and William Beamont, Solicitor and the first Mayor of the Incorporated Borough of Warrington in 1847.
60. For example *Chester Blue Girls School Visitors Book 1811-1826*, Chester/Cheshire Record Office (CRO) CR3/58: *Hunter Street School Account Book 1810-1878*, CRO DES/25/18.
61. James Kendrick, M.D. *The Warrington Blue-Coat School Exposure and its beneficial results* 1867 WLLHA p1742
62. *Penketh School Annual Reports from 1834* WLLHA .
63. *Warrington Education Society Correspondence* WLLHA MS1062 & 1063.
64. For example: Rev Edward Owen, M.A., Rector of Warrington, *A Sermon preached October 20, 1778, with a design of promoting a Charity School in Warrington, for the purpose of clothing, supporting and educating Poor Children*, and *A Sermon upon the Occasion of opening a Charity School in Warrington ... preached on Sunday February 3, 1782*. Then in the nineteenth century, Rev & Hon Horace Powys, Rector of Warrington, *A Sermon on the Nature, End, and Object of National Education as pursued in the Warrington National and Sunday Schools preached in the Parish Church of Warrington, July 10th, 1836*, WLLHA p1362.

Chapter I

1. Trevor May, *The Victorian Workhouse* (Princes Risborough, 2002).
2. Thomas W. Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*.
3. *Minute Book of Warrington Education Society 1838-1866*. (WEdSoc) 16 December 1838, including copies of correspondence between Powys and Stubs WLLHA MS1062 and MS1063.
4. For example, Chester Blue Girls' School founded in 1720.
5. For example, Humphrey Chetham of Manchester, William Part of Hale, nr Liverpool.
6. *Diocesan Articles 1789*, CRO.
7. Michael Sanderson, *Education and the Factory*.
8. Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability*.
9. *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education 1839-1840* Lancashire Record Office (LRO).
10. W.B. Stephens, *Adult Education and Society in an Industrial Town: Warrington 1800-1900*, (Exeter, 1980).
11. John Hurt, *Education in Evolution: Church, State, Society and Popular Education 1800-1870* (London, 1971).
12. Andrew Bell, 'An Experiment in Education Made at the Male Asylum of Madras, Suggesting a System by which a School or Family may teach itself under the Superintendence of the Master or Parent', referred to in the modern introduction, p9, to Joseph Lancaster, *Improvements in Education as it respects the Industrious Classes of the Community* (Third Edition, London 1809; Reprinted New Jersey 1973).
13. *Ibid.*

Chapter I (continued)

14. *Ibid.* pp.10-11.
15. *Ibid.* 'Miscellaneous' p.201 passim.
16. *Ibid.* p.203.
17. *Ibid.* pp.204-205.
18. *Ibid.* p.9 footnote.
19. For example, Warrington Blue Coat School and possibly the Chester Schools.
20. *1802 Act for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others Employed in Cotton and other Mills and Cotton and other Factories.* British Parliamentary Papers (BPP).
21. Sanderson 'Education and the Factory.'
22. John Brunner and J. Lawrence Hammond, *Public Education in Cheshire in 1896: Elementary Education before 1870* p1 1897. Chester Library Local History Reference Section.
23. *Ibid.* pp.2-3.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Sanderson, Education and the Factory.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education. LRO.
29. Victor E. Neuberg (ed.), *Central Society of Education First Publication of 1837* (Reprinted New York, 1969.
30. *Ibid.* List of Subscribers.
31. *Ibid.* p.3.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Report of the Enquiry into the State of Education in England 1838* BPP.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. Minutes of the Committee of Council.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Report of the Commissioners on the State of Popular Education in England 1861,* (Newcastle Commission), BPP Session 1861.
44. *Ibid.*
45. John Hurt, *Education in Evolution* pp.91-93.
46. Newcastle Commission.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.* pp.592-593.
50. *Ibid.* p.549.
51. *Ibid.* pp.544-546.

Chapter I (continued)

52. *Ibid.* pp.546-547.

Chapter II

1. For example, Eton College, John Lawson & Harold Silver, *A Social History of Education in England* (Methuen & Co. London, 1973) p.115.
2. G.B. Hindle, *Provision for the Relief of the Poor in Manchester 1254-1826* pp.154-5. (Manchester, 1975, for the Chetham Society).
3. Alan Crosby, *History of Warrington* p.57.
4. SPCK 1st meeting 8 March 1698 - Catechetical Schools 1st Circular Letter in SPCK Minutes of 11 November 1699, cited in J.C. Fowler, *The Development of Elementary Education in Chester 1800-1902* pp3-4. (Unpublished MA thesis Liverpool, 1968).
5. Derek Robson, *Some Aspects of Education in Chester in the Eighteenth Century* p.132 (Manchester, 1966, for the Chetham Society)
6. J.C. Fowler, *The Development of Elementary Education.* pp.3-4
7. Alan Crosby, *A History of Warrington* p.32.
8. Rt. Rev. Francis Gastrell D.D., *Notitia Cestriensis or Historical Notes of the Diocese of Chester* in Robson *Some Aspects.* p.132.
9. G.B. Hindle, *Provision for the Relief of the Poor* pp.154-5.
10. *Ibid.* pp.155-157.
11. For example, Blue Coat School (boys), Chester in 1700; Warrington Blue Coat School already established.
12. *Chester Schools: North Western Survey of School Archives* p.2 CRO (1973).
13. *Ibid.* p.17
14. John Bowes (Master of the Institution), 'The Origin and History of the Warrington Blue Coat School' published in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* (originally read to the Society 10 March 1870) pp.7-8 WLLHA p1765.
15. For example the Warrington Blue Coat Schoolmaster, Mr Robert Horrocks in 1814.
16. William Enfield, *An Essay towards the History of Liverpool* pp.48-50 (1744).
17. *Ibid.* p.68.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Bluecoat Hospital and School Minutes* Liverpool Record Office H377.72DEC.
21. *Overseers of the Poor Workhouse Books, Rule No.10* WLLHA MS104-115.
22. *Overseers of the Poor Minutes 1834-35 4 March 1834* WLLHA MS774-8
23. Harry Boscow, *Education in the Parish of Latchford St. James'* (1966).
24. Rev. J. Grant, *A Manual of Religious Knowledge; for the use of Sunday Schools, And of the Poor in General Second Edition (greatly enlarged).* Warrington (1804) WLLHA p2718.
25. Formation of Darwen & Ashton Sunday and Day Schools May 1806. *Ashton Sunday School Reports* WLLHA MS 742-3.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Alan Crosby, *History of Cheshire* p.81.
28. Fowler, *The Development of Elementary Education.* p.15

Chapter II (continued)

29. Bishop Porteus' sermon 14 February 1787, cited in Fowler p15.
30. Rules of the Sunday and Working Schools formed in 1787, as listed in the *Minutes of the Committee of Chester Sunday and Working Schools*. (Chester SWS) 1 September 1803 CRO.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Chester SWS.
33. *Ibid.* 1808.
34. *Ibid.* re-adopted rules.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.* 1 September 1803.
37. Elfrida Vipont, *Ackworth School 1779-1946* p.15.
38. Chester SWS. Several dates in early 1803.
39. *Ibid.* 20 April 1809.
40. *Ibid.* 31 May 1808.
41. *Ibid.* 22 December 1808.
42. *Ibid.* 24 December 1808.
43. *Ibid.* Meetings during February and March 1809.
44. *Ibid.* 20 April 1809.
45. *Ibid.* 16 December 1808.
46. *Ibid.* Meetings during early 1809.
47. *Ibid.* 16 February 1809.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.* 23 February 1809.
50. *Ibid.* various minutes from February 1809 to 1816.
51. *Ibid.* May/June 1810.
52. *Ibid.* May 1811.
53. *Minutes of the Chester Consolidated Sunday and Working Schools Society* (Chester Consol.) 14 March 1816 CRO.
54. *Ibid.* April/May 1816.
55. *Ibid.* 7 June 1816.
56. *Ibid.* 14 March 1816.
57. *Ibid.* 25 March 1816.
58. *Ibid.* 3 April 1821.
59. *Ibid.* 18 May 1816.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.* 3 September 1816.
62. *Ibid.* November 1816. Also the corresponding accounts book.
63. *Ibid.* 28 March to 21 December 1816.
64. James Kendrick M.D., *A Plan for the future Management and Conduct of the Warrington Blue Coat Hospital by order of the Trustees* (1804) WLLHA p1188.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. John Bowes, 'Origin and History.' p.26.

Chapter II (continued)

69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.* p.27.

Chapter III

1. Austin M. Crowe, *Warrington Ancient and Modern: A History of the Town and Neighbourhood* J.H. Teare & Son (Warrington, 1947) p.139.
2. Ruth Charlesworth, *History of Education in Warrington*. (Unpublished thesis, Liverpool, 1933) WLLHA p53271.
3. Inserted printed notice at the front of the *National School Log Book* (including full accounts of the Public Meeting and subsequent decision making Committee Meetings) WLLHA MF35 reel 23.
4. *Ibid.* 4th July 1833. Letter from J.I. Blackburne to Hon & Rev Horace Powys WLLHA.
5. National School Log Book, 1 August 1833 Questionnaire from National Society in connection with application for financial aid. Answer to question 1.
6. National School Minutes January 1834. WLLHA.
7. Overseers Minute Book.
8. National School Log Book 4 March 1834.
9. Overseers Minute Book.
10. National School Minutes 5th November 1839.
11. *Ibid.* 3rd June 1834.
12. *Ibid.* 1st July 1834.
13. *Ibid.* May to October 1834.
14. *Ibid.* 3rd February 1834.
15. *Ibid.* For example 6 October 1835 no-one attended.
16. *Ibid.* 3rd May 1836.
17. Hon & Rev Horace Powys, Rector, *A Sermon on the Nature, End, and Object of National Education as pursued in the Warrington National and Sunday Schools preached in the Parish Church of Warrington, July 10th, 1836*, WLLHA p1362.
18. *Report of the Warrington National and Sunday Schools, 1836*. WLLHA p13951.
19. *Ibid.*
20. National School Minutes. Public Meeting July 11th 1836.
21. *Ibid.* 3rd October 1836.
22. *Ibid.* 7th November 1836.
23. *Ibid.* 6 June 1836. Mr Ibbotson's resignation received.
24. *Ibid.* 18 March 1836 Notified of T. Lynes' misconduct.
25. *Ibid.* For example 3rd September, 1st October, 5th November, 23rd November 1839.
26. National School Minutes May, 1837.
27. *Chester Diocesan Board of Education 1839-1842 Report of the Great Meeting* WLLHA MS 1646.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.* Meeting at Newton 19th September 1839.
31. WEdSoc'y Minutes. 29 November 1838.

Chapter III (continued)

32. *Ibid.* 14th December 1838.
33. *Ibid.* 28 December 1838, including copies of correspondence between Powys and Stubs 16 December 1838.
34. WEdSocY Correspondence between Powys and Stubs during December 1838.
35. WEdSocY Minutes.
36. *Ibid.* 18th April to 23rd November 1839.
37. *Ibid.* 2 June 1839.
38. *Ibid.* 23 November 1839.
39. WEdSocY Correspondence between J.P. Kay of Committee of Council on Education and the Society.
40. Minutes Warrington Education Society 17 September 1840.
41. *Ibid.* 12 November 1840.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.* 3rd December 1840.
44. *Ibid.* 15th January 1841.
45. *Ibid.* Various dates in 1841.
46. *Ibid.* Various dates between 1842 and 1848.
47. *Ibid.* June 1841.
48. *Ibid.* 4th October 1841.
49. *Ibid.* 27th May 1842
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.* 8th June 1848.
53. *Ibid.* 30th September and 14th October 1848.
54. *Ibid.* 11 November 1848.
55. *Ibid.* 3 November 1848, Report by Mr E. Brewtnall.
56. Correspondence between the WEdSocY and Committee of Council on Education in Whitehall and the British & Foreign Schools Society during 1840 and 1841.
57. WEdSocY Minutes January 1851.
58. Elfrida Vipont, *Ackworth School* p.15.
59. Camilla Leach, 'Advice for Parents and Books for Children: Quaker Women and Educational Texts for the Home, 1798-1850' *History of Education Bulletin* 69 (2002) pp.49-58.
60. *Ibid.* n.15.
61. Vipont, *Ackworth School* p.17.
62. *Ibid.* p.26 The Minute of the 1778 London Yearly Meeting read 'It is proposed that the principles we profess be diligently inculcated, and due care taken to preserve the children from bad habits and immoral conduct. That the English language, writing and arithmetic, be carefully taught to both sexes. That the girls also be instructed in housewifery and useful needlework'.
63. *Ibid.* p.27.
64. Kerri Allen and Alison Mackinnon, "'Allowed and expected to be educated and intelligent'"

Chapter III (continued)

65. *Note To Friends of Lancashire Quarterly Meeting March 1829 with Penketh School Records* WLLHA p13081.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Note of a Meeting of the School Committee at Penketh on 4 Mo 30 1834* together with subsequent correspondence concerning the property. WLLHA MS1785 (2)
69. *The Story of Penketh School (unattributed)* p.3. WLLHA p23981
70. *Note of 4 Mo 30 Committee Meeting.*
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Regulations for the Management of Penketh School*, issued by the School Committee in 1834. WLLHA p13471.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *A meeting of the Committee for the Management of Friends' School at Penketh, held at Penketh, 4th Month 6th, 1835.* WLLHA S1026005.
76. *Ibid.* p.2 lines 1-10 '... The girls are made as useful in the domestic duties of the establishment as circumstances will permit,- and as the number increases, it is expected they will do a large portion of them'.
77. *Ibid.* p.2.
78. *The Penketh Story* p.4.
79. *Report of the Committee for the Management of Penketh School Penketh 8mo. 1st, 1836* WLLHA S1026005.
80. *Second Report* presented at a General Meeting held on 15th of 9th month, 1837. WLLHA S1026005.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Third Report for the year 1837-8* presented at a General Meeting held at the school the 8th of the 6th month last [1838] WLLHA S1026005.
83. *Fourth Report for the year 1838-9* WLLHA S1026005.
84. *An Inventory of the Estate and Effects belonging to the Institution, 30th of 6th Month, 1838*, in Penketh School Records WLLHA S1026005.
85. *Seventh Report 1843* presented at a General Meeting held on the 4th month 14th 1843. WLLHA S1026005.
86. *Penketh Story* p.4.
87. *Twelfth Report*, presented at a General Meeting 3rd of 4th Month, 1848. WLLHA S1026005.
88. *Fourteenth Report*, presented at a General Meeting 1st of 4th Month, 1850. WLLHA S1026005.

Chapter IV

1. *Chester Schools: North Western Survey.* p.2. (CRO, Chester, 1973)
2. *Ibid.* p.15.
3. *Ibid.* p.17.

Chapter IV (continued)

4. Lucy Aikin, *Anna Laetitia Barbauld: her life and work including a memoir by her Niece*, (Longman & Co. London, 1825) WLLHA 5127.
5. Chester SWS, and *Minutes of Chester Consol.*
6. *WEdSocy* 1 September 1848 WLLHA.
7. Chester SWS 16th March 1809
8. *Ibid.* June 1809.
9. Chester Consol. 14th March 1816
10. *Chester Blue Girls Visitors Book 1811-1826* CRO. CR3/58.
11. Chester Consol. 25th September and 6th November 1816.
12. *Ibid.* November Minutes.
13. *Ibid.* Various Minutes from August 1818 to 1832.
14. *WEdSocy.* 1st September 1848.
15. *Friends' School Penketh Women's Committee Minutes 1850 onward.* WLLHA MS1780.
16. Charity School for Girls in Chester, 1811. Printed pamphlet inserted into front of *Chester Blue Girls Visitors Book 1811-1826* CRO. CR3/58.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Chester Consol. 20th December 1816.
19. *Ibid.* 4th February 1817.
20. Chester SWS *Accounts Book 1810-1878.* For example 1810, 1811 & 1813.
21. *Ibid.* 1816.
22. *Warrington National School Committee Minutes* 6th January 1834.
23. *Warrington National School Ladies' Committee Minutes* 13th February 1834.
24. *Warrington National School Accounts*, presented to the National Schools Committee 3 February 1835.
25. Chester Blue Girls Visitors' Book.
26. Chester Consol. 4th March 1817.
27. *Ibid.* April 1835.
28. Chester Consol. 1838.
29. *Ibid.* September 1844
30. *WEdSocy.* 8th June 1848.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Chester Consol. 1857
33. *Ibid.* October and November 1857.
34. Chester Consol. Accounts May 1861.
35. Chester Consol. June 1860.
36. *Ibid.* 4th April 1861.
37. *Ibid.* August 1862.
38. *WEdSocy.* 17th January 1850.
39. Chester Consol. 7th February 1860.
40. *Ibid.* June 1861.
41. *Ibid.* 5th May 1863.
42. *Ibid.* June 1863.
43. *Ibid.* December 1818.

Chapter IV (continued)

44. *Ibid.* 6th July 1819.
45. *Ibid.* 6th June 1820 to 6th August 1839.
46. Friends' School Women's Committee 1851.
47. *Report of the Committee for the Management of Penketh School Tenth Report*, presented at a General Meeting 10th of 4th month 1846 WLLHA S1026005.
48. The Story of Penketh School p5 WLLHA p23981.
49. Chester Consol. 3rd September 1816.
50. For example *Ibid.* 17th October 1817.
51. *Ibid.* 7 October 1817.
52. *Ibid.* July, October, November 1819 & October 1820.
53. Chester Blue Girls Visitors' Book.
54. Chester SWS Rules (originated in 1787, re-adopted 1808).
55. Chester SWS July 1812 & Chester Consol. November 1818.
56. Chester Consol. 1835 and June 1839.
57. *Ibid.* 1826, 1828 & October 1829.
58. *Ibid.* 1840.
59. *Ibid.* 1849.
60. *Ibid.* 3rd July 1860 & July 1861.
61. *Ibid.* June 1842.
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.* 6th April 1819.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.* 3rd September 1816.
66. *Ibid.* 7th & 21st December 1824 & March 1825.
67. *Ibid.* 2 March 1819.
68. *Ibid.* November 1850.
69. *Ibid.* 4 March 1817.
70. *Ibid.* 1824, December 1828 & April 1829.
71. *Ibid.* September 1848.
72. Chester Blue Girls Visitors' Book July 1826.
73. Chester Consol. 25 May 1809.
74. Chester SWS. May 1811.
75. Chester Consol. various October 1817 & July 1830.
76. *Ibid.* December 1817 & April 1823.
77. *Ibid.* Also October 1832 & 1850s.
78. *Ibid.* Originally September 1816 then December 1825.
79. Chester Consol. Accounts April 1839 & 1857.
80. *Ibid.* Christmas 1819.
81. *Penketh School Sixth Annual Report 1842*, presented at a General Meeting held 25th of 3rd Month WLLHA S1026005.
82. Friends' School Women's Committee.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Penketh School Eighth Report 1844*, presented at a General Meeting 5th of 4th month WLLHA S1026005.

Chapter IV (continued)

85. *Penketh School Ninth Report*, presented at a General Meeting 3rd month 21st 1845 WLLHAS1026005. The statistics were presented thus: Of 121 children: '75 attending religious Meetings regularly, 15 occasionally. Of 9 no account, 3 were deceased and 19 had discontinued attendance. And 6 married, 54 placed with Friends or those professing, 30 employed by persons not professing our principles, 13 at home, 6 at other schools, 9 no account, 3 deceased. And 53 doing decidedly well, 51 doing ordinarily well, 9 no account, 5 unfavourably spoken of, 3 deceased'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Chester Archives:

Minutes of the Committee of Chester Sunday and Working Schools 1803-March 1816.
Minutes of the Chester Consolidated Sunday and Working Schools Society from March 1816 (also later known as the Hunter Street School).

Chester Consolidated Schools Accounts Book.

Hunter Street School Account Book.

Warrington Archives:

Lucy Aikin, *Anna Laetitia Barbauld: A memoir by her niece* 1820s.

Ashton Sunday School Reports 1806.

John Bowes (Master of the Institution), 'The Origin and History of the Warrington Blue Coat School' published in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* (originally read to the Society 10 March 1870).

Chester Diocesan Board of Education 1839-1842 including report of the great meeting of 1839.

Rev J. Grant, *A Manual of Religious Knowledge: for the use of Sunday Schools, And of the Poor in General Second Edition (greatly enlarged)*. Warrington 1804.

James Kendrick M.D., - *The Warrington Blue-Coat School Exposure and its beneficial results* 1867

- *A Plan for the future Management and Conduct of the Warrington Blue Coat Hospital by order of the Trustees* 1804.

Rev Edward Owen M.A., Rector of Warrington, *A Sermon preached October 20, 1778, with a design of promoting a Charity School in Warrington, for the purpose of clothing, supporting and educating Poor Children, and A Sermon upon the Occasion of opening a Charity School in Warrington ...preached on Sunday February 3, 1782.*

Report of the Warrington National & Sunday School 1836.

National School Accounts 1835.

National School Ladies' Committee 1834.

National School Log Book from August 1833.

National School Minutes from January 1834.

Overseers of the Poor Workhouse Books – Rules.

Overseers of the Poor Minute Book 1834-35.

Rev & Hon Horace Powys, Rector of Warrington, *A Sermon on the Nature, End, and Object of National Education as pursued in the Warrington National and Sunday Schools preached in the Parish Church of Warrington, July 10th 1836.*

Records of the Society of Friends School at Penketh:

Note of a *Meeting of the School Committee at Penketh on 4 Mo 30 1834* including correspondence concerning property.

Regulations for the Management of Penketh School 1834.

A Meeting of the Committee for the Management of Friends' School at Penketh, held at Penketh, 4th Month 6th 1835.

Reports of the Committee for the Management of Penketh School various from 1836 to 1850.

An Inventory of the Estate and Effects belonging to the Institution, 30th of 6th Month, 1838.

Friends' School Penketh Women's Committee Minutes from 1850.

Warrington Education Society:

Minute Book of the Warrington Education Society 1838-1866.

Correspondence between the Chairman and the Rector, Hon & Rev Horace Powys

Correspondence between the Warrington Education Society and J.P. Kay, Secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, and the British & Foreign Schools Society during 1840 and 1841.

Liverpool Record Office:

Bluecoat Hospital and School Minutes Liverpool

William Enfield, *An Essay towards the History of Liverpool* (1744).

British Parliamentary Papers:

An Act for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others Employed in Cotton and other Mills and Cotton and other Factories. 1802

Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education 1839-1840.

Report of the Enquiry on the State of Education in England 1838.

Report of the Commissioners on the State of Popular Education in England 1861 (The Newcastle Commission) 1861.

Published Material:

Anna Laetitia Barbauld, *Lessons for children of three years old Parts I-II* 1788.

John Brunner and J. Lawrence Hammond, *Public Education in Cheshire in 1896:*

Elementary Education before 1870 p1 (1897).

Francis Gastrell D.D., (1662-1725) *Notitia Cestriensis; or Historic Notices of the Diocese of Chester.*

Joseph Lancaster, *Improvements in Education as it respects the Industrious Classes of the Community* (Third Edition London, 1809; Reprinted New Jersey, 1973).

Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man* 1791/2.

Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), edited by Sylvana Tomaselli, together with *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790) (Cambridge, 1995).

The Story of Penketh School (unattributed).

Secondary Sources: Books

H.C. Barnard, *A History of English Education from 1760* (London, 1961).

Deirdre Beddoe, *Discovering Women's History: A practical guide to the sources of women's history 1800-1914* (London, 1993).

Harry Boscow, *Education in the Parish of Latchford St. James'* (1966).

G.A. Carter, *Warrington and the Mid-Mersey Valley* (1971).

- Alan Crosby, - *A History of Warrington* (Chichester, 2002).
 - *A History of Cheshire* (Chichester, 1996).
- J. Goldstrom, *Education: Elementary Education 1790-1900* (Newton Abbott, 1972).
- Meg. Gomersall, *Working-Class Girls in Nineteenth-Century England: Life, Work and Schooling* (London, 1997).
- G.B. Hindle, *Provision for the Relief of the Poor in Manchester 1254-1826* (1975 for the Chetham Society).
- John Hurt, *Education in Evolution: Church, State, Society and Popular Education 1800-1870* (London, 1971).
- Derrick M. Kay, *The History of Lymm Grammar School* (1960).
- Thomas W. Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850* (New Haven, 1976).
- H. Lievesley (ed.) (probable author), *The Boteler Grammar School 1526-1976* (1976).
- Phillip McCann, *Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1977).
- Trevor May, *The Victorian Workhouse* (2002).
- Victor Neuberg, *Popular Education in Eighteenth Century England* (London, 1971).
- James Newcomer, *Maria Edgeworth* (1973).
- P. O'Brien, M.D., - *Warrington Academy 1757-86: Its predecessors & successors* (Wigan, 1989).
 - *Eyres' Press 1756-1803 An Embryo University Press* (Wigan, 1993).
- June Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England* (Buckingham, 1991).
- Jane Rendall, *Women in an Industrialising Society: England 1750-1880* (Oxford, 1990).
- Michael Sanderson, *Education, Economic Change and Society in England 1780-1870* (London, 1983).
- W.B. Stephens, *Adult Education and Society in an Industrial Town: Warrington 1800-1900* (Exeter, 1980).
- Brian Simon, *The Two Nations and the Education Structure 1780-1870* (1974).
- Elfrida Vipont, *Ackworth School 1779-1946*.

Secondary Sources: Articles, Essays and Theses

- Kerri Allen and Alison Mackinnon, "Allowed and expected to be educated and intelligent": the education of Quaker girls in nineteenth century England' p3 in *History of Education* 27 (1998) pp.391-402.
- Ruth Charlesworth, *History of Education in Warrington* unpublished thesis (Liverpool, 1933).
- Marjorie A. Cruikshank, 'The Anglican Revival and Education: A study of School Expansion in the Cotton Manufacturing Areas of North-West England, 1840-1850' *Northern History* 15 (1979) pp.176-190.
- Tony Fairman, 'Schooling the Poor in Horsmondon 1797-1816' *The Local Historian* 35 (2005). pp.
- J.C. Fowler, *The Development of Elementary Education in Chester 1800-1902*. (Unpublished thesis Liverpool 1968).
- Camilla Leach, 'Advice for Parents and Books for Children: Quaker Women and Educational Texts for the Home 1798-1850' in *History of Education* 69 (2002).

Wendy Robinson, 'In search of a "plain tale": rediscovering the champions of the pupil-teacher centres 1900-1910', *History of Education* 18 (1999) pp.53-72.
Michael Sanderson, 'Education and the Factory in Industrial Lancashire 1780-1840' *Economic History Review* 20 (1967) pp.266-279.