# THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS OF LANCASHIRE FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

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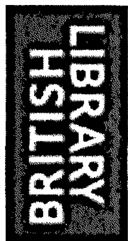


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## Abstract

Before the state became involved in education in the nineteenth century, there were basically two types of school available. In the first category were the private schools, run by individuals to provide themselves with a livelihood and relying on the fees of the pupils. The second category, with which this study is concerned, was made up of those schools, legally endowed by individuals and forming part of the great philanthropic movement from the fifteenth century onwards. During the fifteenth and, more particularly, the sixteenth century onwards, grammar schools were founded as distinctive institutions in which the classical languages were taught. In the sixteenth century, the founders of the schools were usually men of great wealth and social standing, representing the church and gentry but increasingly their role was taken over and even surpassed by merchants, usually living in London, who now sought to remember their own place of birth. During the seventeenth century, a further development took place as schools were founded catering only for an elementary education based on reading and the bible. Although grammar schools continued to be founded in small numbers in the eighteenth century, the emphasis now moved to the provision of 'charity schools' which sought to rescue the poor from ignorance and crime. Schools received endowments from a much wider social range in the course of the century which not only resulted

in increased educational provision but also in books, writing equipment and sometimes clothing, as well apprenticeships being available for poor scholars. In Lancashire, the scale of philanthropy, in terms of amounts given, exceeded those of any previous century. In the course of the century, women became more prominent in providing educational bequests. Educational opportunities for girls began to increase and in Lancashire, at least a quarter of the grammar schools catered for them. Usually, they received an elementary education in the usher's department but occasionally there is evidence of girls receiving a classical education. In addition to these aspects, this study also considers the extent to which grammar schools were able to continue their charitable function, especially as a number received fixed endowments, which increasingly lost value due to the effects of inflation. The changing nature of the curriculum is also reviewed. Grammar school decline in the eighteenth century is also investigated and the general conclusion is that for most schools the eighteenth century was a healthy period, especially as compared with the previous centuries, as schools adapted to changing social demands.

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# INTRODUCTION

## (i) Aims of the Study

The original intention of this study was to examine the development of endowed schools within the historic county of Lancashire from their earliest recorded beginnings until the early nineteenth century. Very quickly, it became apparent that due to the size of the county, the number of schools involved and the time scale that this was not a viable proposition. Accordingly, the emphasis moved to the eighteenth century but it was soon realised that the educational developments of this period could not be seen in isolation from events of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although it could be argued that the diocese or archdeaconry might be a more appropriate unit than the county, it was felt, in this instance that the county was the more suitable in that it did possess both an administrative and cultural unity.[1] This did cause some minor problems in that a number of records for Lancashire, south of the Ribble, were held in the Cheshire Record Office, since this area of the county lay within the control of the Bishop of Chester during the period with which this study is concerned. This disadvantage was, however, outweighed by the availability of other records on a county basis.

While the starting point for the study was indeterminate, the terminus ad quem was conveniently marked by the Reports of the Commissioners to Inquire Concerning Charities, published nationally in thirty-eight volumes between 1819 and 1840 and for Lancashire between 1819 and 1828. These provided a most valuable source in relation to the founding and endowing of schools; their financial situation; their curriculum and their state at the time of the Charity Commisssioners' inquiries. These Reports were complemented by the manuscript reports which provided a good deal of additional material.

The eighteenth century is fascinating, from an educational viewpoint, for a number of reasons. Foremost among these is the apparent dichotomy between the 'text book' view of the period as one of decline and degradation and the situation in a number of schools which seemed to suggest that this version of history did not apply to them. Also worthy of investigation is the emphasis which changed from the founding of classical schools to the setting up of non-classical schools with an associated curricular dimension. Yet even though the 'charity school movement' has tended to be stressed, initial investigation pointed to the continuing foundation of grammar schools alongside the charity schools, an aspect almost entirely neglected by educational historians. Consideration of the charity schools stimulated further investigation into the whole area of philanthropy. A number of questions arose. Was the eighteenth century pre-eminent in its

philanthropic zeal as has been claimed ? What were the underlying motives of the philanthropists? What was the role of the S.P.C.K? What were the implications for education ? How did the existing grammar schools seek to reconcile their charitable and curricular functions ? How did schools accommodate to the changing economic pressures of the period ? It is these and associated questions that this study seeks to answer in investigating a period that has been claimed as the least researched in modern history.

Accordingly, the first chapter examines the foundation of endowed schools prior to 1700. It seeks to consider the evolution of the grammar school as well the impact of the Henrician and Edwardian chantry legislation. Also discernible during this period was the gradual development of an alternative form of schooling in which the emphasis was no longer on the classical languages but rather on the child learning to read, reflecting the Protestant stress on the individual's ability to read the Bible.

The second chapter is concerned with the situation with regard to the endowed grammar schools in the eighteenth century . A problem arises, when attempts are made to examine these schools at this period, due to the imprecise nature of the terminology employed. Accordingly, a number of criteria, indicative of grammar school status, are examined. Other features, such as times of schooling, holidays, links with the Church of England, the number of pupils together with problems of attendance, ages of entry, internal

organisation and the government of the schools are also investigated.

The charitable function of the grammar schools and the extent to which this was carried out is reviewed in Chapter Three. This raises questions as to the levels of philanthropy both in relation to the period 1480 to 1660, which has been extensively covered by W.K.Jordan, at both a national level and in the county of Lancashire itself, and from 1660 to 1800, which has not been investigated to any great extent. A significant development over the combined periods was the increasing involvement of women as philanthropists in their own right. The basic question, however, which will be examined in this section, is the extent to which the grammar schools were able to cater for the education of the Poor in the context of the restraints operative in the eighteenth century. The role and significance of boarding will also be assessed. In addition, the extent to which grammar schools provided educational opportunity for girls will be analysed..

Inevitably, the eighteenth century is associated with the 'Charity School Movement' and this aspect, together with the role of the S.P.C.K. is examined in Chapter Four. Expansion of non-classsical schooling was not restricted to the period during which the S.P.C.K. was active and trends throughout the century are analysed with special reference to the Notitia Cestriensis and the 1778 Returns to the Bishop of Chester.

During the eighteenth century, there was a basic polarisation of endowed schools into classical and non-classical schools with the former teaching Latin and, to a lesser extent, Greek, while the curriculum of the latter consisted of various permutations of reading, writing, arithmetic and religion, with needlework for the girls. Experiments were also carried out in a limited number of non-classical schools with industrial occupations. In the course of the century two further developments took place in the grammar schools. The first was the introduction of new subjects and the second was the gradual change of emphasis in some schools which resulted in Latin becoming subordinate to the 3Rs and, in several cases, even disappearing from the curriculum. It is with these aspects that Chapter Five is concerned.

Basic to the status of the school and its curricular and charitable functions was its financial and economic situation. In a number of cases, the original endowments had been augmented but a key aspect, in addition to their general levels of income, related to whether they were fixed or variable, with the latter, generally, in the stronger position. In Chapter Six, the financial and economic background to both classical and non-classical endowed schools is analysed.

Chapter Seven returns to the basic question asked about grammar schools in the eighteenth century, namely, Did grammar schools decline ? In order to answer this question, the features alleged to be associated with 'decline' will be considered and, also, the

extent to which these features were characteristic of the eighteenth century.

The final chapter sums up the main conclusions of the study and indicates how far developments in Lancashire are characteristic of the national picture.

## (ii) Sources

As stated previously, the basic primary source for this study was the Reports of the Commissioners to Inquire concerning Charities. References to schools in Lancashire are to be found in Volumes 3 (1820), 11 (1824), 15 (1826), 16 (1826), 19 (1828), 20 (1828) and 21 (1829). To supplement these, the hand written reports were consulted. These records, formerly in the Public Record Office under the category Charity 2 and now kept by the Charity Commissioners in a repository at Hayes, were, in fact, consulted in the Charity Commission Offices in Derby Square, Liverpool. They provide a great deal of information additional to that in the printed reports. What is of especial interest is the evidence of witnesses before the Commissioners who provided information from personal knowledge of the school. Particularly valuable is the evidence of the individuals who were acquainted with the school in a non-official capacity, for instance, as former pupils or parents of pupils, rather than masters or governors. Where there were

inaccuracies in the reports, they were supplemented by the 1908 Parliamentary Papers.

Lancashire is also fortunate in the variety of manuscript sources pertaining to its schools . Prior to the setting up of the Diocese of Manchester in 1847, the county had been part of the Diocese of Cheshire, with Lancashire, north of the Ribble, part of the archdeaconry of Richmond. As a result, a number of manuscript sources are to be found in the Cheshire Record Office. At Chester are the Subscription Books. Clergy Call Books, Articles Preparatory to Visitation and Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis. Other material relating to schools and schoolmasters in Lancashire has been transferred to the Lancashire Record Office in Preston.

A number of records for individual schools are to be found in the Lancashire Record Office, Preston. The most useful are those dating from the sixteenth century for Rivington and Blackburn Grammar Schools. For the former school, there is also extant the second oldest register, after that of Shrewsbury , dating from 1575. Of more value to the educational historian are the fuller records relating to the number of pupils in the school from the 1680s onwards. Clitheroe and Blackrod are other schools with good documentary sources. Other well documented schools include Bretherton, Bispham and Croston, all established in the seventeenth century. Of the schools founded in the eighteenth century, the records are very full for the 'charity schools' at Ribby-with-Wrea,

Newton-with-Scales, the girls' school at Kirkham and the separate schools for boys and girls at Preston.

In addition to the individual school records in the Lancashire Record Offfice, there are a number of other sources which shed further light on both schoolteachers and schools. Included in the category DRCH are records relating to the nomination of masters, resignations, testimonials, petitions and letters concerned with a variety of educational aspects. The Quarter Session Papers provide further information, usually relating to schoolmasters who had fallen upon hard times.

Chetham's Library in Manchester possesses very full records of Chetham's School. Documents of a more general nature, relating to other schools in the Manchester area, are to be found in the Archives Department of the Central Library.

A significant problem related to the Blue Coat School at Liverpool. This arose from the fact that this study is concerned with endowed schools but this particular school was never formally endowed. Yet, every year, it received a total income far in excess of that accruing to every other school in Lancashire, apart from Manchester Grammar School on occasions, from both bequests and legacies, which were the usual form of endowment. In addition, it was a pioneer 'charity school'. Not only did it have strong links with the S.P.C.K. but it also became both a prototype for industrial occupations and was consulted in relation to this area on a number of occasions by the S.P.C.K. For reasons connected with

its philanthropic zeal and its formal links with the S.P.C.K., this school has been included in the study. Records, both printed and manuscript, for this school are to be found in the Picton Library.
Records for the grammar schools at Wigan and Leigh, together with the rather limited information for the charity school at the former place, are to be found in the Leigh Record Office.
The only individual school records consulted outside the county were those for Merchant Taylors' School at Great Crosby. These are now on microfilm in the Guildhall Library in London.
Other records which include information relating to the endowed schools of Lancashire are to be found in the Wase Papers in the Bodleian Library and in the records of the S.P.C.K. in London. The former, apart from the return for Heskin Grammar School were very disappointing and provided litle additional information. In contrast the records of the S.P.C.K. which included both the printed annual reports, correspondence both sent out and received and the minutes of meetings of the Society were most valuable.
In part, the number of references to individual schools in this study is in direct proportion to the surviving records. This is particularly so where the records are supplemented by good school histories. Four studies fall into this group, namely, M.M.Kay on Rivington Grammar School, H.M.Luft on Merchant Taylors' School, A.A.Mumford on Manchester Grammar School and W.E.Brown on Bolton School. In the two latter cases, all the records are still kept in the school.

Lancashire is also fortunate in that it possesses two very strong historical societies. In 1844, the Chetham Society, centred on Manchester, published it first volume and was followed in 1849 by the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society Transactions, based in Liverpool. A number of school histories including those for Upholland, Ashton-in-Makerfield and Clitheroe Grammar Schools, together with the Blue Coat Schools at Warrington and Liverpool, have been published by these two journals. Other important contributions have been the publication of the Notitia Cestriensis, the eighteenth century register for Manchester Grammar School and W.K.Jordan's study of philanthropy in Lancashire. Further information on schools and masters can also often be gleaned from articles not specifically concerned with education.

Thus, the educational historian concerned with the study of Lancashire is very fortunate in that there is a great deal of information pertaining to its schools both in manuscript and printed form, both within and without the county.

A problem, which fortunately only occurred on relatively few occasions, was posed by the duplication of place names. There are, for instance, at least two examples of each of the following within the county: Newton, Warton, Bispham, Aughton, Melling, Walton, Bolton and Eccleston. Fortunately, the context of the place name usually allowed it to be identified with confidence.

(iii) **Socio-economic background**

The most significant aspect of the socio-economic development of Lancashire was that it has claims to be the cradle of the Industrial Revolution. This was to lead to a pattern of life based upon the town and the factory. Even so, large tracts of the county were to continue to base their livelihoods upon agriculture, which had provided the basis for its wealth until well into the seventeenth century.[2]

Although a good proportion of the county was moorland, as in Bowland or Rossendale, or lowland mosses as around Martin Mere, Chat Moss and the coastal areas of the Fylde, there were important areas of arable farming in South-West Lancashire, the Ribble Valley and the Fylde. Cereals such as oats, barley, rye and wheat were grown as well as beans and peas. Flax and hemp were other common crops. The valleys of Bowland and Rossendale provided pasture for cattle together with parts of the Fylde.

By the time of Queen Elizabeth I, sheep were beginning to challenge the supremacy of cattle, at least numerically. They, also, provided the raw material for the embryo textile industry which produced such woollen cloths as rugs, kerseys and cottons. Increasingly, the producers began to congregate in the Salford-Manchester area which had a population of about 5,000 by the mid-seventeenth century and in the towns of Rochdale, Bolton, Bury and Blackburn. The cottage textile industry developed at a steady pace in the seventeenth

century and by 1700, areas of specialisation can be discerned. For instance, the district around Preston specialised in linen cloth; Bolton and Blackburn in fustians and Bury, Colne, Rochdale and Burnley in woollens and worsteds.

During the eighteenth century, these industries continued to expand but more spectacular was the growth of the cotton industry. Between 1740 and 1750, the consumption of raw cotton doubled with a further doubling by 1780. The greatest increase, however, took place in the 1780s with demand rising from five to twenty-five million pounds weight. Improvements in machines and new inventions had stimulated this increased demand. By 1800, despite the outbreaks of machine breaking, cotton dominated the textiles of Lancashire with linen and wool almost entirely superseded.

By 1700, the major towns of Lancashire in order of importance were Manchester-Salford, Wigan, Bolton, Preston and Warrington, followed by Liverpool, Blackburn, Lancaster and Rochdale. During the course of the eighteenth century, it has been estimated that the population of the county grew three-fold from 238,735 in 1701, to the 672,7000 identified in the 1801 census.[3] Despite the effects of the Industrial Revolution, there were no more than twenty-six towns with a population of more than 2,000, with the majority of these being old, established market towns. Only Liverpool and Manchester had more than 20,000 inhabitants.

Population growth, dating from about 1740, tended to take place outside the towns in Lancashire, south of the Ribble. In Northern

Lancashire population growth was most prominent between 1740 and 1760 but tended to slow down as migration took place towards the growing industrial centres in the latter part of the century.
Liverpool's population in the eighteenth century grew from about 5,000 to 77,000 as compared with Manchester's, which increased from about 8,000 to 70,000 over the same period. By 1715, Liverpool's first dock was in operation and by 1800 about 5,000 ships a year were using the five basins under the control of the Corporation. Much of the wealth of Liverpool in this period was derived from the slave trade and from privateers but even these were subsidiary to the salt trade. By 1760, about 20,000 tons a year of salt were being brought down the River Weaver to Liverpool. By the end of the century, this amounted to some 100,000 tons. From Liverpool, salt was exported all over the western hemisphere.
Manchester's development as a commercial centre both stimulated, and was stimulated by, the improvements in transport by road and canal. Originally a nodal point for packhorse routes, by 1800 all the main roads radiating from it had been turnpiked. Transport by river was improved with the Mersey and Irwell Navigation, while the Bridgewater Canal (1761) allowed coal to be brought into Manchester at a much cheaper price. It further benefited from the link with the River Mersey at Runcorn Gap in 1776. By 1800, Manchester was at a hub of canals which linked it to Bolton, Bury, Rochdale , Oldham and via the Pennines to Huddersfield.

In addition to the textile industries, other industries developed. From the Elizabethan period onwards, coal was mined at Wigan, Haigh Prescot and Worsley. Demand was further stimulated by the invention of the steam engines but in the eighteenth century, mines remained comparatively shallow.

Lancashire, also, had a long tradition of iron smelting in Furness, Simonswood, Rossendale and around Garstang, where iron ore and timber, which provided the charcoal, were to be found in close proximity. The iron production was the basis for the lock, nail, clock and tool making industries which developed.

During the last three decades of the eighteenth century, the beginnings of modern industry can be discerned as steam-engine power was applied. Factories to manufacture textile machinery were set up in Manchester, Bolton, Blackburn and Rochdale. Iron foundries were to be found at Haigh and Salford. By 1800, specialist engineering firms employing large labour forces had been established in Salford and Ancoats.

Other important industries in the eighteenth century included copper smelting and plate glass manufacture. Copper smelting was originally associated with Thomas Patten, who opened his works at Quarry Bank in Warrington in 1717. The business was greatly expanded by his son . By 1800, the industry had been transferred to St. Helens, a more convenient transportation centre for the raw materials. At Ravenshead, also in St. Helens, John Mackay built his

factory in 1773, which led to this town becoming the glass capital of England.

It is against the background of these developments that education must be viewed.

**References: Introduction**

1. The view that the diocese rather than the administrative county is a more appropriate and valid basis for assesssing the work of the S.P.C.K. has been put forward by R.Unwin, The Established Church and the Schooling of the Poor: The Role of the S.P.C.K. 1699-1720, in V.A.McClelland (ed.), The Churches and Education (History of Education Society, 1984), p.28.

2. This section is based upon J.J.Bagley, A History of Lancashire (London, 1982); J.D.Marshall, Lancashire (Newton Abbot, 1974) and J.K.Walton, Lancashire: A Social History (Manchester, 1987) passim.

3. P.Deane and W.A.Cole, British Economic Growth 1688-1959 (Cambridge, second edition, 1967) p.103.

# CHAPTER ONE

## ENDOWED SCHOOLS IN LANCASHIRE TO 1700

### i) Medieval Schools in Lancashire

The most recent estimate of the number of schools established in Lancashire, prior to the Chantry Acts of 1545 and 1547, has been made by Nicholas Orme in English Schools in the Middle Ages. He identified fourteen schools at Blackburn, Bolton, Broughton, Clitheroe, Farnworth, Hornby, Lancaster, Leyland, Liverpool, Manchester, Middleton, St. Michael-upon-Wyre, Preston and Warrington.[1] The only county to exceed this number to any significant extent was Yorkshire, where Orme postulated the existence of thirty-seven schools. The figure for Lancashire approximated to Norfolk with sixteen schools; Lincoln with thirteen and Suffolk and Northampton with twelve. Apart from Sussex, with ten schools, in no other county did they reach double figures.

A.F. Leach, who has been subjected to attack in more recent times by Joan Simon, R.S.Tompson and N.Orme, was responsible with Rev. H.J. Chaytor, for the histories of the individual schools, published in Volume II of the Victoria County History of Lancashire, published in 1908.[2] Leach, probably because of his

## Table 1.1

## Schools Established in Lancashire prior to 1550

### Leach/Chaytor (1908)

Lancaster (early 13th. century)

Preston (1358)
Middleton (1412)
Prescot (early 15th. century)
Manchester (1515)
Farnworth (1507)
Blackburn (1514)
Liverpool (1515)
Bolton (1524)
Leyland (1524)
Warrington (1526)
St. Michael-upon-Wyre (1533)
Winwick (time of Henry VIII)
Whalley (pre 1548)
Kirkham (pre-1551)

### Jordan(1962)

Lancaster (early 13th. century)
Preston (1358)
Middleton (1412)
Farnworth (1507)
Manchester (pre-1513)
Blackburn (1509)
Liverpool (1517)

Hornby (c. 1523)
Leyland (1524)
Warrington (1526)
Broughton (1527)
St.Michael-on-Wyre(-1528-33)
Prescot (pre-1544)
Winwick (1544-7)

### Tompson (1971)

Preston (1358)
Middleton (1412)
Lancaster (1469)
Farnworth (1507)
Liverpool (1515)
Manchester (1515)
Penwortham (1522)
Leyland (1524)
Bolton (1524)
Warrington (1526)
Burnley (1532)
Prescot (1544)
Leigh (1548)

### Orme (1973)

Clitheroe(1283)
Preston (1358)
Middleton (1440)
Lancaster (1469)
Farnworth (1507)
Manchester (1510)
Blackburn (1514)
Liverpool (1517)
Hornby (1523)
Bolton (1524)
Leyland (1524)
Broughton (1527)
Warrington (1520-6)
St. Michael upon Wyre (1527)

interest in medieval history, dealt with the schools founded prior to 1550, apart from Prescot and Warrington Grammar Schools. In view of Leach's alleged apathy, not to say antipathy, towards non-grammar school foundations, it is of interest that he wrote the section on elementary schools founded prior to 1800, even if he did rely almost exclusively upon the reports of the Charity Commissioners. The remainder of the schools were left to Chaytor, with the exception of the limited study by William Farrer of the late seventeenth century foundation at Over Kellett.[3]

Leach and Chaytor's description of fifteen schools, in existence prior to the chantry legislation, is close to that of W.K.Jordan (fourteen) and R.S.Tompson (thirteen). Two points, however, do stand out in relation to the four lists of schools.(Table 1.1) Firstly, the only schools common to the four lists are Farnworth (Widnes), Lancaster, Leyland, Liverpool, Manchester, Middleton, Preston and Warrington. Common to three lists are the schools at Blackburn, Bolton, St. Michael-upon-Wyre and Prescot , while Broughton, Hornby and Winwick are to be found on two. There is a single mention for Burnley, Clitheroe, Kirkham, Leigh, Penwortham and Whalley. In all, a total of twenty-one schools have been identified with claims to grammar school status, either by foundation or related to a chantry. One school, Rufford, for which there is documentary evidence, has been omitted from all the lists, presumably because of the lack of any positive evidence to support its grammar school status.

The second aspect is related to the lack of agreement with regard to the date of foundation of the school, although, it must be admitted, the evidence for some of the schools is very limited.

These discrepancies can be partly explained in relation to the objectives of the specific historians. Orme and Leach (and Chaytor) were basically concerned with the extent of educational provision in Medieval England and, for them, evidence of the existence of a school was of prime importance. On the other hand, Jordan, working in America from the printed reports of the Charity Commissioners, was more concerned with their endowments in relation to the wider issue of philanthropy. Tompson, also an American, was interested mainly in the changing nature of the grammar schools in the eighteenth century and, like Jordan, relied mainly upon the printed reports of the Charity Commissioners.

**ii) Schooling prior to 1400**

Evidence for the existence of schools before the fifteenth century tends to be both limited and, frequently, indirect. This is particularly true of Lancaster in the thirteenth century but it applies as well to Clitheroe and Preston.

At Lancaster, Thomas of Kirkham, described as 'Magister scholorum Lancastrie' was a witness to a deed in the chartulary of Lancaster Priory, in which Idus gave it three acres of land. Although the deed was undated, it was among others from 1235 to 1256.[4] At Lancaster Assizes on 17 April 1284, Emma, wife of Thomas of

Lancaster, brought an action of mort d'ancestor against John of Bleghan and his wife. A counter-action, some six months later at Clitheroe, described her husband as Thomas le Schoolmaystre of Lancaster.[5] Thomas and his wife featured in another court action in 1292, when the father of Adam de Preston, whose son had married their daughter, claimed one hundred marks damages. In his claim, he stated that he had sent his son to Thomas's school.[6]

In addition to the school at Lancaster, there is evidence of a school at Clitheroe in the thirteenth century. In a proof of age relating to John, son and heir of Richard Tempest, held at Skipton on Thursday, 1 October 1304,

> 'Robert Buck aged 41 agrees and recollects because he was at school at Clitheroe on the exhibition of sir Henry de Kygheley and on the morrow of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next before the said birth was so badly beaten that he left the school and from the day of that beating it was twenty one years on the same morrow last past'.[7]

Evidence for the continuity of the school at Lancaster is provided in 1338 when John Bannestre, Magister Scholorum, was murdered.[8]

Leach has suggested that grants of land made in about 1230 by William, son of Richard Cross, in the townfields of Preston, represented endowments, since Viliam was referred to as 'Magister'.[9] In 1358, John, Clerk of Broughton, schoolmaster of Preston, was indicted with others in connection with the proclamation of a pardon to a murderer.[10] The first specific reference to a grammar school at Preston was in 1399, in the register of the Archdeaconry of Richmond, when Richard Marshall was appointed master.[11] Thus, there is evidence for the existence of

three schools, at least, in Lancashire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There must, however, be a question mark over their status during that period.

### iii) Chantry Schools

Although, nationally, some schools had been endowed in the fourteenth century, it was in the following century that their scale and scope began to expand as they became a popular form of philanthropy. Indeed, it has been claimed that it was during this period, rather than at the Reformation that private benefactors began the movement that was to lead to the endowment of hundreds of schools over the following centuries.[12]

In Lancashire, as elsewhere in England, two categories of school began to emerge. One included schools attached to chantries and the other was made up of those schools which Jordan has described as 'modern educational endowments'.[13]

The chantry schools were a reflection both of the religious views of the age and a growing interest in education, with the latter aspect in a subordinate role. The primary task of the chantry priest was to say a daily Mass for the soul of the benefactor and, usually, his family and ancestors. By attaching a school to a chantry, the prayers of the priest would be reinforced by those of the scholars for whom 'Prayers for the Dead' would be part of their daily school routine. This was the case at Manchester where the master, usher and scholars were to say the 'De Profundis' for the

souls of the late Bishop of Exeter and a number of other named individuals.[14]

Not all chantries had schools attached to them and the relationship between them is not always clear-cut. As Orme points out, chantries with associated schools were founded in large numbers and although this relationship began to weaken in the early years of the reign of Henry VIII, it did continue until the dissolution of the chantries by the government of Edward VI in 1548. Nevertheless, it must be observed that not all chantries founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, where the incumbent was reported as 'keeping school' in the reports of the Chantry Commissioners in 1546-8, had been founded with this dual purpose in mind. It does appear that the introduction of teaching in grammar was frequently a development of the early sixteenth century.[15]

Apart from a vague reference to the possibility of a chantry school at Preston in 1358, which, if substantiated, would predate the school at Wooton-under-Edge, usually described as the first chantry school to be established in England, by twenty-six years, the earliest chantry school in Lancashire is usually held to be the school at Middleton.[16] The school owed its origin, it has been alleged, to the strong feelings that Thomas Langley, who had become Cardinal Bishop of Durham and Chancellor of England, had for his place of birth.[17] The foundation date is usually ascribed to 1412, when a chantry was set up at the altar of St. Cuthbert, after the

church had been reconstructed. Yet, there is no mention of a school or schoolmaster in references to the chantry in 1437 and 1444.

Two pieces of evidence, although neither was contemporary, show the existence of the school prior to 1546. Between 1520 and 1536, three brothers, Alexander, Robert and Lawrence Nowell from Read, were at the school. Alexander, who had become Dean of St. Paul's, described, in a letter to Lord Burghley, how Robert, a successful lawyer, some six hours before his death, 'said unto me; forget not Middleton School and the College of Brasenose where we were brought up in our youth'. A later letter of March 1594 confirmed the desire of the Dean to refound the school 'where we and our bretheren were taught in our childhood'.[18]

The second piece of evidence is the will of Thomas Mawdesley of 1554. In it, he directed that he should be buried in the school chapel next to his predecessor Master Clayton. He left a house and land to the school worth about £2 a year for the use of a priest 'conyng in gramar and songe ........ to mende and uphowde the fre scole of Myddleton accordyng to the foundacion'.[19]

The Chantry Commissioners of Henry VIII (the Bishop of Chester, Sir Thomas Holcroft, John Holcroft, Robert Tatton, John Kechyn and James Rokeby) reported in 1546 that

> Thomas Mawdesley,preiste, incumbent ther of the foundacion of Thomas Langley ........ther to celebrate for the sowles of the Kinges of Englande, the said bishop and his ancestors and the Incumbentes herof to teache one gramer skole fre for poore children ........the same prist ....... doth celebrate and teache gramer accordinge to thentent of the said foundacion'.[20]

Two years later, the Commissioners of Edward VI after noting that 'a Grammer Scole hath likewise beene continually kept in the parish of Midleton ........ with the revenues of the chauntry founded in the parish church ther' recommended that the school should continue with Mawdesley as master at a salary of £5.10.8.[21]
Unfortunately, the Chantry Certificates are not an infallible source since the original information was provided by the parish rather than the Commissioners. As a result, there are omissions, misrepresentations and vague and inaccurate information.[22] There was the additional temptation to show that the schools were attached to chantries to ensure their survival.
Although there is some doubt about the initial relationship between the chantry and school at Middleton, there is no such doubt about Blackburn. In 1514, Thomas Stanley, second Earl of Derby, presented the third chantry to the parish church with the expressed intention of supporting the school established by him in 1509.[23] In conjunction with the chantry was a stipulation for the maintenance of a song and grammar school. The priest was to be sufficiently learned in grammar and plainsong 'if any such can be gotten'. If not, 'Another Able Secler Prest that is expte and can synge both Prickesong and Playsonge and hath a syght in Discont ..... shall teche a Free Songe Scole'. If no priest of the required musical ability could be found, then the Earl was to appoint the priest, who, in the opinion of the Church Wardens 'shall be most suficient for the maintenance of the quere and Dyvine Sirvce in the said

church and to keep always a fre Gramar or Songe Scole continually ther'.[24] Sir Edmund Bolton was the first chantry priest. In 1534, the Valor Ecclesiasticus noted that Thomas Burgess was chantry priest and schoolmaster with an stipend of £3.6.8.[25] By 1546, with Burgess still the incumbent, the income had increased to £5.8.8. The school was ordered to be continued in 1548 with the master receiving £4.7.4.[26] This decrease in income, due to the withholding of certain copyhold lands, led to a legal suit being lodged in 1557 but it was not until 1585 that settlement was reached, with the Duchy of Lancaster being compelled to pay £60 towards the foundation.[27]

A year after the establishment of the school at Blackburn, John Crosse, founded a chantry school at Liverpool under the terms of his will. As early as 1507, he had granted lands and tenements in Liverpool and Fazakerley to seven feoffees for the fulfilment of his will. After the death of Crosse and his chaplain, his brother, Richard, and the Mayor 'shall order and put in a preste such as they shall thynke best convenient, the which prest shall keepe gramer scole and take his avauntage from all the children except those whose names be Crosse and poor children that have no socour'.[28] In 1526-7, the four surviving trustees complained that although they had carried out the trust until three or four years before, Sir Humphrey Crosse had come in and taken over the school's revenues for his own use. They petitioned for a subpoena but the result is unknown.[29] Crosse was also mentioned in the Valor

Ecclesiasticus of 1534 and the Chantry Certificates of 1546 and 1548. The 1546 Certificate pointed out that 'the Incumbents herof are bounden to teache and keepe one gramer skoole' , basically quoting the will of Crosse.[30] According to the 1548 Certificate, Crosse, aged fifty years, was now enjoying an income of £6.2.10 but there was, apparently, some irregularity, as it was reported that he was 'also to kepe a schole of Grammer free for all children bearynge the name of Crosse and poor children which is not observed accordinglie'.[31] Under the terms of the Continuation Certificate, Crosse received an income of £5.13.3 for the school 'which is very meet and necessary to continue'.[32]

An attempt was made to set up a school at Hornby in 1523 under the terms of the will of Edward Stanley, the fifth son of the first Earl of Derby. In addition to bequests to the King and Cardinal Wolsey, he left lands to the approximate value of £12 a year towards 'my chauntrey bedehouse free scole'. The school was set up shortly after his death but perhaps due to the failure to achieve 'the consents and assents of all having interest therein', the school was never permanently endowed. In 1546, it was reported that although it had been willed that 'one scolemaster perpetuallie to have songe, prayde and taught one Fre gramer skole there', there was no incumbent nor 'at no tyme hayth beene'. In fact, the heir, Lord Monteagle was maintaining a grammar school master as one of

his household servants. In the absence of a permanent endowment, it is probable that the school ceased on the death of Lord Monteagle in 1560.[33]

The chantry school at Leyland was founded by Sir Henry Farington, who, on 9 April 1524, conveyed lands to 'an able and well disposed priest' to say Masses. In 1546, Thurstone Taylor 'doth celebrate ther and kepe a Fre skoyle accordinglie' with an income of £4.5.9. By warrant of 11 August 1548, in common with the other chantry schools, an order was made by Walter Mildmay to continue the grammar school at Leyland with an income of £3.17.10, payable by the Duchy of Lancaster.[34]

Although there is evidence of schoolmasters at Preston in 1358, 1399 and 1474, the first reference to a chantry school is to be found in 1528.[35] In that year, Roger Lewyns had filed a bill in Chancery against the Mayor and burgesses for trespass. The reason for his actions, the Mayor pleaded in defence, was that Lewyns had neglected to keep a free school for the children of the inhabitants. In the Mayor's defence statement, the date of the chantry foundation was given as some eighty years previously. This would put the date of the establishment of the chantry as about 1450 but corroborative evidence is lacking. Additionally, there is no evidence of a school in relation to the chantry before Lewyns's appointment. In 1548, the school was continued under Nicholas

Banastre who received a stipend of £2.16.2, a figure below the £6 stated as the value of the chantry in 1528.

Both the chantry lands and Banastre were to crop up later as sources of friction. Early in the reign of Philip and Mary, the Corporation of Preston had applied to have the lease of the chantry lands, granted to William Kenyon in 1549, set aside on the grounds that he had proved by 'sinister means' that these lands were a part of the chantry and that this was detrimental to the education provided for young children in the free school over the last hundred years with the lands being worth than five marks.[36] However, the application failed but it is of interest that both this case and that of 1528 dated the school to approximately 1450.

Payment continued to Banastre from the Duchy but in 1559-60 and 1560-61, it was entered but recorded as not paid with no subsequent entries. This was due to the recusancy of Banastre.

The school at St. Michael-upon-Wyre was apparently the last one to be associated with a chantry in Lancashire. In 1528, John Butler enfeoffed Sir Alexander Osbaldeston, Sir Henry Farington and others for the uses of his will. In it, he pointed out that he had begun already to establish a chantry in the parish church but since the income was not yet sufficient, the feoffees were to put by five marks a year for eight years. This was then to be used to buy land worth £1.6.8. a year, if the chantry was not completed during his lifetime.[37] Although a local historian has questioned whether the school was ever set up, the Chantry Commissioners had no doubt that

the priest did teach a grammar school and ordered its continuation under William Harrison at an income of £5.10.0 a year.[38]

Manchester Grammar School, founded in the early sixteenth century forms a link between the chantry and the 'modern educational institution' in that historians seem unable to decide whether it was medieval (i.e. a chantry) in origin or one of the first of the modern humanistic schools. Leach, for instance, felt that it was probably part of the collegiate church founded in 1420. Stalls, erected in the choir between 1506 and 1512 and assigned to the archididascalus and the hypodidascalus, were seen by him as confirmation of the existence of a school prior to 1506.[39] Although the school was ignored by the Henrician Commissions, those of Edward VI duly noted that the chantry of Alexander Bessike supported two priests and 'thone of the two Pryests to teach a fre schole which is observed accordinglie'.[40] The free school was continued under Edward Pendilton as master at £4.1.9 a year. In fact, the Commissioners seem to have named the wrong member of the Beswyck family as founder, since it was Richard who built the Jesus Chapel and left £40 for its support by his will of 1510.[41]

Jordan has described the grammar school as being 'in organic relation' with the chantry.[42] Mumford has also pointed to links to the chantry in that a grant was made to the masters from the Duchy of Lancaster after their abolition and that the 1525 Statutes ordered that prayers were to be said for members of the Beswyck family.

Orme has, however, dated the school to between 1510 and 1515, while the most recent historians described Hugh Oldham as its founder.[43] A family connection was that Richard Besswyck's daughter-in-law was Oldham's sister. It does appear that the chantry school was incorporated into the school endowed by Oldham in 1515 but the chantry foundation, as shown by the Statutes of 1525 and the reaction of the Chantry Commissioners, was not obscured. The physical incorporation of the chantry school into the new foundation was aided in that it was built next to the college at a cost of £218.13.5.[44]

Of the Lancashire chantries associated with schools, the only one that failed to receive a continuation order was Rufford. This foundation by Batholomew Hesketh was endowed with lands worth £10.0.9, out of which the master, who was to teach the scholars of the town, received £4. The fact that the school failed to survive was not a reflection of its endowment but rather the lack of interest on the part of the Commissioners for what appears to have been a non-classical school.[45]

There is also evidence of a chantry at Standish. In 1553, William Thompson, Rector of Ashton-under-Lyne, bequeathed 40s to Sir Peter Bower 'my old schoolmaster' at Standish. Bower had been chantry priest from 1525 until its suppression but in the 1548 Returns there was no mention of a school.[46]

A problem also exists over the existence of a chantry school at Whalley. According to Rev. H.J.Chaytor, the school 'which had long existed' was continued by the Edwardian Commissioners and the master, William Thurlow, received an income of £13.16.8 from the crown revenues of the Duchy.[47] Leach, in contrast, makes no reference to the school in English Schools at the Reformation1546-8 but he does refer to it in The Schools of Medieval England.[48] Jordan has ascribed the foundation of the school to the Chantry Commissioners using some of the confiscated revenues of Whalley Abbey. Although Jordan admitted the probability of the monks keeping a school to which local boys would have been admitted, he could find no documentary evidence to support this claim.

Evidence for a chantry school at Burnley, as claimed by the school historian, is more problematic. In 1562, evidence to a Commission of Inquiry stated that, prior to the dissolution of the chantries, the churchwardens were in control of lands intended for the use of a school but, lacking a schoolmaster, the rents were paid to a Stephen Smith 'until such time as they can be provided with a schoolmaster'. A chantry in Burnley Parish Church from copyhold lands, worth £4.13.4 was discovered by the Edwardian Commission. This income was to go to Gilbert Fairbank, the incumbent from at least 1535, but after his death, it was to be used to support a schoolmaster and a free grammar school. Although several historians have felt quite certain that there was no chantry school under Fairbank, it is of interest that he became the first headmaster of

the grammar school, as Dr. Whitaker, the eminent Elizabethan clergyman, witnesed.[49]

The results of the Edwardian Chantry legislation fit the national picture very closely in that chantries which could show grammar schools being maintained by them were allowed to continue. The school at Rufford appears to have been the only one to suffer. This was, presumably, an elementary school, which was not protected under the terms of the legislation.

(iv) **Modern Educational Institutions Founded prior to 1550**

Although the fifteenth century was, on a national scale, an important one for education, it was the sixteenth century in Lancashire that was by far the more important. During the 1400s, schools can be identified at Middleton and Preston, together with the first of the modern educational endowments at Lancaster. In 1469, the building lease of a water mill was granted by the Abbess of Syon to John Gardyner, a wealthy man and mayor in 1467.[50] He had obtained the Manor of Bailrigg in 1467 and the ruined water-mill was part of his possessions. His intention was to repair it and use the income to endow a charity in the parish church. The chaplain was 'to celebrate worship ....... and to instruct and inform boys in grammar ........ and shall also instruct the boys coming there in grammar freely unless perchance something shall be voluntarily offered by their friends to the said chaplain in recompense'.[51] In

his will of 12 June 1472, Gardyner, however, set up a chantry and a separate school with a chaplain receiving one hundred shillings from the mill and the schoolmaster six marks (£4).[52] It seems that the school was already in operation as William Baxsterden was to keep 'the same school for the term of his life' as long, that is to say, 'as the said William is able to instruct and teach boys'.

By a deed of 1 March 1500/01, the 'nominacion, eleccion and correccion' of the Lady Priest and the schoolmaster passed from the executors of Gardyner's will to the Mayor and the Almshouse Chantry Priest and their successors.[53] Both were to be 'able in science and conversation', with the schoolmaster 'being a profound gramarian keping a Fre Scole teching and informing the children unto their most profette nothing taking therfor'.

Although a free school probably existed at Farnworth (Widnes) prior to the date of the foundation by William Smyth in 1507, this date is usually accepted as the foundation. Smyth, who was consecutively Bishop of Lichfield and Lincoln, had provided an endowment of £10 a year 'to an honest priest, being a Master or Bachelor of Art or a Master of Grammar at the least, able and willing to teach and teaching grammar in the free school at Farnworth'.[54] The income was derived from a capital grant of £350 that Smyth had given to the monastery at Launde in Leicestershire on condition that it would pay £10 a year to the Bishop of Chester, who would, in turn, pay the master. In 1547, the usher was endowed with £1 a year by Matthew Smyth.[55]

Apart from the ambiguous endowment at Manchester, there were two other major endowments for secular education in the first quarter of the sixteenth century at Warrington and Bolton. At Warrington, Sir Thomas Boteler left 500 marks in gold to the Abbey of Whalley to obtain land to the value of £10 a year to found a free grammar school.[56] The traditional chantry functions were reversed in that

'my heires from tyme to tyme shall denominate name and appoynt an honest prest groundely lernede in gramer to be maister of the said scole whch shall say masse pray and do dyvine service at the paroche church'

The lands had been purchased by 1522, as a codicil to Boteler's will stated. In 1526, the school was founded by an indenture which conveyed 585 acres of arable land and 310 acres of moor and moss land for its endowment. The associated chantry was confiscated in 1548 but the school was left untouched.

Although the grammar school at Bolton was described by the Charity Commissioners in 1828 as a mid-seventeenth century endowment, there was a school here some one hundred and thirty years previously.[57] It was in existence in 1516, probably attached to a chantry of the Bartons of Smithills. In his will of 3 April 1516, John Barton left £10 to Nicolas Clerke on condition that he studied at Cambridge or 'teche gramer at Bolton upon the Mores'.[58] Between 1516 and 1525 the school was constituted as a trust. It appears by a deed of bargain and sale of 4 March 1524 that William Haigh of Wigan gave to John Lever and others a messuage and tenement in Tockholes worth 33s. 4d. a year towards the master of the grammar school in Bolton.

On the death of the last of the trustees, Alexander Orrell, his nephew, John, had appropriated the school lands for his own use. As a result a bill was filed in the Duchy Court in 1571 asserting the rights of the inhabitants to the property.[59] In his reply, John Orrell stated that he was the major landowner in the parish and that he had handed over the rent to the school and would continue to maintain it. He. also. asserted that he 'hath been as good a benefactor and furtherer of the finding and keeping of the grammar school in Bolton as any that bring charges against him and better'. As a result of this case, the trust was reconstituted and included William Orrell. According to the reply of the trustees to the Court of Duchy Chamber in 1584, 'there is above six score daily instructed and taught at the said school of Bolton and many of them very poor'.[60] Incidentally, this evidence seems to contradict the view of Jordan who stated that in 1571, the school was 'apparently closed' but 'It is certain, however, that the school was functioning again in 1622'. The insinuation is that the school was closed for a major part of this period.[61]

In 1527, a free grammar school was founded at Broughton by Lawrence Stadaugh, who endowed it with lands of capital value about £170. Its purpose was to teach poor, male children.[62]

The only other school founded prior to 1550 was at Winwick where Gowther Leigh had purchased a site for the school and endowed it with £10 a year by 1549. An interesting aspect was that the local chantry priest was named as the first headmaster of the school which was to offer free instruction to deserving boys for ever. A

further endowment of £5 a year was provided by Andrew Barton in 1549 with the expressed purpose that Winwick 'might 'be assured a free school for ever'.[63]

It remains now to discuss the claims of the three remaining schools, postulated as being in existence in Lancashire prior to 1550. These were at Penwortham, Leigh and Kirkham.

Although the school at Penwortham was endowed in 1552 by Christopher Walton, there is evidence that his uncle, William, a priest, had founded a chantry, some years previous to 1528, the date of his will. It was his intention that the chantry should provide some instruction for the youth of the parish.[64] As Jordan has pointed out, the legality of this chantry was questionable, since the property passed to Christopher Walton and was not taken over by the Chantry Commissioners.[65]

The dating by Tompson of Leigh Grammar School to 1548 appears to be based upon J.Lunn's A History of Leigh Grammar School 1592-1932.[66] According to Lunn, there was 'a great probability that the school rose out of the chantries in the parish church', where there were two chantries in the sixteenth century. Two episcopal visitations in 1548 recorded seven names in conjunction with the chantries and Lunn has suggested that 'It is not inconceivable that one of the clerks taught grammar and music'.The earliest recorded endowment for Leigh was in 1613 but there was no grammar school building until 1685. Although there was an unlicenced schoolmaster in Leigh in 1592 and Miles Gerrard, a Catholic, taught the children of Edward Tyldesley of Morley Hall from 1576-9, positive evidence for

a grammar school at Leigh before the seventeenth century is lacking.[67]

The grammar school at Kirkham was already in existence in 1551 when Thomas Clifton of Westby left 20s. towards it. A schoolhouse had also been built. At a meeting of the 'thirty men' (the governors), held on 19 September 1551, it was agreed that four of them, in the name of the rest, should 'take possession of the schoolhouse in the right of the whole parish'.[68]

(v) **Grammar Schools 1551-1600**

The first of the new foundations in Lancashire after the Chantry Acts was at Penwortham, where, by indenture of feoffment dated 22 September 1552, Christopher Walton, a yeoman of Little Hoole, granted all his messuages, burgages, lands, tenements and hereditaments in Kirkham, Kellamergh and Preston to thirteen feoffees towards the maintenance of 'one meet and able' schoolmaster.[69] The master was to be learned in the 'science of grammar' and was also to teach the young children in the 'Absay, catechism, primer, accidence'. In addition, although the endowment amounted to only four marks and two pence (£2.13.6), he was not to receive any fees from pupils resident in the parish, except for cockpence twice a year.[70] Power was given to the feoffees to dismiss the master 'for any cause they thought reasonable' and to appoint another in his place. Provision was also made to ensure

that the number of feoffees was maintained.

Although the charter for the grammar school at Clitheroe was issued under the names of King Philip and Queen Mary on 29 August 1554, it has usually been referred to as a Queen Mary foundation.[71] Under the terms of its foundation charter, £20.1.8. was allowed to the master and £10.0.10 to the usher from lands and the rectorial tithes of the parish of Aldmondbury. Additonal bequests came from Alice Radclifffe who gave £10 for the 'fundament of the free school' and Edward Lawson, curate of Clitheroe, who left £2 for books in his will of 1599. In 1588, a school building was provided by William Greenacres at a cost of £60, as a result of a lawsuit between two factions of the governing body.[72]

An endowment that has been overlooked by educational historians was for the school at Huyton. Under the terms of an agreement of 1 January 1556, Edward Law, priest, was to receive £6 a year 'sick and well' to teach a 'fre gramer schole'. The income was to be derived from payments of 40s. each by the townships of Knowsley, Torbocke and Huyton. Additionally, the master was to receive 1d cockpence a quarter but he was also compelled to resign if he received a benefice worth more than £20 a year. Law was bound, in the sum of £20, to keep this agreement.[73]

The third of the foundations in the parish of Whalley within ten years was at Burnley. By an indenture of 4 April 1558, Richard Woodroffe granted to Richard Abram and five others an annual rent of 3s 4d from lands in Barnoldswick. This tiny sum was to be used

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for the 'foundation, erection and maintaining of a free grammar school founded or to be founded in Burnley for the sustentation of a schoolmaster to teach children in the said school for ever'.[74] A further endowment of 10s. a year from land in Colne was provided by a deed of 1 February 1559.[75] Also in 1559, John Aspden, Incumbent of St. Peter's and the executor of the will of Geoffrey Wilkinson, who had died about 1552, bought land, valued at about £12 for the school.[76] In 1564, on the death of Gilbert Fairbank, the former chantry priest, old chantry lands worth £4.13.4 were made available. A further bequest of £3 a year was made in 1577 when John Ingham was granted land in Essex for the maintenance of a schoolmaster. If the school at Burnley should cease to be maintained for two years, the endowment was to be applied towards a grammar school either to be founded or maintained at Colne.[77] A further augmentation grant was provided for the school about 1585 by Oates Sagar who left lands worth £3.7.8 a year. Like Ingham, he stipulated that if the school at Burnley should cease, then the endowment was to be applied to Colne. This provision in both bequests to transfer the endowments to Colne suggests that the school was not securely established from a financial point of view and, even by 1580, the total endowment amounted to only just over £11. There was also the possibility, in the minds of the donors that some official action would be taken against the school in the

light of the Catholic sympathies of both governors and headmasters.[78]

The grammar school at Rochdale was due to the 'good will' of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. By indenture of 1 January 1564-5, he had 'assigned a perpetual stipend to the master and undermaster for their diligent labour in teaching the youth of the said parish gratis in the school there to be built'. The endowment of £17 would provide £15 a year for the master and £2 for the undermaster. Power to appoint masters lay with the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral but should he fail to nominate a master within three months of a vacancy, then the elections would be carried out by the Master of Corpus Christi College. It was stipulated that the attendance at the school was not to be 'more than 150 scholars or fewer than 50 instructed there daily'. Behind this seemingly, straight forward endowment lay a number of lawsuits and injunctions. In 1561, Parker had written to the parishioners suggesting that they should begin to raise funds to build a school. Richard Midgley, the Vicar and protégé of Parker, had provided a site on 4 November 1562.[79] However, the rectories of Rochdale, Blackburn and Whalley, originally part of the endowment of Whalley Abbey and now under the control of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, had been leased by Parker to Sir John Byron, who had subsequently refused to pay the agreed sums to the three clergymen involved. After a series of legal actions, Byron yielded and agreed to pay

not only the sums due but also an additional £17 a year to Parker, who applied this sum to endowing the grammar school.[80]

In 1566, another school was founded by an eminent Elizabethan clergyman. This was the school at Rivington established by John Pilkington, born about 1520 in Rivington Hall. He had become the Master of St. John's College in 1550 and, after a period in exile (1554-9), had been appointed the first Protestant Bishop of Durham in 1560.[81] The school was established by Letters Patent, dated 13 May 1566.[82] On 6 September 1574, Pilkington granted to the school lands in Durham worth £13.6.8. In addition, the Bishop consented to buy land in Rivington and Heath Charnock with a rental value of £2.13.4. which would be applied to the school and a further minimum sum of £10 a year was to be provided from lands in Durham for an usher. The rent of £2.13.4 seems to have been paid from 1586.[83] The school was also built at the expense of the Bishop and opened in 1574. A year later, the school register stood at one hundred and fourteen names and included boys from all over Lancashire as well as members of local families.[84] Included in the list were two nephews of the Bishop.

Detailed statutes were drawn up and signed by the founder.[85] Chapters I to IV dealt with the appointment of a Spokesman for the Governors; the oaths to be taken on appointment by the Governors; the conduct of their meetings; their qualifications and responsibilities towards the efficient functioning of the school. Chapter V described the religious duties of the scholars and the

payment of entrance fees. The conduct of the school property was dealt with in Chapter VI, while the next Chapter was concerned with the appointment of masters and ushers, including the oath that they were required to take. Chapter VIII prescribed the daily routine of the school, while Chapters IX and X laid down the school curriculum, including the books to be used.

Two years after this foundation, John Holmes in his will, dated 18 September 1568, left an annual rent of £8 to Alexander Rigby and eight others of Blackrod for a schoolmaster to teach at the free grammar school there.[66] He also left a house valued at £30 as the master's residence. Holmes had been born in Blackrod and had made his fortune as a weaver in London. As the school had not yet been built, it was to be held in the parish church. Besides his bequest for the school, Holmes left an exhibition worth £5 a year tenable at Pembroke College.

In 1567, the grammar school at Blackburn was re-endowed by Letters Patent. The 'Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth in Blackburn in the County of Lancashire' was to educate and instruct youth in grammar.[67] Fifty men of the 'more discreet and honest inhabitants' were to be appointed as school governors. At this time, the school was in the throes of a lawsuit brought in 1557 which sought to ensure that the land valued at £4.7.4 and allocated as the schoolmaster's stipend should be applied for that purpose. It seems that the rental of the land had been applied as a pension for Thomas Burgess, the Chantry Priest, for life but he had never

claimed it. Eventually, in 1585, judgment was given that the £4.7.4. should be allowed yearly out of the income of the Duchy of Lancaster and that £60 out of arrears of approximately £131.16.8 should be paid to Sir Gilbert Gerrard, the most prominent of the governors. The copyhold lands, which had been excluded from the Chantry Commissioners' award and which had subsequently been sold and sublet, were assessed at 10s. an acre or £55 in all.[88] These arrears were supplemented about 1588 by subscriptions from forty-three persons amounting to £132.13.6. The individual subscriptions ranged from the hundred marks (£66.13.4) of Mr. Justice Walmsley to the 2s 10d of a local husbandman. The last entry in the Minute Book for 1589 listed further gifts of £23.3.6. Further sums were promised consequent upon the purchase of a permanent endowment.[89] In order to raise the necessary capital, the governors were not above a little blackmail. At their meeting held on 1 September 1590, it was agreed that

'such of the inhabitants of the parish of Blackburn as shall not contribute towards the purchasing of the premises of £20 for the maintenance of the said school before Christmas next shall not at any time afterwards have any [of] their children or children's children or offspring received into the said school or there taught but to be for ever excluded and forbarred from the same'.

As a result of the successful outcome of the lawsuit and the local response to the school's appeal for financial aid, the governors were able to buy an estate in 1590 for £360 to provide an annual income of £20.[90]

In contrast to the developments of the 1550s and 1560s, the following decade was marked by the absence of any educational endowment and it was not until 1580 that the next school was established. This was at Urswick where William Marshall, now of Lambeth but formerly of the town, by his will dated 15 July 1579 and proved 20 January 1580, left the residue of the profits of his parsonage in Berkshire for the foundation of a grammar school at either Urswick or Much Hadham in Hertfordshire. The value of the endowment was £15 a year. On 13 March 1585, Letters Patent were granted for the setting up of a grammar school in the parish.[91]
At about the same time as the foundation at Urswick, yet another example of the interest of great churchmen in establishing grammar schools in Lancashire was in the process of being set up. By Letters Patent, Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, some three years prior to his death, founded the Free Grammar School at Hawkshead. The endowment was to be worth £30 a year and the statutes and ordinances were, first of all, to be made by the Archbishop and then his son and finally the authority was to pass to the Bishop of Chester and the Governors.[92] On 1 April 1588, the first statutes were drawn up, with the master's salary to be £20 a year less £6.13.4 for his house and the usher was to receive £3.6.8 Apparently, the Archbishop had planned to endow the school with lands by deed poll but had died before it could come into operation. A potentially damaging situation for the school was averted when his son applied the lands to the school's use.[93]

A grammar school was founded in Ashton-in-Makerfield, in the parish of Winwick, as a result of the benefaction of Robert Birchall in 1588. On his deathbed, some time between 21 June, the date of his will, and 1 August, when he was described as deceased, he had called six prominent local men to him and had given them £60.[94] A school was to be built and a master appointed to teach freely. If the interest on the £60 proved to be insufficient, the governors would be empowered to set fees. Birchall's motives in establishing the school arose from the number of young people in the township 'destitute of good discipline or school of learning for their good education.' Although a piece of land was provided for the school in 1589 by Thomas Gerard, the Lord of the Manor, the bequest was clearly inadequate and a number of additional bequests were made starting with one of £1.10.0 in 1597. By 1629, £100 had been donated and invested in land with a value of £8 a year.[95] In common with the school at Blackburn, Ashton offers an interesting early example of the inhabitants accepting responsibility for the school after a financially inadequate bequest had provided the initial impetus.

In 1593, Edward Halsall, a member of the local gentry, endowed a free grammar school in Halsall with an annual value of £13.6.8. However, he stipulated that if there should be no schoolmaster for more than three months, or if the master was not able to teach grammar, poetry and Latin authors, the income was to be applied to Prescot Grammar School .The school was built in 1595.[96]

It appears that the school had already been built, when Matthew Hutton, recently appointed Archbishop of York, continuing the link between great churchmen and grammar school foundations in Lancashire, received a licence to build a school at Warton, along with a hospital or almshouse. Although the value of the school endowment was not to be more than £50 a year, the only endowment discovered by the Charity Commissioners was in an extract, allegedly from Hutton's will, in which he left the rent charges on land in Durham to the annual value of £24. Evidence from a deed poll of 25 November 1637, confirmed that the payment of £20 to the master and £6.13.4 to the usher had been made by the Archbishop and, after his death, by his son. The payment of the rent charge continued into the nineteenth century with the Hutton family making up the balance.[97]

Although the Grammar School at Wigan was founded in 1597, there is evidence of a school here prior to that date. In 1208, there was a reference to William the Scholemayster as a witness to a grant of land.[98] The Bishop's Visitation of 1563 made reference to Hugh Topping, Schoolmaster of Wigan. In 1579, when Peter Carter was appointed as master, his salary of £13.6.8 was guaranteed by six members of the parish. In 1585, Carter resigned, with his salary seemingly in arrears. In 1594, Thomas Bankes, a London goldsmith, left '£30 to the Free School at Wigan, where I was born, if it should go forward within three years'. Otherwise, the

endowment was to go towards a scholarship at Brasenose College. By August 1597, the school had been built as a result of Bankes' bequest and the endowment provided by the land recently purchased at a cost of £220 by Francis Sherrington, a former mayor for

'the better education and bringing up of youth within the town of Wigan in learning and knowledge and for the zeal and affection that he here beareth to the said town being born and brought up there and for the desire he hath to advance learning whereby true religion virtue and good manners may be better placed and advanced'[99]

Sherrington made additional bequests totalling £38.6.8. before his death in 1600 and his brother, Gilbert, made a further bequest of £33.6.8 from his estate. Under the terms of his will of 8 October 1613 and proved in 1616, Edward Molineux left land in Upholland for 'the bringing up of poor scholars' but this was not taken up. This was probably due to the conditions he imposed, namely, that his two cousins should have a say in the appointment and dismissal of masters and, also, that they should receive an account of how the endowment was spent. However, James Leigh, a beneficiary under Molineux's will, made an annual rent charge of £6.13.4 on Ackhurst Hall for its benefit.[100] The value of the school endowment was further increased in 1618 when Hugh Bullock, a London haberdasher and native of Wigan, left a rent charge of £20 a year to augment the salary of the master 'who shall freely teach and instruct carefully and diligently a competent number of children of the poor inhabitants in the grammar and Latin tongues unto some good measure of learning'.[101]

The only endowment that failed to set up a school was at Eccleston. The Catholic gentry, strongly objected to the catechising of the pupils at Prescot Grammar School by the Puritan Vicar, Thomas Mead, appointed in 1583. At first, they sought to take over the endowment and move the school to Eccleston. Due to their lack of success, the next step was to withhold their share of the rates payable to the school. The Vicar made an appeal to Lord Derby and the Provost of King's College, the trustees, who, in a court leet, settled power in the hands of the Protestant Wardens and ordered the school to be maintained at Prescot.[102] In response, the local Catholics sought to set up a school in Eccleston for which James Kendrick pledged £300 and Edward Eccleston, Lord of the Manor, offered £100 and a site for the school.[103] Due to litigation, which culminated in a chancery decree in 1669, the school wardens had stock of only £218 and the foundation did not go ahead until the eighteeenth century.[104]

The last school to be founded in the sixteenth century owed its foundation to a successful London goldsmith, James Pemberton. The school at Heskin, 'a tall and stately structure of hewn stone' costing almost £400 was begun in 1597 and endowed in 1600.[105] The original value of the endowment was £30 a year which was also the limit of the land values that the trustees could legally hold. Under the terms of his will of 11 September 1613, Sir James, as he had now become, left 'one annuity or rent charge of £50', which was confirmed by indenture of Anne Pemberton, his widow, in 1620.[106]

Jordan has suggested that the school received both these endowments but the evidence of the Charity Commisssioners does suggest that the £50 a year was an increase on the original endowment, especially as, in 1615, the governors had received a further licence to hold lands in mortmain to the annual value of £40 over and above the original £30 limit. This new licence would permit them both to hold the lands at the new values and allow for increased rents in the future.[107]

## (vi) Unendowed Schools in the Sixteenth Century

There was, in addition to the schools which had been endowed by 1600, a large number which were receiving no endowments at this date. In nearly all these examples, the existence of a school is surmised from the evidence of a schoolmaster in the particular place. These schools can be considered in two categories. In the first category were those schoolmasters identified from a variety of sources including Citation, Call and Correction Books as well as Parish Registers. The second group relates to those identified as recusants.

During the 1560s, masters were identified at Rainford and Downham. In 1565, Doctor Standish was teaching at Lathom. In 1578, there were masters at Colne, where Richard Baldwin was master from at least 1578 to 1609, when his wife died; Sefton (Anthony Booth); Dalton-in-Furness (Thomas Parker); Garstang (Richard Davie);

Goosnargh (William Hodgson); Leigh (Geoffrey Flitcroft and William Pennington); Ulverston (Henry Sheppard) and West Derby (Ralph Higginson).

In 1590, masters were to be found at Lostock, Bury, Hornby, Openshaw, Hulme, Turton, Ashton-under-Lyne, Cartmel and Cockerham and in 1592 at Church, Chorlton and Gorton. Other references included Much Woolton where Robert Quick was schoolmaster from before 1594 to sometime before 1610; Tatham (1597) and Parbold(1598).[108] There was also a school at Chipping where Adam Whittington studied about 1600.[109]

With regard to the second category, the presence of a schoolmaster is less indicative of the existence of a school. Due to the threat from the authorities, the masters moved around the county and, in a number of instances, acted as tutors to members of the Catholic gentry. In neither case were permanent schools established.

Although there were Catholic schoolmasters at such endowed schools as Blackburn (Lawrence Yates about 1585 onwards); Preston, where Nicholas Banester was described in 1576 as the 'late schoolmaster' and Wigan (Peter Carter in 1579), the concern in this section is with the provision of other forms of schooling.

Between 1560 and 1584, Thomas Ashmowe ran a school at Ormskirk. At nearby Scarisbrick, Humphrey Cartwright, reported in 1580 as 'abidinge at Warrington' was master of a school from about that date until 1582 when he was arraigned and gaoled at Salford. Richard Aspinwall, listed in 1583 as being in Salford Gaol, was

described in the 1592-3 Recusant Roll as 'lately schoolmaster of Lathom' and owing a fine of £240. At the same period. Edward Sagar, probably also known as Richard, was described as the late schoolmaster of Dinckley. In 1594, he was identified as 'scholemaster vagrant and fugitive recusante within Samburie'. There was also a recusant schoolmaster, William Simpson, to be found at Cottam about 1595. Other Catholic schoolmasters included Edward Waddington of Church (about 1592), Robert Whitfield of Clayton-le-Moor, John Burgh of Salford and Peter Longworth of Ballam.[110]

It is probable that the majority of the Catholic schoolmasters acted as private tutors rather than as masters of the local school. Robert Dewhurst, for example, was tutor to at least seven families of the Catholic gentry, namely, Sir William Norris of Speke, Sir Richard Sherburn of Stonyhurst, Alexander Rigby of Ormskirk, the Rigby's of Horrock, the Standishes and the Mollineux.[111] Mr. Massey of Rixton employed Bede Banester in about 1592, James Gardiner and a Mr. Peel as tutors to his family. Other schoolmaster-tutors included Miles Gerard at Tyldesley (about 1576); Richard Blundell who taught the virginals and singing to the children of Mrs. Aughton at Lea; William Fletcher tutor to Mr. Skillikorne of Preese and James Gardiner who was tutor to both Mr. Massey and Robert Blundell of Ince Blundell.[112]

(vii) Grammar Schools 1601-1660

Although the county had a good record for endowing schools in the sixteenth century, it was to be exceeded in the period up to the outbreak of the Civil War. This era has been characterised by 'an incredible outpouring of funds for the foundation of grammar schools in every part of the country'.[113] It must, however, be noted that new foundations included both classical and non-classical school foundations.

The first school to be endowed in the seventeenth century was at Kirkland in Garstang parish. In 1602, Thomas Cottam, Public Notary, left £5 towards a school and, in the same year, there were additional grants of 100 marks from the estate of Walter Rigmaiden and £5 from Mary Corleye. These bequests were augmented by the will of Thomas Richardson, who left £40 in 1615 to buy land. Eventually, the school was endowed with land at Myerscough in 1637. However, the trustees had been involved in an inquest at Wigan in 1624, when the sole surviving executor, Richard Green, had failed to return school funds to the master. As a result of the decision, Green was ordered to hand over 100 marks together with 8% interest. In 1679 William Baylton left a further £5 to the school.[114] The 1824 Charity Commissioners mentioned this bequest but were unable to find any reference to the school prior to 1756, when John Morland left £150 towards it.[115]

Standish Grammar School owed its foundation to Mrs. Mary Langton, who gave £300 by will of 13 February 1603, which directed that lands should be purchased for the maintenance of the Free School at Standish. It appears that the money remained in the hands of Edward Rigby, a trustee, for a decision of the Duchy Court was made in 1620 that he should assure land of £18 a year. This he did by granting a rent charge out of his estate at Troughton Hall, Broughton-in-Furness, in 1625.[116] The school was built sometime around 1624, partly at the expense of Edward Standish, a trustee, and partly of the whole parish. In 1633, the Puritan rector, William Leigh, gave land in Goosnargh, ultimately to be worth £12 a year, for the support of an usher. Possibly, because of his distrust of the existing trustees, he appointed separate feoffees for this endowment with new members being appointed in 1655 and 1684.[117]

The school at Burtonwood was part of a joint endowment with the chapel.[118] Thomas Derbishire, yeoman, gave £60 towards the building of the chapel and the purchasing of land or a rent charge for 'the maintainance of a minister and schoolteacher to teach grammar school for ever'. By a deed of 1606, when the chapel was already built, Sir Thomas Bold conveyed to six trustees land to erect and maintain a chapel and to 'choose lawful and fit persons from time to time to read divine services and teach grammar schools'.[119] It appears that the trustees were appointed regularly after 1605, while there is evidence of masters throughout the seventeenth

century.[120] In 1660, a pupil was admitted to Cambridge University. However, it was not until 1766 that a school was finally erected.

A grammar school was founded at Oldham, by deed, dated 6 May 1606, in which James Assheton of Chadderton, 'having considered that the virtuous education of youth in learning and good manners is an inestimable benefit to the commonwealth', granted a half-acre plot of land for 'one convenient free school' for 'the teaching of boys in the English, Latin and Greek tongues and in good manners withall'. Although Assheton was the most powerful and richest landowner in the parish, his endowment amounted to no more than £2 a year. Since he had stipulated that the school should be 'free', it seems that he must have seen his endowment as a catalyst but there was no further endowment until 1631 when John Cudworth, a trustee, left £10 to the school.[121] Although the school historian stated that the boys were taught grammar and classics free of charge but paid for handwriting, arithmetic and reading, it is not known whether this statement is based upon actual evidence or is a generalisation from the practice in other schools. There is no doubt that fees were charged for among the papers of John Earnshaw was an almanac, dated 1660, with several entries relating to the school. There was a payment of 10s. to the master and 4s 1d for books but the precise aspect of the curriculum for which payment was demanded was not indicated. The school received a further bequest in 1673 of £2 a year from Edmund Assheton and in 1686, George Scholes, a yeoman, left 20s a year towards the repair of the

school.[122] The inadequate nature of the endowment was confirmed by the entry in Bishop Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis about 1718 which noted the school's annual income as £2.10.0[123]

Although the free grammar school at Ormskirk was founded in 1611, there is evidence of schoolmasters here in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The grammar school owed its origin to Henry Ashcroft, a freeman of Preston, who directed in his will of 22 December 1600 that his brother-in-law, William Laithwett should 'give and pay towards and for the maintenance and the use of a Free Grammar School to benefit at Ormskirk aforesaid £100 of current money of England within the term of five years be it ensuing after the day of my death'. He died on 7 January 1601. The bequest was provided in 1607 and, by 1610, a number of additional bequests had increased the original amount to £136.11.8.[124] A further decree of the Chancery Court of the Duchy of Lancaster on 28 September 1612, having mentioned the Commission of 1610, went on:

'Now for the due employment and disposition of the several sums of money aforesaid and of the use and benefit thereof: and to the intent that the Schoolmaster for the time being shall not be withdrawn from his function of teaching of children about the gathering of his stipend and wages but that the same may be half-yearly paid to the said Schoolmaster: and for that such persons may be employed touching the putting forth of the money and stock, and the disquisition there of, as are inhabiting within the said parish of Ormskirk aforesaid and in respect thereof are most likely to have care of the preservation of the said stock and the increase thereof'.

The Commission went on to name the Governors who included the Earl of Derby, Sir Cuthbert Halsall, four esquires, the Vicar, the King's Preacher and twelve gentlemen.[125] On 26 April 1614, the

'Register for the Schoole of Ormischurch' noted that the school was to be built on the northside of the churchyard 'in and near the place where the olde Schoole was begunne to be erected'.[126] By the start of 1616, the building had cost £71.3.5 with further costs of £22.12.8 in 1616 and 8s.4d in 1617. In the latter year, James Virroll(Vorrall), a London Haberdasher, left £100 to the school, with smaller bequests up to 1620 amounting to £34.14.8.[127]

Also in 1611, a school was founded at Chorley but it seems never to have functioned as a free school. Due to the parish lacking a schoolhouse, it was agreed by the inhabitants that one should be built at their expense. Further, it was stated

'that no schoolmaster should inhabit therein with his wife ....... but that every such wife must be kept out of the same for divers great causes and especially that such wives or their children begotten in such habitation might become chargeable to the parish'.

Robert Charnock provided the bricks together with £6, while the rest of the charge devolved on to the inhabitants 'liable to a 15th.'.

It was only in 1638 that the school received its first endowment and that was only £1 a year. In 1648, the school benefited from a most unusual gift of £86.3.4 for the support of the master from the officers and men of Major-General Ashton's brigade. No satisfactory explanation for this has yet been put forward. In 1667, a Mr. Robinson paid £35.18.7 as arrears of interest to the master after a decision in the Court in Chancery.[128]

After a gap of seven years, the period 1618-1624 witnessed the foundation of eight schools, six of which, at least, had claims to grammar status. These were at Great Crosby, Bolton-le-Sands, Kirkham, Kirkby Ireleth, Dalton-in-Furness and Cartmel.

In comparison with the limited endowments of a number of schools early in the seventeenth century, the will of John Harrison in 1618 provided one of the major endowments for a grammar school in Lancashire and led to the foundation of the Merchant Taylors' School at Great Crosby. Although he had been born in London in 1568, his father, also called John, had been born in the parish of Sefton in 1530 and it was this that formed the Lancashire connection. Harrison Senior had died a wealthy man but his son had surpassed him. In his will, he left almost £10,000 in cash, together with property in Berkshire, Essex and both land and houses in London. In addition, he was Lord of the Manor of Rednesse and Swinefleet in Yorkshire. Under the terms of his will, he gave £500 to the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Merchant Taylors' Company for them to

'erect and build in Great Crosby in the parish of Sefton in the County of Lancashire, where my father was born, within convenient time after my decease one grammar school for the teaching, educating and instructing of children and youth in the grammar and rules of learning for ever'

The officers of the Merchant Taylors' Company were to be the governors of the school and to appoint the master and usher. To provide the income for the endowment, Harrison gave nine houses in Crane Court, four houses in Old Change and two houses in St. Swithin's Lane, all in the City of London. The salary of the master

was to be £30 a year and that of the usher £20. £5 was to be set aside yearly for the repair of the school. [129] The total income amounted to £121 but ,shortly after Harrison's death in 1619, the houses in Old Change were destroyed in a fire and were not rebuilt until 1634.

On 23 August 1619, only a month after Harrison's death, the Company wrote to Sir Richard Molyneux and George Turner, the Rector of Sefton, asking that 'you would be pleased to vouchsafe your favour and continuance in the going on and finishing of the good work as you did in the beginning'.[130] A relative, also called John Harrison, was responsible for seeing to the building of the school but he appears to have neglected his duties. On 21 August 1621, the Company wrote to him stating

'The Schoole hath beene long in hand and as we understand ....... that it is not yett covered wch wee mervaille at. We doe therefore give you to understand that it is our ernest desire to have the Schole covered before Michaelmas next for wee conceive it may much wronge the worke alredy done if it should lye open this winter'.

The Company also requested Harrison, as soon as the roof was on the school, to come to London and

'bring your Accompts & and the Contrct betweene the Mason & your selfe that wee may understand howe the Benefactors money is bestowed & howr neere the schoole is finished it hath beene a farr more chargeable worke than was expected'.

Despite the progress made as a result of the Company's pressure, the headmaster's dwelling had not been completed when John Kidde arrived in May 1622. The first scholars entered at the end of 1622 but it was not until 1626 that the school and its garden were finally completed, despite a number of complaints by Kidde to the Merchant Taylors' Company.[131]

The free grammar school at Bolton-le Sands owed its origins to the will of Thomas Assheton (5 May 1619). He left an estate for his son on condition that he paid a yearly rent of £4 towards the maintenance of a school. Although the school was held in the parish church until 1638, when a school was built on land provided by John Wilkinson, £60 had been given towards it in 1625 by tenants of parish lands. As a result of this bequest , trustees had been appointed.[132]

Although there is evidence for the school at Kirkham in the sixteenth century, it was apparently revived through the efforts of Isabel Birley 'an ale house keeper all her life' and 'through that imployment attayned to a good personall estait, being moved with a naturall compassion to pore children'. In 1621, she turned up at a vestry meeting with £30 in her apron and told the 'thirty men' that the money was towards erecting a free school for poor children. Furthermore, she suggested that each member should stimulate contributions towards the school from the townships they represented. £170.14.0 was raised, which was added to Mrs. Birley's gift and applied to the school. About 1628, a dispute , between the 'thirty men' and Catholics, who had contributed to the school and who now wanted a share in its management, came to a head and led to the resignation of the 'thirty men'. Mrs. Birley appealed to the Bishop, who ordered that six or nine men should be elected feoffeees. In 1654, the feoffees purchased fee-farm rents to the value of £11.8.1. for the

'maintenance and sustentation of a person sufficiently learned in the science of grammar, meet and able to keep a gramar school and who should be of the Protestant religion and should teach and

instruct as well all such young children coming to him to be taught in the A,B,C. primer and accidence , as all other scholars disposed to be taught in grammar and such other Latin and other authors as formerly had been taught in the school at Kirkham'.[133]

Unfortunately, the endowment had been in confiscated crown lands, which were returned in 1660 and, as a consequence, the endowment was lost. That the school survived was due to Henry Colbourne, a scrivener and a native of Kirkham, who had, by a codicil to his will, dated 7 August 1655, instructed his executors to purchase a lease of the rectory of Kirkham and to settle lands upon the Drapers' Company. The ultimate value of this endowment was £69.10.0 The salary of the master, who was also required to preach at least once a month in the parish church or in one of the chapels of the associated townships, was £45. The 'inferior' master was to teach 'poor boys of an inferior order gratis to read and write' for a salary of £16.10.0. £8 was to be the salary of the usher, who was to assist the masters. The charities of Colbourne were regulated by the High Court of Chancery in 1673.[134] This endowment was augmented by Rev. James Barker, who left £500 to purchase lands and tenements to a minimum yearly value of £30 under the terms of his will , proved on 7 November 1670. Of this amount, £10 was to go towards the master's salary and £12 to a poor scholar at the University of Cambridge.

The London connection was also the dominant factor at both Kirkby Ireleth and Dalton-in-Furness schools. Although Kirkby Ireleth was only endowed in 1624, Giles Brownerigg had agreed to complete and endow the school prior to 1612. In 1624, he handed over to the school trustees property in London with an annual income of £13.6.8 'for the bringing up of children in learning fit to be

apprentices'.[135] The master was to 'teach grammar at the free school' but was also required to 'write a fair hand and cast accounts'. Prior to 1637, the school was used as a chapel but in that year it was interdicted by the Bishop of Chester, since it was neither sufficiently large or decent enough to be used for the latter purpose and, as a result, the inhabitants built a small room to serve as the school.[136]

Dalton School, founded by Thomas Boulton, a London innkeeper, in 1622, was built after the 'manner, forme and fashion' of Kirkby Ireleth school and Brownerigg was invited to become one of Boulton's trustees. Boulton, noting that the parishioners were going to build a school, left £220 for the project. £200 was to buy land and £20 was towards the school building. The local children were exempt from the 12d entrance fee, payable by those not born within the township and they also received a free education.[137]

The date of the foundation of Cartmel School cannot be given with any accuracy. A paper of 1696 stated 'there hath been time out of mind the use of £60 given to a schoolmaster formerly teaching in the church which hath since continued to the grammar school'.[138] By 1601, gifts and bequests amounted to £65.[139] In 1624, Robert Curwen, a yeoman, conveyed land worth £10 a year to the trustees. About the same time, the inhabitants of Cartmel purchased part of the old priory for use as a schoolrooom for £30.[140] Additional bequests included £10 from Curwen's son in 1650 and a legacy of George Preston in 1655 was utilised by the churchwardens to

increase the school's capital.[141] It was not until 1689 that the school was placed on a more secure financial basis, when Henry Bigland gave £400 to be invested in land. Although it was described as a free grammar school, there is evidence that the grammarians paid 8d a quarter and 4d was charged for the petties in 1635, although poor scholars were taught free of charge. In 1714, the school seems to have become entirely free.[142]

Although Leach dated the foundation of the free grammar school at Bury to 1625, the school was in existence prior to that date, for in 1627, John Watmough was admitted as a pensioner to Christ's College, Cambridge. He had been at the school for eight years under two masters, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Hoyle.[143] The first endowment of the school was provided by Rev. Henry Bury, whose will was drawn up in 1634. In it he left £300 'for and towards the yearlie mentayninge of a schoole maister'. However, this sum was not immediately allowed to the master and was to be invested until sufficient lands could be purchased to form a permanent endowment, that is when it reached £600. Bury was hopeful that his gift would stir others into action. However, his failure to insist upon the £300 being immediately invested was to have very severe consequences. An Inquisition at Manchester in 1653 not only found that the trustees had possesssion of only £100 of the original bequest but also that only £8 interest had been paid on it since 1636. Of even greater consequence was the finding that no interest

had been paid on the other £200 lent out since 1643. Most, if not all, of the £300 must have been recovered for in 1679 the master was receiving £12 a year but the entire endowment was spent in a lawsuit in 1683 and the school was not re-endowed until 1726.[144]
Schools continued to be founded in the period 1640-60 despite the political and social turmoil.

Although the bequest of Robert Lever did not found a school at Bolton, it did serve to put it on a more secure financial footing. The school had received a bequest from James Gosnell, clerk of Bolton, who, by his will of 1623 had stipulated that one sixth of the total was to benefit the master and the usher. The gift came into operation only in 1652 and in 1659 was worth no more than £1.15.4 a year. In the intervening period, Lever, a London merchant, left £600 in his will of 1642 for 'the erectinge and mayntainynge of a free school or chapel'. He died in 1644 and two of his executors in 1645. With the disruption of the Civil War and the fact that his heir was an infant, no progress was made until an Inquisition at Chorley in 1655 under the Statute of Charitable Uses, directed that the term's of Lever's will should be carried out. The final cost of the new school was £435.17.8. In the two years, 1658-60, its income amounted to £83, sufficient to cover easily the salaries of the master and usher, which amounted to £20 and £12 respectively.[145]

Like many other schools in Lancashire, Bretherton owed its endowment to a London merchant but, this time, it was to honour his

wife that John Fletcher financed the school in her birthplace. Jane Fletcher had received a request from John Cliffe to give something towards the building and setting up of a school. She had desired her husband to allow her £100 for the project, which he agreed to after her death. Although the school was apparently opposed by some parishioners, Mr. Fletcher was prevailed upon not to withdraw his offer and he built the school at a cost of £70 and allowed £230 for the endowment.[146] A deed of feoffment, conveying a parcel of land on trust for a 'Common or Publique Free School' for the teaching of youth and children was dated 14 June 1654.[147] On 1 September, that same year, land was conveyed to John Cliffe, who had originally approached Jane Fletcher, and Thomas Rose, two of the trustees, which would provide the master with an income of £13.16.8.[148] The trustees, evidently, sought to build up a reserve, as the master's salary was initially only £8, plus £2 from fee-payers, which the trustees would make up if not reached and it was not until 1684 that the master received the full £13.6.8.[149] In 1655, the school rules were drawn up. These refused admission to all 'popish recusants' and, as a reminder of the earlier struggle to set up the school, 'families who opposed the school'.[150]

Although the foundation of Upholland Grammar School was dated by the Charity Commissioners to 1668, the first endowment that can be traced for this school related to the previous decade. There is evidence for a school here in 1536 and also about 1560, while in 1604, James Wilson, a recusant, was master. In 1641, Adam

Martindale was master in the school for three months. It has been suggested that the original school disappeared in the 'crowded and dangerous years ' of the Civil War'.[151] In 1656, Richard Leigh conveyed land 'for as long time and until a free school can be erected ....... shall and will pay ...... the said rent of 52s ..... towards the maintaining of an able schoolmaster'.[152] Two years later, his nephew of the same name, provided a site for a free grammar school out of his desire to foster learning and nominated fifteen trustees, including Robert Walthew, who is usually described as the founder.[153] Every yeoman in Upholland, Pemberton, Orrell and Winstanley was also required to to bind himself to give an equal amount and to pay interest at 6% until the sum was paid in full.[154] In several years, the sum of £100 was raised for the school. Although the Wase Papers are disappointing in their detail and shed little light on the school, the return for Upholland does indicate that the school was founded by Robert Walthew about 1659. Although no records seem to be extant, Walthew may indeed have endowed the school at this date.[155] Futher evidence that the school was in existence prior to 1668 is provided by the School Rules dated 4 April 1661.[156] In March 1666, Richard Leigh gave 48s for the 'school newly erected in Upholland' at a cost of more than £100 by Robert Walthew. In order to put the school on a more secure financial footing, in 1668, Walthew endowed it with Schoolhouse Farm, which provided £14 a year. Under the terms of his endowment, 'all the inhabitants ...... who should not be worth

£6.13.4 a year should be free to send their children to the said school without paying quarterage'. A further £10 was given to the master by the parish.[157]

The London connection continued in 1659 with the endowing of a school at Bispham by Richard Higginson, where he had probably been born. There is evidence of a school here in 1589 when Robert Patricke, son of Thomas, gentleman, and educated under Mr. Harrison, was admitted as a sizar to Gonville and Caius College. [158] Masters can also be identified in 1622 and from 1635 to 1696.[159] Higginson had built the school 'out of a pious sense of the great blindnesse the parishioners ...... is in' in 1657 or the following year. In his will, he left £30 a year to the school from property in Pater Noster Row, which had been purchased from the Commission for the Sale of Dean and Chapter Lands 'during the rebellion'. In 1660, the lands were restored and the endowment would have been lost had not his widow given £200 to the trustees of the school which was used to buy land at Layton.[160]

**(viii) Endowed Grammar Schools 1661 to 1699**

With the Restoration the zeal for founding schools continued and between 1661 and 1699, a further twenty-eight schools were endowed in Lancashire, including non-classical schools. Although the national picture after 1660 is alleged to have been one of a decline in school foundations, the evidence for Lancashire does

suggest that, in purely numerical terms, the last forty years of the seventeenth century were an important period for endowing schools. Nevertheless, a number of points need to be kept in mind. The first is concerned with the scale of endowments. On the whole, those in Lancashire tended to be rather limited as compared with earlier in the century and only two of these foundations continued functioning as grammar schools into the nineteenth century. Secondly, there were a number of substantial augmentation grants to schools already in existence to be added to these figures. Thirdly, it became increasingly clear that the aim of many of the testators was to provide a non-classical education for the poor rather than grammar schools as had been the case in the past. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in a later section of this chapter.

The earliest of the 'Restoration' endowments was that provided for Stand Grammar School by Henry Sidall in his will dated 24 April 1660. This school had the dual purpose of providing a grammar school and of teaching young children to read. This limited endowment amounted to no more than £4 a year.[6]

An unusual situation arose at Goosnargh in 1673 in that two separate schools were established in the same building. The grammar school owed its origin to the bequest of Henry Colbourne's will of 1655, which was made operative by a decree in Chancery in 1673, providing £25 for the master. In the same year, a free school was established. A deed mentioned that £200 had been used to buy an

estate of 15 acres in Whittington for the schoolmaster 'at a free grammar school to be set up and made within 100 roods of the church or chapel'.[162] Whereas the Drapers' Company was responsible for the grammar school, the free school was controlled by the 'four and twenty' men of the chapelry. A school with two rooms was provided by the bequests.[163] At the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit in 1824, the master of the free grammar school was acting as assistant to the master of the free school. It appears that the two endowments had functioned basically as one school. The Notitia Cestriensis noted that the school had been founded by Thomas Threlfall about 1673 and was in receipt of an endowment of £25 a year from Thomas Colbourne.[164]

Cockerham School, identified by the Charity Commissioners as a classical school, had been built in 1681 at the expense of the town and neighbourhood. A petition to the Bishop of Chester in 1679 stated that the inhabitants of the parish had lacked a settled schoolhouse and 'had been constrained to remove their school, yearly or oftener, to such houses as they could procure for that purpose'. The parishioners agreed to contribute towards the cost of the school, which was built in the chapel yard. In 1719, the endowment was only £7 a year. Five years later, the situation had deteriorated even further and the master was receiving only the interest on capital of £87.6.8, £50 of which had been left by Thomas Jackson about 1694. Part of the endowment, amounting to £34 had been lost and the remaining amount was insufficient to provide

a free school. The claims of this school to status were very limited.[165]

In 1683, William Cawthorne, who had erected a free school at Overwyersdale, together with a 'convenient' house for the schoolmaster to encourage an orthodox preaching minister and schoolmaster, left some land and property, trusting that the school would remain free for scholars judged to be 'fit objects of charity', but his own kin were to have preference. The endowment amounted to £15 a year for the master and £8 for the minister. Cawthorne intended his foundation as a grammar school and laid down conditions for the master. He was not to be less than twenty-three years old on appointment; a graduate skilful in Greek and Latin; of sound religion; write a fair hand and skilful in arithmetic.[166] The intention was that he might teach English, Latin, Greek, writing and casting accompts. In order to ensure the efficiency of the masters, they were to be examined yearly by the trustees. Entrance fees were paid, ranging from 12d for those outside Wyersdale to 6d for those children whose parents were assessed for the poor. Children of poor parents received a free education.

Although the school at North Meols was called a grammar school and was included in that category by the Charity Commissioners, the extent to which it functioned as such is doubtful. The earliest bequest was that of the Rector, James Starkey, who provided £40 towards the school in 1684. Further grants were made by Thomas Blevin (1690) and Richard Ball(1692), both amounting to £20. The

intention of Blevin, as expressed in his will, was that the children of the poor and, especially those without fathers and mothers, should be taught to read the scriptures.[167]

Richard Pooley appeared to have had two intentions in mind when he bequeathed £20 towards the building of a free school in Wray-with-Botton under the terms of his will of 1685. Firstly, he desired to involve the inhabitants in the project. Secondly, he sought the school to be his memorial, since he directed that 'This is the gift of Captain Richard Pooley of Wray worth £200 for ever' was to be inscribed above the school. The £200 mentioned, referred to the donation, to be paid out four years after his death and to be laid out in land.[168]

The school at Colne dated from 1559 and, between 1578 and 1700, twenty-two masters can be identified.[169] However, the school was not endowed until 1687 when Thomas Blakey left the interest on £40 to pay for the education of four poor children at the grammar school.[170]

In the same year, Richard Fleetwood, among other bequests, by indentures of release, left 20 marks towards a grammar school in Presall. He stipulated that he, as founder. and, after his death, his nephews and the owners of Hackensall Hall should have 'the nomination and approbation' of the schoolmaster. The school was founded eight years later in 1695.[171]

A deed poll of 1691 stated that the trustees of land and property given by Richard Durning should donate £12 to a number of charities and the excess paid to the master when the school at Bispham (Croston) was built. In order to establish the school, up to a maximum of five years' rent could be used , and, when completed, the free grammar school should cater for 'all children that should come for learning.'[172] In 1693, the newly appointed master, Thomas Ball, received £8.14.11, with the school, by now, apparently built. Between 1694 and 1700, the endowment income was approximately £32 with the payments to the master varying from £11.7.3. in 1700 to £15.3.6. in 1695.[173]

### (ix) Non-classical Schools in the Seventeenth Century

In addition to the grammar schools founded in the seventeenth century, there was also a number of non-classical schools established. This point was generally overlooked by Jordan, who viewed the philanthropy of this period as being directed towards the establishment of grammar schools. Two reasons might be surmised as being responsible for this development. The first was the tendency for schools to be set up by people of generally lower status than had been the case in the previous century. The result of which was that the lower levels of endowments were unable to support a graduate master. The second related to the emphasis

placed by Protestants on the ability to read the Bible and the need to spread this skill throughout the social classes.

In this section, the category of non-classical school is based upon that distinguished by the Charity Commissioners in the 1820s. The basis for this division is not given and results in a number of schools in the non-classical category with seemingly stronger claims to grammar school status than some, designated classical schools. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

The school at Walton-on-the-Hill was founded, apparently about 1610, by an old man and his wife, who sold ale in the town. They left £300 for the building of a school and towards the maintenance of a master. Additional bequests came from Thomas Harrison, a yeoman, who left £120 in 1613 and Rev. Andrew Molyneux, who left £20 in 1639. Unfortunately, Sir Vivian Molyneux had died insolvent in about 1660, with the attendant loss of £50 of the school's endowment. In 1690 Richard Whitfield bequeathed £10 to the Free School at Walton. It was, however, stated in the Notitia Cestriensis that no one was certain 'whether the school was indeed free or not'. In 1719, the land was being let for £5 a year.[174]

In 1612, a school was endowed at Didsbury, under the terms of the will of Sir Nicholas Mosley. Like so many other founders of schools, he had left his native town for London, where he had found fame and fortune, including being Lord Mayor in 1599. Mosley gave £5 to the master of the school, held in Chorlton Chapel, together

with £5 entrusted to him by William Chorleton stipulating three conditions. These were that his two sons and nephew should appoint the master; fees were not to amount to more than 6d a quarter and the schoolmaster was to read prayers three times a weeek in the chapel. It appears that the school was given a grant of £69 in 1650 but it was lost at the Restoration, since it had been derived from sequestrations. Sir Nicholas's grant was continued by his heirs until 1665 , when the school was endowed with 4 acres of land by Sir Edward Mosley.[175]

According to the Notitia Cestriensis, the school at Windle had been erected by John Lyon, who had left £30 a year in 1670.[176] A Commission of Pious Uses, held at Wigan in 1691, found that 'Henry' Lyon had built a free school in St. Ellen's churchyard. As a further result of the Commission, the trustees were discharged for negligence and for 'shuffelings, trifelings and delays'.[177] The original endowment had been due to Thomas Roughley's deed of 1613, which stated that Richard Roughley would pay the trust £100 in 1617. James Boulton, the master until Christmas 1618 was paid £10.4.0. to teach a grammar school at St. Helen's as a result of this bequest. The holding of the school in the chapel, due to the lack of a permanent school building, was to lead to acrimonious relations between the school and chapel trustees. Boulton's successor, Mr. Torvye was dismissed by the chapel authorities in 1620 and had to teach in the roadway. As a result of this, the school trustees brought an action against the chapel trustees, who

had refused to allow a school to be held there, unless the master could both preach and keep a school. The judgment of the Duchy Court of 20 June 1621 was in favour of the plaintiffs. A final point concerns the amount of the endowment of John Lyons. Although the evidence to both the 1691 Commission and the returns to Bishop Gastrell mention £30 a year, the Charity Commissioners of 1908 felt that this was an error and that the true amount was 30s.

Peter Burscough, a yeoman of Walton-le-Dale, was responsible for endowing two schools. In addition, he provided £100, as an augmentation for the school, already founded, in Leyland. In 1624, he gave an endowment of £100 for the school held in the church at Walton-le-Dale and specified that the school should offer free tuition to all children. This school seems to have provided only a non-classical curriculum. Burscough's gift was supplemented by one of £20 from Thomas Hesketh. It was not until 1672 that the school was built on land given by Sir Richard Houghton.[178]

Brindle School, also, owed its foundation to the philanthropy of Burscough in that he provided an endowment for the school of £100. This was increased by donations amounting to £27.12.6 about 1638 from Christopher Lucas, a local inhabitant and from Thomas Shorrock, who left £10 for the school in 1658.[179] Although the school has been described as offering only a non-classical curriculum, providing reading free but charging for writing and arithmetic, the school had sufficient funds in 1691 to support two masters, William Sharrock, who had been at the school from at least

1677 and John Pilkington, master since 1674, which must raise some doubt as to its status at this period, at least [180].

The London connection was evident in the setting up of a school at Much Hoole in 1629. In that year, Thomas Stones, a London haberdasher, built a chapel at a cost of £400, which, also, served as a school. He provided £10 a year for the master to give free instruction to the local children. The £10 for the schoolmaster was referred to by the Act of Parliament of 1641 making Hoole a separate parish from Croston and in a Parliamentary Inquisition of 1650. It is probable that the endowment was never legally vested in trustees and, in 1717, Gastrell's preliminary survey indicated that there was no school in the parish. This was confirmed by a certificate of 1725 by the Rector stating that there was 'No free school or any other within the parish'.[181]

Likewise, the school at Astley, founded by Adam Mort in 1631, was associated with the establishment of a chapel. Mort, an active Puritan who had steadily accumulated property during his lifetime, provided an income of £10 a year for the master. The intention was not to provide a free education, except for those unable to pay, but to stimulate local effort.[182]

In contrast to the Puritanism of Mort, the school at Hindley owed its origin to a long established Catholic family. Mary Abram, sometime around 1621 had given £80 to be held by friends. When the capital and income reached £100, the school was to be endowed. This

sum was augmented by £10 raised by the parish. A start was made on the school but work had come to a halt by 1627. The endowment was added to by Abraham Langton, who provided £8 a year. In 1632, the school was opened as a memorial to Mary Abram 'whose soul, I trust,triumpheth now among the just'.[183]

The fourth school to be endowed within a four mile radius of Wigan was at Haigh. This was established by the executors of the will (1634) of Miles Turner, rather than by the direct action of the testator. Turner had directed that Roger Bradshaigh should indicate how the residue of his will should be allotted. At a meeting of the parish, it was decided to use the bequest for a school, which was to be open to the children of the inhabitants of Haigh or those who held land there. A ten acre estate worth £8 a year was purchased in 1639.[184]

Yet another example of the 'London connection' is provided by the establishment of a school at Ringley. This was due to Nathan Walworth, a native of Prestwich, who had spent over £250 in building a chapel at Ringley, which ,also, served as the school. Around 1635, he built a school within the grounds of the chapel at a cost of almost £100. In 1641, under the terms of his will, the trustees were given a messuage with lands at Flamborough in Yorhshire to help keep the school in a state of repair and towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster, who was to be elected by the rectors of Prestwich, Bury and Middleton. Although it had been

stipulated that the children born in the chapelry were to receive a free education, there were, from the early eighteenth century, no free scholars.[185] Again, the status of the school is not clear. Although the Charity Commissioners classified the school as non-classical in 1670, a pupil, Samuel Morton was admitted as a pensioner to Peterhouse.[186]

One other school established at this time was at Rumworth, where John Crompton left £100 under the terms of his will of 1636.[187] There had apparently been an earlier endowment, since there was an Inquisition into lands given towards the school in Deane Chapel in 1625.[188] It seems that it was not until 1660 that Crompton's bequest was applied towards the school and then only as a result of a chancery decree.

Although the date of its endowment is not known accurately, the school at Much Woolton dated from at least 1641. It is possible that the original endowment of £157 also relates to the same period.[189] A school, however, had been in existence here prior to that date for this is evidence of masters between 1594 and 1609 and in 1633.[190] There is some evidence of low standards here towards the end of the sixteenth century, when Edward Wilkinson, the son of a rich, middle class family was at the school for eleven years 'with little profit'.[191]

It was yet another London merchant, Robert Dickinson, who was responsible for the school in the township of Dendron (Aldingham). In his will of 1644, he left £200 to purchase land for 'a

sufficient and able scholar' as schoolmaster, who would 'bring up children in learning in the weekday in the said chapel', which he had built in 1642. The master was, also, to read Divine Service there on the Sabbath according to the Church of England. It is of further interest that he allowed 8% interest on his bequest until lands could be bought but this never happened.[192] It did, however, function from at least 1655, as six masters are known from that date to the end of the century.

Not all schemes for schools at this time were realised. Sometime towards the end of 1643 or 1644, Adam Martindale referred to a scheme for setting up a free school within the parish of Sefton for which he was to be the master. However, 'that designe wholly broke'.[193]

The practice of combining a school and chapel was a feature of the foundation at Scarisbrick in 1648. A Commission of Charitable and Pious Uses in 1669 stated that on 20 April 1648, Henry Harrison, alias Hill, gave a close in Scarisbrick to build a chapel so that a school could be kept there. In 1649, the chapel-school was built at the expense of the inhabitants. Here, the children were taught to read.[194] The Minister received a salary of £50 but since this came from sequestrated estates of Royalists, in this case the Earl of Derby, the income was lost in 1660. In 1720, John Carr left £100 towards the school with the intention of making it free. Thus suggesting that it had continued on a fee-paying basis over the intervening period.[195]

In 1653, the largest of the educational endowments in Lancashire was provided by the will (1651) of Humphrey Chetham, a prosperous cloth merchant and fustian manufacturer. His Hospital School, closely modelled on Christ's Hospital School, also included provision for an almshouse and apprenticeships and sought to combat poverty through overcoming ignorance. In his will, he left £7,000, which was to be used to buy lands with an annual yield of £420. This endowment was to establish a hospital for the 'releife, maintenance, educacion, bringing up and binding apprentice or other preferment' of forty boys drawn from Manchester, Salford, Droylsden, Crumpsall, Bolton and Turton. These boys, aged between six and ten, were to be lodged and clothed, before being apprenticed at the age of fourteen. In 1654, the trustees finally bought the 'college house' at a cost of £590.8.2. This property, sequestrated from the Earl of Derby had been sought by Chetham since 1648.[196]

In comparison with Chetham's bequest, the £60 left to Esprick School in 1654 by John Cooper pales into insignificance. It was the wish of the testator that six children, four from Greenhalgh and two from Thistleton, should have a free education.[197]

The earliest of the post- Restoration endowments for non-classical schools was the sum of £100 provided by Alice Nicholson in 1661 for a free school at Woodplumpton. In her will (1664), she augmented the bequest by an additional £10. This endowment was further increased by a gift of £20 from the will of John Hudson (1676) on

condition that the 'heirs of the house wherein he then dwelt should be free to the said school for ever'. The school was built in 1666.[198]

Although there is evidence of a school in Croston between 1633 and 1639, the school was built by Rev. James Hiet during his rectorship, probably in 1660. To ensure its continuation after his death, in his will (1662), he left £200 to be paid out as a perpetual rent-charge. £10 was to go to the master and the residue to pay for the yearly visit of the trustees on the first Wednesday in August, when they came to inquire into the conduct of the master.[199] In 1668, property was bought in Eccleston providing the required £10 a year.[200] In 1680, William Houghton left £5 a year rent-charge for 'the better maintenance of a free school'.[201] A further 20s a year was derived from the bequest of Jonathan Lucas (1701) to allow four poor children to be educated.

About 1664, Adam Sandys devised an estate of fifty acres for a preaching schoolmaster in Coulton who was, also, to officiate in the chapel. A public school was built about 1745.[202]

In 1672, John Eddleston of Billinge left an estate for the school, the poor and the minister. His bequest led to two schools being endowed, at Chapel End and Higher End, with both receiving £10.10.0.[203]

Andrew Dandy's bequest of 1673 was to have limited consequences for the school in Cuerden. Under its terms, Dandy, 'a citizen of London', left his house and lands in Lostock either to 'promote

learning in a free school' or apprenticing the children of Cuerden. In 1689, the money was paid to a schoolmaster but the £5 bequest was subject to a land tax of £3.5.0. and since there were few fee-payers, it was found difficult to continue the school. After 1714, the annuity was not paid but in 1740, the eldest son of Dandy, Daniel, provided £126.15.0 to trustees which gave £6 a year for the master.[204]

Yet another bequest that was to have limited consequences was that of William Baylton, who left £5 a year to the free school at Garstang. The Charity Commissioners could find no evidence for a free school prior to the bequest of John Morland in 1756. Presumably, Baylton's bequest was absorbed into the general income of the school without being of benefit to the poor pupils.

The school at Carleton owed its endowment to several benefactors. The earliest, Elizabeth Wilson, left a quarter of her goods to

> 'be bestowed in lands and the profits employed by the overseer of the poor of Carleton to maintain with learning so many of the poorest children of the town as should be thought by them meet'.

Her bequest amounted to £14.9.4½, which was made up to £16 to buy a plot of land worth £1 a year. In 1688, William Bamber left £40 to be invested in land worth £2 a year, half of which was to go to the poor and the remainder to buy books or teach poor children. By the time of Gastrell's Notitia, the whole of this endowment was being applied to the school. One other small bequest was that of Sir Nicholas Sherburne who, also, gave the school £2 a year. In

addition, he had built the school which was handed over to the trustees on 31 December 1697.[205]

Urmston provides a futher example of a school with an inadequate endowment. In 1681, George Haywood, bequeathed £10 which resulted in 10s a year income. In 1705, a further annuity of 30s was derived from the capital bequest of £30 of P.Cople. Such endowments could do no more than allow a small number of poor children to receive a basic education.[206]

A limited endowment of £60, intended to benefit two foundations, was left by John Dickinson in his will of 1682. The bequest, which was to be used to buy land, was to be divided equally between the minister of Lund and a master to teach grammar at Clifton. Even in the nineteenth century, the endowment amounted to no more than 30s for which two children received a free education.[207]

A more substantial endowment of £13.6.8. was left by John Brabin for a master at Chipping.[208] Although the school was built in 1684, there is evidence of a school here in the late sixteenth century, as Adam Whittingham, aged 16 in about 1605, had studied at Chipping but had made 'little progress in study in English' before going on to the English College in Rome.[209] There was a master here in 1650, while in 1677, Christopher Bateson was master.[210] This interesting endowment was to anticipate the charity schools of the eighteenth century. The profit of the endowment was to be used to buy books or clothes for the children which were to be 'violet or liver' in

colour and with matching caps. Sixteen boys were to chosen by the trustees to be clothed and receive a free education. In all, the school estate amounted to 30 acres. In 1702, this endowment was augmented by Christopher Parkinson's bequest of £4 a year for the undermaster, who was to teach all the children who were sent to him to read.[211]

Browedge School was endowed by the will of George Bigland in 1685 when he left a close and his house at Grange for the maintenance of a schoolmaster.[212] He stipulated that the profit should go to his heir until the inhabitants had built a school.[213] This endowment was augmented by the will of Henry Bigland (1689) who left £100 to buy land with half the rents to go towards the school. In 1705, the piece of land donated by George Bigland was leased for 21 years at £7 a year and in 1721, the rental was increased to £8.10.0 a year on a sixty year lease.[214]

Littleborough School received its first endowment in 1688 when Theophilus Halliwell gave his lands in Sowerby, together with a fee-farm rent of 20s for a schoolmaster at the chapel of Littleborough 'or some place near to'. The full value of the endowment was £5 when it was transferred to the trustees in 1692. On account of this bequest, ten poor scholars were to be admitted to the school. To overcome the problem of there being no school building, his kinsman, Richard Halliwell, built one and endowed it with £6 a year so that the schoolmaster could teach poor children to read and write.[215]

The link between Lancashire and London was also evident in the attempt by Nathaniel Hulton, a salter, to set up a school at Bolton. By indenture of 1691, he left land in Whitworth, valued at £15 a year, to provide, after his death, a weekly sermon and £5 a year for 'providing one or more sober learned and religious person' to catechise and teach children using the Assembly's Catechism, Mr. Ball's Catechism and Mr. Gough's Catechism. To provide the catechisms and the bibles, he allowed £6 a year. He, also, left £2.10.0 It appears that he revoked the trust in 1693 and the school was not, in fact, set up until 1794.[216]

Ribby-with-Wrea received its first endowment in 1694 under the will of James Thistleton 'towards the making and maintaining of a free school'. The legacy, totalling £160, provided the master with £10 a year. In consequence of the will, a school was built by his executors. The school was further endowed in 1716, when Nicholas Sharples left 'upwards of £800' and built a new school.[217]

The will of Robert Burton (1697) aimed to combine the functions of curate and schoolmaster at Aughton chapel, within Halton Parish. The master was to instruct in 'literature, rudiments of grammar and school learning' but without 'demanding or accepting' any fees from the pupils. Although this endowment was considerable, amounting to 55 acres in all, and was intended to found a grammar school, the school was to encounter a number of problems in relation to its classical status in the following century.[218]

Two other schools remain to be mentioned. In 1696, £4 a year was left for a school at Prestwich by Henry Siddall. It was noted by the Notitia Cestriensis that a dissenter was teaching in part of the house donated by Siddall.[219] The other school was at Over Kellett, which received its first endowment in 1693, when Walter Cocke had allowed £1 a year for teaching young children at the free school. In 1697, Thomas Wilson left £200 to buy land to 'provide one sufficient schoolmaster to teach a free grammar school at and in the schoolhouse lately erected'.[220] The inhabitants were required to raise a further £60 as part of the endowment.

**(x) Conclusion**

The picture that emerges in Lancashire by 1700 is of a county with considerable educational provision. In addition to the schools founded by 1600, another sixty or so were added to the total in the seventeenth century. The 'cultural and institutional lag', identified by Jordan in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had been eliminated. This transformation had been brought about by men and women from a wide diversity of backgrounds. who believed very strongly in the ability of education to bring about social change and reinforce existing institutions, especially religion.
During the seventeenth century, a number of trends can be identified. Although grammar schools continued to be founded, alongside them, schools with a differing curricular emphasis were

being set up. In some cases, as at Manchester, where the grammar school and Chetham's foundation were in close physical proximity, the beginnings of an educational system related to social class can be discerned.

Although schools continued to be endowed by the rich, many schools were established with lower levels of endowment than in the previous century as the social basis of philanthropy widened. Another development was the establishment of chapel-schools which served to reinforce the roles of each other. Frequently, these were to be found in the more sparsely peopled areas, which might, otherwise, have lacked educational provision. A practice, which began in the second half of the seventeenth century, and which became more common in the eighteenth century, was that of subsidising the education of a limited number of children, rather than endowing a school. Again, this allowed those of more limited financial means to contribute to the philanthropy of the age. Also discernible were the prototype charity schools at Manchester and Chipping. These trends, involving a wider social range of people in the establishment of schools and giving educational opportunity to a greater number of pupils, would continue into the following century at a quickened pace.

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160. (i) C.C.R. Vol. 11, pp.222-3. (ii) V.C.H. Lancs. Vol.II, p.612.

161. (i) EDA 3/3/141 (C.R.O.) (ii) Raines, Not. Cest., Chet. Soc., Vol.XIX, (1849) p.111.

162. It was referred to as 'The Free School' by the Charity Commissioners.

163. C.C.R. Vol. 11, pp. 285-6.

164. (i) EDA 3/3/209 (C.R.O.) (ii) Raines, Not. Cest., Chet. Soc., Vol.XXII, (1850), p.421.

165. (i) Ibid., p.205. (ii) EDA 3/3/205 (iii) C.C.R. Vol. 15, p.250.

166. C.C.R. Vol. 15, p.288-9.

167. C.C.R. Vol. 19, p. 145.

168. C.C.R. Vol. 15, p. 299.

169. Rogers, Teaching Profession, Appendix A.

170. C.C.R. Vol. 15, p.81.

171. C.C.R. Vol. 15, p.28.

172. C.C.R. Vol. 15, p.137.

173. DDX 285/1 'Free Grammar School Minutes 1693-1830' (L.R.O.)

174. (i)C.C.R. Vol. 20, p.152. (ii) Raines, Not. Cest., Chet. Soc, Vol.XXI, (1850) p.225.

175. (i)C.C.R. Vol. 16, p.192. (ii) Rem. Hist. & Lit. Soc. Lancs. & Ches., Vol. XLII (1857) pp.96-7; 132-3. (iii) V.C.H.Lancs., Vol. IV, p. 231.

176. (i) EDA/3/3 (C.R.O.) (ii) Raines, Not. Cest., Chet. Soc., Vol. XXI (1850), pp.206-8.

177. P.P. (1908) LXXIX (Lancs., iii, p.345) p.1003.

178. V.C.H. Lancs., Vol.II, p.617

179. (i) C.C.R. Vol. 15, p.97. (ii) EDA/6/3/5/ (C.R.O.)

180. EDV 2/10 (C.R.O.) Pilkington was master in 1674. See EDV 2/7.

181. (i) EDA 6/3/23; EDA 3/3/187. (ii) Raines, Not. Cest., Chet. Soc., Vol.XXII (1850),p.378.

182. C.C.R. Vol. 11, p. 133.

183. (i) C.C.R. Vol.21, p.305. (ii) V.C.H. Lancs., Vol.II, p. 615. (iii) DD 44/1066 Hindley & Abram School (L.R.O.)

184. C.C.R. Vol. 21, pp. 297-8.

185. (i)EDA 3/3/141. (ii) C.C.R. Vol 16, pp. 240-1. (iii) V.C.H. Lancs., Vol. II, p.616. (iv) Raines, Not. Cest.Chet. Soc., Vol. XIX (1849), p.119.

186. T.A.Walker, Admissions to Peterhouse (Cambridge, 1912) p. 144.

187. (i) EDA 3/3/129. (ii) Raines, Not. Cest.Chet. Soc., Vol.XIX (1849), p.40. (iii) V.C.H. Lancs., Vol.II, p.616.

188. 1625 Inquisition - Dean (Archives Dept. Cen. Lib. Manchester).

189. C.C.R. Vol. 20, p. 89.

190. Rogers, Teaching Profession, Appendix A.

191. Responsa Scholorum of the English College Rome from 1598 -1621, Cath. Rec. Soc., p.120.

192. C.C.R. Vol.3, p.182.

193. ed. R.Parkinson, The Life of Adam Martindale, written by himself, and now printed from the original manuscript in the British Museum, Chet. Soc.,Vol. IV, 1844, pp.39-40.

194. C93/61/23 (Pub. Rec. Off.)

195. C.C.R. Vol. 20, p. 137.

196. (i) C.C.R. Vol. 16, p.121. (ii) F.R.Raines and C.W.Sutton, The Life of Humphrey Chetham, Chet. Soc. N.S., XLIX-L (1903)

197. C.C.R. Vol.11, p.262.

198. (i) C.C.R. Vol.11, pp.361-2. (ii) The date of the school building is confirmed by the Notitia Cestriensis EDA 3/3/217.

199. Copy of Hiet's will PR 686 (L.R.O.)

200. PR 686 (L.R.O.)

201. (i)PR 686 (ii) C.C.R. Vol. 15, p.114.

202. C.C.R. Vol.3, pp. 195-6.

203. C.C.R. Vol. 21, p.294.

204. (i) C.C.R. Vol. 15, p. 185. (ii) *V.C.H.* Lancs., Vol. II, p.617. (iii) P.P.(1908) LXXIX, Lancs., ii, pp.216-7.

205. (i) C.C.R. Vol. 11, p.313-4. (ii) EDA 3/3/217. (iii) Raines, Not. Cest. *Chet. Soc.*, Vol. XXII (1850), p. 460.

206. C.C.R. Vol. 16, p. 102.

207. C.C.R. Vol. 11, p. 258.

208. (i) C.C.R. Vol. 15, p.36. (ii) P.P.(1908) LXXIX, Lancs., Vol. II, p.70.

209. Respon. Schol.,*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, p.164.

210. Ref. to 1650, Rogers, *Teaching Profession*, Appendix A. Ref. to Bateman EDV 2/9. (C.R.O.)

211. (i) *V.C.H.* Lancs., Vol.II, p.617. (ii) EDA 3/3/203 (C.R.O.). (iii) Raines, Not. Cest., *Chet. Soc.*, Vol. XXII (1850), p.402.

212. C.C.R. Vol. 3, p.193.

213. *V.C.H.* Lancs., Vol. II, p.617.

214. DDX/284/10-12 (L.R.O.)

215. (i) C.C.R. Vol. 19, p.283. (ii) EDA 3/3/143.(C.R.O.) iii) *V.C.H.* Lancs., Vol. II, p.618.

216. C.C.R. Vol. 19, pp.169-74.

217. C.C.R. Vol. 11, p.270-4.

218. C.C.R. Vol. 15, p.260.

219. EDA 3/3/141. (C.R.O.)

220. DDX/103 (L.R.O.).

# CHAPTER TWO

## THE ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF LANCASHIRE IN THE 18TH. CENTURY

### (i) The Problem of Terminology

A major problem that faces the educational historian in attempting to trace trends in schools, prior to about 1860, is the lack of a precise terminology. It was not until the state, either by means of its system of supporting schools by grants, or through Royal Commissions, began to involve itself increasingly in education, that any attempt was made to define the distinctive types of schooling and their educational purposes with any degree of accuracy and consistency. An example of such vagueness is contained in the term 'endowed schools', which, according to Lord Brougham's estimate, numbered more than 4,100 and were responsible for the education of 165,432 pupils out of a total school population of 614,000 in 1818.[1]
Although, all the schools were, as their name indicated, endowed, and were, in consequence exemplars of philanthropy, there the semblance ended. The category ranged from the 'Great Schools' to village schools

teaching reading to a handful of children benefiting from the endowment. Terms such as 'public school', 'free school', 'grammar school', 'charity school', 'English School' and 'subscription school' were used to describe schools within this category.

The situation is further complicated by the various titles given to individual schools, not only at different periods of time but also in relation to contemporary sources. Thus, the school at Garstang was variously called a free school, a free grammar school, a common school and a public school between 1749 and 1774.[2] Between 1697 and 1702, Bispham [Eccleston] was referred to as 'the school of Bispham', while from 1703 to 1721, it was known as the 'free school'. It was called Bispham School from 1722 to 1726 and, apart from in 1730, when it was again called the 'free school', for the rest of the century, it was entitled 'the free grammar school'.[3] Likewise, the school at Ashton-in-Makerfield was referred to as 'the Grammar Free School of Ashton', 'the Free School of Ashton', 'Ashton Free School', and 'the Free Grammar School at Senlow Green in Ashton'.[4] In 1818, Croston School called itself a free school in its Minutes and a grammar school in the Accounts, written in the same book.[5]

What the titles also indicate is that, although there were two basic types of school, namely the grammar or classical school, and the free or non-classical school, the divisions between them, in a number of cases, had become blurred. Although the majority of schools at the start of the eighteenth century could probably be placed into one or

other of the categories, by 1800, such a classification becomes more difficult as curricular and social distinctions appear less pronounced.

**(ii) A Model for the Eighteenth Century Grammar School**

A basic model for the grammar school in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has been suggested with four components, two relating to its sociological nature and two related to its curriculum.[6] The sociological components of the model relate to the social class of the child attending the school, that is whether it was from a 'middle class' or 'poor' background. Closely related to the social class of the pupil was the curricular provision, with the classics providing an appropriate education for the middle classes and reading, writing and arithmetic being deemed suitable for 'the Poor'.

A major problem arising from this model involves the difficulty of defining both the 'Middle Class' and 'The Poor'. Perkin, in his analysis of the middle classes has pointed to the period of depression, following the Napoleonic Wars, as the period which 'opened the eyes of the middle ranks and turned them into a class'.[7] In contrast to the rigid class structure that had evolved by the mid-Victorian period, society in the eighteenth century was 'a fairly graded hierarchy of great subtlety and discrimination' based upon property and patronage.[8] The 'middle ranks' of society, recognisable in the surveys of Gregory King in 1688 and Colquhoun in 1808, covered a wider spectrum than the 'middle classes' of Victorian England.[9]

In contrast to the nineteenth century connotation of 'middle class', the term 'the Poor' was firmly rooted in the eighteenth century. As the term 'middle class' had no eighteenth century equivalent, so 'the Poor' cannot be directly related to the nineteenth century, for although it was generally agreed to be the largest of the social classes, it was, in fact, a much narrower concept than 'working class' in Victorian England.[10]

Although such a model could provide an adequate basis for analysing educational developments in the nineteenth century, when the links between education and social class had become more distinct as grammar schools had come to terms with their financial situation, the local educational demand and the social composition of their pupils, it is less valuable in describing developments in the early part of the eighteenth century, since the relationship between educational provision and social class had not yet become clear cut. Yet, despite its limitations, it does, also, apply to the overall aspect of education in the eighteenth century, in that there was a basic polarisation in that the 'reading, writing, arithmetic - Poor' dimension can be related to the 'charity schools' and the 'classics - middle ranks' dimension was applicable to the grammar schools. This picture was modified, to some extent, by the occasional presence of poor children in grammar schools and especially towards the end of the century, when the classics had declined in importance in a number of grammar schools, so that their curriculum was indistinguishable from that of a charity school.[11]

(iii) Criteria of a Grammar School

R.S.Tompson in Classics or Charity? listed five criteria which might be applied to the identification of a grammar school and a school which has 'a reasonable minimum number of characteristics can be accepted as a highly probable example of a grammar school'. The first feature was the presence of former pupils in university records. This is considered to be a key feature since only a minority of Oxford or Cambridge colleges have recorded the schools of their students in their admission books. In addition, these schools represented only the tip of the 'educational iceberg', in that only a minority of pupils from grammar schools went on to a university education, although in the eighteenth century, pupils could also go to Scottish and European Universities, as well as Dublin, in addition to Oxford and Cambridge. A second aspect, related to grammar school status, was provision for the teaching of the classics, both in the foundation charter and in actual practice. A third feature was evidence, of the attendance of the master and usher, preferably resulting in a degree, at either Oxford or Cambridge, which would indicate an ability to teach the classics. There are, however, many examples to be found of university graduates being appointed to non-classical schools, but, in almost every case, this involved the dual roles of master and minister. It was, generally, unlikely, that a graduate would be appointed to a school merely to teach elementary subjects.

In a number of cases, usually after 1800, some of the schools in Lancashire, which advertised themselves as grammar schools, had, in fact, to warn prospective classical candidates that their teaching of Latin would be minimal or even non-existent.[12] A fourth factor was the appointment of an usher, which would allow the master to concentrate on the higher subjects appropriate to a grammar school. The fifth feature was the designation of a school as a 'grammar school', both in its own documents and in those relating to it. The proviso regarding precise terminology must, nevertheless, be kept in mind. To accept a school as a grammar school, it was expected to show at least two of the characteristics, together with a minimum of ten years existence during the eighteenth century.[13]

Sanderson has pointed to an additional criterion for grammar school status, namely, the possession of an episcopal licence since one was 'not necesary for non-classical schools'.[14] Two points might be mentioned in this context. Firstly, licensing was widespread in all types of schools, especially in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when its purpose was to ensure religious orthodoxy in teachers. Secondly, the practice of applying for licences, even in grammar schools, greatly declined in the second half of the eighteenth century. Thus, the possession of a licence was not indicative of grammar school status.

The problem of classifying grammar schools is further indicated by Sanderson, who has pointed out that a total of eighty-three schools were identified in Lancashire in five national surveys. These were the

Churchwardens Returns of 1786 and 1788; the Charity Commissioners Reports, which in Lancashire dated from 1820 to 1829; the Brougham Returns; Carlisle's private enquiry and Lord Kerry's Returns.[15] What is significant is that only one school, Hawkshead, is common to all five lists. Part of the explanation lies in the purposes underlying these surveys. Carlisle, for instance, was interested in the more important schools, while the Charity Commissioners seemed intent on maximising the number of grammar schools, as they included all schools that had any claims, either legal or practical, to teach the classics. It might also be added that the problem is further complicated by earlier surveys, such as that of Christopher Wase in the 1670s, and the attempts to classify the schools by later historians, such as Leach and Tompson.

**(iv) Evidence for Pupils at Oxford and Cambridge**

Evidence for the presence of boys from schools in Lancashire at Oxford and Cambridge is necessarily limited. Oxford College records do not indicate the school backgrounds of their students, although this is sometimes known, especially when schools had links with particular colleges, such as Manchester Grammar School and Brasenose College. Seven Cambridge colleges recorded the former schools of their students, although such information is not always complete. These colleges were Gonville and Caius, St.John's, Trinity, Christ's,

Peterhouse, Sidney Sussex and Magdalen. Registers of the first five colleges have been published, with the latter two in manuscript.[16]

Evidence exists for nine grammar schools in Lancashire sending students to university in the sixteenth century. These were Bispham, Blackburn, Burnley, Clitheroe, Lancaster, Manchester, Middleton, Rivington and Winwick. Supportive evidence for the existence of all of the schools, with a question mark over Bispham, is available. Manchester, pre-eminent in sending students on seven occasions, was followed by Clitheroe and Lancaster.

By way of contrast, fifty-eight schools sent students to university in the seventeenth century. Manchester continued to hold the dominant position with references to fifty-seven occasions, involving one hundred and twenty-six students. Other schools with strong university links were Lancaster (15), Winwick (15), Wigan (14), Bolton (14), Rivington (12), Blackburn (11) and Bury (11). There are single references for twenty-six schools, with a further seven schools sending students on two occasions. These figures do seem to represent the relative importance of the schools within the county in the seventeenth century.

Whether all the schools represented can be considered grammar schools is more problematic. A number were private schools in that they were unendowed and ephemeral in nature and usually run by a clergyman. For instance, John Ormerod of Cowel (?), a pupil of Mr. Hindley entered St. John's College in 1656 as a sizar.[17] In 1664, Thomas Hesketh, a pupil of Mr, Stanninough, Rector of Aughton, was admitted to Christ's

College.[18] Thus, admissions to universities are not necessarily indicative of grammar school status.

During the eighteenth century, there was generally a decline in the number of pupils from Lancashire schools going to university. In part, this can be explained by the incomplete nature of the records, in that there are references to students from Lancashire but no school is identified. It was also becoming more common for pupils to be sent from the county to schools such as Eton and Charterhouse in the second half of the century. Sedburgh was another popular school, drawing especially from Lancashire north of the Ribble. In part, this move to send sons to schools outside the county was a reflection of the growing status of what were to become the 'Great' or 'Public' Schools.

In all, thirty-one schools sent pupils to the five Cambridge Colleges in the eighteenth century. These were Blackrod, Clitheroe, Hawkshead, Manchester, Rivington, Warrington, Wigan, Winwick, Warton, Heskin, Liverpool, Lancaster, Burnley, Kirkham, Bolton, Blackburn, Bury, Cartmel, Hoghton, Ulverston, Rochdale, Salford, Urswick, Kellett, Prescot, Standish, Goosnargh, Preston, Wyersdale, Colne and Stand. In addition, there were references to three other schools, Brindle, Upholland and Flookburgh. William Grimshaw, who entered Christ's College in 1726, had been educated at Brindle, before moving to Heskin. William Gorst had spent three years at Upholland before his final year at Winwick in 1781. The school at Flookburgh, where Robert Field was

taught by his father prior to entry to St. John's in 1766, was presumably private.[19]

Although the school at Salford was called a 'grammar school' it was not, in fact, endowed. In common with a number of such schools, its success depended very much upon the master, in this case Mr. Clayton. Between 1737 and 1755, three boys were admitted to St. John's College and other boys were admitted to other colleges. Although it could not rival Manchester Grammar School, it did provide some opposition for that school. An account of Salford Grammar School is to be found in the autobiography of John Clowes, who went there at the age of six or seven. Mr. Clayton was 'a pious and devout clergyman of the Church of England who did not think it sufficient to instruct his scholars in Latin and Greek but extended instruction to religious knowledge'. The school closed in 1773 on the death of Clayton.[20]

In addition to successful masters of private schools, a number of masters of grammar schools had good records of sending boys to university. Among these were Mr. Norcross at Rivington; Mr. Ascholme at Clitheroe; Mr. Taylor at Kirkham and Mr. Lister at Bury.

The admission registers provide information relating to the ages at which students entered universities and thus the ages at which they left school. In a number of cases, however, it is not known if they came directly from school. For instance, in 1726, Roger Borwick entered St. John's College at the age of twenty-one, having spent five years at Hawkshead.[21]

DeMolen, using a sample of 1,000 admisssions to both Oxford and Cambridge over three periods, 1500-1600; 1601-1700 and 1701-1715, has identified a number of trends.[22] At both universities, over the period 1500 to 1715, most entrants were between fifteen and eighteen years. However, the age range over that time was much wider. In the sixteenth century at Cambridge, the ages of admission were from nine to thirty-eight, while at Oxford, they ranged from ten to forty-eight. During the following century, the respective figures were thirteen to twenty-five and twelve to thirty-two but by 1701-15, all but thirty of the Cambridge and twenty-eight of the Oxford entrants fell into the 15-21 years category. Stone has provided supportive evidence for the seventeenth century in that he has shown that 90% of the undergraduates at Gonville and Caius' and St. John's College, Oxford, were aged between fifteen and eighteen years. This compares with the overall figures of 87% for Cambridge and 80% for Oxford during the seventeenth century.[23] Despite the range of ages, the average over each of the three periods was seventeen.[24] Over the same time scale, the percentage of students under fifteen decreased from 13% to 2% at Oxford and from 6% to 1.5% at Cambridge. By the eighteenth century, the matriculation of students aged seventeen and eighteen made up 50% of the Oxford sample and 60% of those entering Cambridge.[25]

The ages of a sample of 146 students from Lancashire schools entering St.John's, Gonville and Caius' and Christ's College in the seventeenth century were analysed. (Table 2:1). Ages of entry ranged from 13 to 20; 14 to 21 and 15 to 22 years respectively. The youngest

## Table 2.1

### Ages of Entry to University in the Seventeenth Century (Lancashire)

| | 16- | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 19+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St. John's | 5 | 8 | 16 | 22 | 10 | 7 |
| Gon./Caius | 6 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 4 |
| Christ's | 3 | 5 | 20 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| | (14) | (15) | (43) | (35) | (19) | (20) |

## Table 2.2

### Ages of Entry to University in the Eighteenth Century (Lancashire)

| | 16- | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 19+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| St. John's | 0 | 4 | 12 | 14 | 13 | 19 |
| Christ's | 0 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 5 |
| Peterhouse | 0 | 1 | 4 | 12 | 13 | 19 |
| | (0) | (7) | (19) | (28) | (22) | (27) |

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 are based upon the College Registers.

DeMolen, using a sample of 1,000 admisssions to both Oxford and Cambridge over three periods, 1500-1600; 1601-1700 and 1701-1715, has identified a number of trends.[22] At both universities, over the period 1500 to 1715, most entrants were between fifteen and eighteen years. However, the age range over that time was much wider. In the sixteenth century at Cambridge, the ages of admission were from nine to thirty-eight, while at Oxford, they ranged from ten to forty-eight. During the following century, the respective figures were thirteen to twenty-five and twelve to thirty-two but by 1701-15, all but thirty of the Cambridge and twenty-eight of the Oxford entrants fell into the 15-21 years category. Stone has provided supportive evidence for the seventeenth century in that he has shown that 90% of the undergraduates at Gonville and Caius' and St. John's College, Oxford, were aged between fifteen and eighteen years. This compares with the overall figures of 87% for Cambridge and 80% for Oxford during the seventeenth century.[23] Despite the range of ages, the average over each of the three periods was seventeen.[24] Over the same time scale, the percentage of students under fifteen decreased from 13% to 2% at Oxford and from 6% to 1.5% at Cambridge. By the eighteenth century, the matriculation of students aged seventeen and eighteen made up 50% of the Oxford sample and 60% of those entering Cambridge.[25]

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entrant to St. John's College was John Bridgman, the son of the Bishop of Chester, who went to university in 1631, having spent six years under Mr. Ruddall.[26] Two of the youngest students at Gonville and Caius' College were Samuel and Edmund Byrom, aged fifteen and fourteen, who had been at Winwick school, until 1650.[27] What the figures do confirm is that students generally entered the universities between the ages of seventeen and nineteen.

Due to the generally more limited information included in the college registers, especially towards the end of the eighteenth century, the sample of 103 students is limited to Peterhouse, Christ's and St. John's. (Table 2.2) The figures confirm the tendency for students to go to university later than in the previous century. There were, for example, no students below the age of sixteen in the sample and only twenty-six (25%) below the age of eighteen, as compared with seventy-two (50%) in the period 1601-1700. There was, also, a tendency for students entering St. John's College to be older, on average, than those entering the other two colleges.

### (v) Grammar School Foundations in the Eighteenth Century

During the eighteenth century, despite the social trend towards the endowing of non-classical schools, often referred to as 'The Charity School Movement', a number of grammar schools were set up in Lancashire.[28] In the majority of cases, they were endowed most inadequately and, it is probably not insignificant, that none of these

## Table 2.3

### Lancashire Grammar Schools Founded in the Eighteenth Century

| | |
|---|---|
| 1701-1710 | Bleasdale; Newchurch-in-Rossendale; Presall; Houghton |
| 1711-1720 | Dixon Green; Newburgh; Great Eccleston; Marton |
| 1721-1730 | Finisthwaite; Warmpton |
| 1731-1740 | Townbank |
| 1741-1750 | Clayton; Tunstall; Burtonwood |
| 1751-1760 | Lowick; Lowton |
| 17610-1770 | Lydyate |
| 1771-1780 | Kirkland; Broughton |
| 1781-1790 | Lea; Aspull |
| 1791-1800 | |

(Table based on Charity Commissioners' Reports, *passim*).

schools maintained their grammar school status into the latter part of the nineteenth century, following the Endowed Schools Act of 1869. Twenty-one schools in all were founded between 1701 and 1790, which either specified 'grammar school' in their foundation, or catered for Latin and, very occasionally, Greek in their curriculum. (Table 2.3) In addition, Bury was refounded in 1726, while Prescot was principally endowed by William Lorton in 1762. Eccleston, originally endowed in 1597, finally opened in 1777, before being discontinued in 1827.[29] The only one of the eighteenth century endowments to be represented on the Cambridge College admissions register was Hoghton, when William Dewhurst, the son of a husbandman, was admitted sizar at St. John's College in 1723.[30]

### (vi) Graduate Masters

The third of Tompson's criteria related to the graduate status of the master and usher. A number of schools stipulated that masters should be graduates but they were often more circumspect regarding the educational background of the usher. The Statutes of Rivington Grammar School laid down the procedure for choosing a master. The Governors were to 'spy out two such as are, or have been of one or both universities, honest men and good scholars, that have continued there at their studies four years diligently ....... that have taken degrees in the Schools......which have profited well in logic and philosophy, and in the knowledge of Greek and Latin tongues and other good learning'.

Whenever they wanted an usher, the Governors were required to ' within one month next following nominate and appoint one learned man to usher there'.[31] Under the terms of the 1664 Statutes of Wigan Grammar School, the Governors obviously felt that they might experience problems in attracting university graduates for it is stated 'It is limited and ordayned that no person whatsoever shall be capable of being admitted to the principall or head-school-master.....but such as have taken the degree of Master or Bachelor of Arts in one of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge or in some Protestant University elsewhere'. It, however, continued ' if such cannot be procured, some undergraduate of the universities aforesaid or other sufficient well qualified scholler who is to be.....well skilled and experienced in schole learning and in the original Languages wherein they are to instruct their schollers'. The usher was to be 'of competent knowledge and learning, both in the Latin and Greek tongues, and so well qualified in schoole learning as may enable him to instruct the schollers in the case of the headmaster's absence'.[32] At Bury, it was stipulated that 'the master should be skilled in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues and a graduate of one of the universites'.[33] As a final example, at Wyersdale school, the master was to be a graduate of one of the universities and skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues.[34]

In addition to demanding a university degree, it was the practice at a number of schools to examine the candidates in order to assess their proficiency. At Rivington, they were to be examined thoroughly by the Master and Seniors of St. John's College.

The examination of candidates could be a trying occasion both for them and their examiners. In 1691, a vacancy had occurred at Hawkshead school. Thomas Jackson of Bampton was offered the post but declined and it was then offered to Thomas Holson of Windermere School. On 3 September, John Armstrong, a trustee, wrote to the Bishop to inform him that the examination of the candidates would take place at Cartmel Church. Five days later, he was again writing to the Bishop to inform him of the result. Of the four candidates, Holson had failed to turn up, Myers and Bullfield had passed, while Jackson, the fourth candidate had failed. Armstrong, also, complained that he had fasted all day 'fed only on thin greek and latin notions'. Further problems arose, when a petition was presented complaining that Holson was not qualified. It appears that the post was given to Myers but, by 1693, when Robert Bullfield was nominated to the school, he had fled to Ireland to avoid arrest for debts.[35]

Although many schools did not specifically state that the master and usher should be graduates, it was usually implicit in practice. Often masters can be identified from the directories of graduates but care is needed due to the occurrence of similar names.[36]

To consider the situation in more detail, the appointment of masters at Crosby and Rivington Grammar Schools will be examined.

In 1677, John Waring was appointed to Great Crosby and, like at least two of his predecessors, had been educated at Emmanuel College, where he matriculated as a sizar on 11 April 1670. He graduated in 1673, was ordained deacon in 1674 and on 6 June 1680 was ordained, received a

curacy and his licence to teach.[37] On his death in 1711, he was succeeded by his son, Rev. Gerard Waring, who had attended Trinity College. The master of the school from 1730 to 1755, Rev. Anthony Halsall, was educated at the Castletown Academy in the Isle of Man, which was intended to prepare candidates for the Church of Man. He also appears on a list of Trinity College, Dublin in 1716, but there is no record of his graduating. Halsall's first usher, James Ansdell, appointed in 1741, does not appear to have been a graduate but he was succeeded by Rev. Edward Owen, M.A., who came to the school in 1753, almost directly from Jesus College, Oxford. Thomas Mercer, a temporary master from January to December 1758. had entered St. John's College from Manchester Grammar School. The next permanent appointment, Rev. William Troutbeck (1758-87) matriculated at Glasgow University in 1741 but does not seem to have graduated. Richard Salkeld (1761-76) and Thomas Davies (1777-87) were, seemingly, not graduates. The final master in the eighteenth century was Rev. Matthew Chester, who, although he was a clergyman, was not a graduate. Between 1791 and 1800, he was assisted by three ushers, none of whom appears to have graduated.[38]

At Rivington, John Bradley, the master from 1669 to 1709, was a B.A. of St. John's College (1668). He was succeeded by John Glasbrook of Trinity College, who resigned in 1715 to become a vicar. The next master, Daniel Bentley, again of St. John's, lasted only for two years and was followed by Nathan Pierpoint of Brasenose College. From 1729 to 1765, Norcross, father and son, were the schoolmasters. Both

attended St. John's College. It is of interest that John Norcross Junior left Rivington at the age of fifteen in 1743 to be higher master at Standish, before entering Cambridge in 1747, when he was described as a 'clerk'.[39] He then graduated in 1750 and after being headmaster of Ormskirk Grammar School, succeeded his father at Rivington. The final master in the eighteenth century was Rev. Richard Hargreaves. Edward Sweetlove, usher for forty-five years (1688-1733) was 'associated' with the church but was, seemingly, never a clergyman. He was followed by Robert Blackburn, probably a former pupil, and then by a number of masters, mostly with local names, who did not stay long.[40]

Graduates can also be identified from the various records of nominations, subscriptions, references and letters of resignation, though these are, by no means a full guide. Examples include John Hadwen B.A. being nominated to Aughton; the election of William Trant B.A. to Cartmel; a testimonial for John Hunter B.A. from Queen's College, Oxford; the presenting of Strickland Shepherd B.A. to Hawkshead and Edward Christian's letter of appointment to the same school, in which he identifies himself as M.A.[41]

Although the sample of schools is very small, it does reflect the position described by Vincent, who identified 121 schools with 459 masters over the period 1660-1770. Of these, four hundred and twenty four (76%) were Oxbridge graduates, while another fifty four had left without graduating. The breakdown into two periods 1660-1714 and

1714-1770 tends to show a decrease in the percentage of graduate masters (81% to 72%) and in the masters who had matriculated (91%-81%). He noted, however, an increase in those who were in orders from 74% to 85%.[42]

(vii) **Appointment of Ushers**

The evidence for the presence of ushers depends very much on the information available for the individual schools and within these, three broad categories can be identified. The first group of schools is made up of those which provided for an usher in their foundation documents. At Manchester, the deed of foundation provided for an usher to be elected in the same way as the high master. Similarly, Rivington's statutes stipulated the conditions of service for the usher who ' shall not be Curate of the Church, if the numbers of Scholars which he must teach be great'. Likewise, the usher was required to swear the same oath as the master.[43] Other schools, where ushers were identified included, Blackburn, Bolton, Bury, Hawkshead, Kirkham, Goosnargh, Lancaster, Hoghton, Middleton, Rochdale, Crosby, Warton, Clitheroe and Wigan. In order to cater for the education of younger pupils in the absence of an usher, Sir Thomas Boteler, the founder of Warrington Grammar School, ordered that the master was to 'appoint everyday one of his scholars learning grammar........ in order to teach all infants that come to the school to learn their ABC and Primers & so forth until they be entered into the learning of grammar'.[44]

The second group of schools includes those where the original endowment was inadequate to support an usher and so the appointment of one depended upon augmentation grants. At Standish, in 1633, the Rector, William Leigh and three others gave land upon trust with leases amounting to £4:4:0 a year towards 'the maintenance and providing' of an usher.[45] In 1718, a former Vicar of Leyland, left the interest on £50 towards the salary for an usher. This was further augmented in 1728 by his widow, who also left the sum of £50.[46]
In the third category were the schools which introduced ushers either when the demands on the master increased, or when the school moved into a stronger financial position. The first reference to an usher at Blackrod School is in the Statutes of 1737, although the school historian states that ushers were only to be found in the school in 1736 and then from 1776 onwards. On 26 December 1746, the master agreed to a salary of £20 a year for three years and £25 for the fourth and fifth years to allow the salary of the usher to be augmented. In 1754, the master was receiving £25 a year compared with the usher's £12, out of a total income of £104:6:11.[47]

**(viii) Title of Grammar School**

The fifth aspect in Tompson's list was the designation of the school as a grammar school both in its own documents and in those referring to it. Schools founded prior to 1700 have been discussed in Chapter 1,

## Table 2.4

## Lancashire Schools with claims to Grammar Status in the Eighteenth Century

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aspull | Ashton-in-Makerfield | Bispham |
| Blackburn | Blackrod | Bleasdale |
| Bolton | Bolton-le-Sands | Bretherton |
| Broughton | Broughton (Preston) | Burnley |
| Burtonwood | Bury | Cartmel |
| Chorley | Clayton | Clifton -with-Salwick |
| Clitheroe | Cockerham | Colne |
| Copp | Croston | Dalton-in-Furness |
| Dixon Green | Eccleston | Farnworth |
| Finisthwaite | Goosnargh | Great Crosby |
| Great Eccleston | Halsall | Halton |
| Hawkshead | Heskin | Hindley |
| Hoghton | Kirkby Ireleth | Kirkham |
| Kirkland | Lancaster | Lea |
| Leigh | Leyland | Liverpool |
| Lowick | Lowton | Lydyate |
| Manchester | Marton | Middleton |
| Newburgh | Newchurch-in-Rossendale | North Meols |
| Oldham | Ormskirk | Overwyersdale |
| Penwortham | Pilling | Poulton |
| Presall | Prescot | Preston |
| Rivington | Rochdale | Stand |
| Standish | St. Michael-upon-Wyre | Staveley |
| Tarleton | Townbank | Tunstall |
| Upholland | Urswick | Warmpton |
| Warrington | Warton | West Derby |
| Whalley | Wigan | Winwick |
| Woodplumpton | Wray-with-Botton | |

while reference has already been made to the diversity of terminology in the eighteenth century.

In addition to those schools of which status is not in doubt, there are references to a grammar school at West Derby in a testimonial of 1755; Staveley in a letter of testimony for Martin Lamb in 1772; Didsbury, where Thomas Hudson was nominated in 1722; Ulverston, where Edward Atkinson was licensed in 1718 and Lytham in 1721.[48] In 1725. Joseph Coleby received a licence 'ad instruendam pueros in schola liberali gramaticalis' in Woodplumpton; while similar references were made to Poulton and Pilling. [49] In 1733, John Hooton from Hindley Grammar School became usher at Wigan.[50] Garstang School was referred to as a grammar school on the appointment of Rev. John Hunter (1737); John Braithwaite (1741) and Nicholas Parker (1751).[51] Wyersdale school was referred to as a grammar school in 1734 when Thomas Richardson was master. Croston school, the status of which is debatable, was described as a free grammar school in 1700, while Colne was seemingly recognised as a grammar school in the early eighteenth century.[52] There were references to the Free Grammar School of Copp in 1726 and in the early nineteenth century.[53]

Thus, based on Tompson's criteria, the possible grammar schools of Lancashire have been identified. (Table 2.4). This can be compared to the seventy-six schools identified by the Charity Commissioners and the schools which had replied to Christopher Wase and Nicholas Carlisle. From 1673, Wase had been corresponding with schoolmasters with a view to producing a comprehensive account of the grammar

schools in England. Unfortunately, when he published his Considerations concerning Free Schools, as settled in England in 1678, he did not include the statistical information he had gathered. The Lancashire grammar schools which replied were Blackburn, Halsall, Halton, Hawkshead, Huyton, Leyland, Penwortham, Manchester, Heskin, Ormskirk, Rivington, Great Crosby, Standish, Upholland, Whalley and Winwick.

The other major individual attempt to describe 'all our ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS' was by Nicholas Carlisle, who on 20 December 1816 addressed a lettter and a series of questions from the apartments of the Society of Antiquaries to the Headmasters of every known Grammar School throughout England and Wales and to the Gentleman's Magazine. The result was 'proportional to his most ardent expectations'. Four hundred and seventy five schools in all were described with twenty-one schools in Lancashire making returns in greater or lesser detail, with only Blackrod failing to reply. What is reflected by Carlisle's list is the relative importance of the schools at the time of the survey. The complete list of schools replying to his letter were Blackburn, Bolton, Burnley, Bury, Cartmel, Chorley, Clitheroe, Farnworth, Hawkshead, Lancaster, Leyland, Liverpool ('now wholly discontinued'), Manchester, Middleton, Prescot, Preston, Rivington, Rochdale, Whalley, Wigan and Winwick. From the historian's point of view, it is unfortunate that little new information is provided, while some, such as lists of masters, is inaccurate.[54]

Prior to the eighteenth century, the clergy list of 1691 supports the claims of a number of schools to grammar status. Although the basic concern was with the clergy of Lancashire, seventy-four schoolmasters exhibited their licences at a fee of 4d. to the apparitor. Schools classified as either free grammar schools or grammar schools were to be found at Manchester, Warton, Flixton, Staveley, Heskin, Urswick, Cartmel, Oldham, Ormskirk, Upholland, Hawkshead, Wigan and Dalton-in-Furness. At Ringley, Joshua Dixon had been licensed to teach grammar within the chapelry, which seems to suggest that there was, as yet, no permanent school, with instruction being presumably provided within the chapel. Free schools were described at Woolton, Winwick, Leigh and Wigan (again). The other schools were Manchester (Chetham's), Deane, Silverdale, Eccles, Lancaster, Penwortham, Prestwich, Wyersdale, Halsall, Gosnargh, Standish, Ellel, Stalmine, Lindall, Chorley, Whalley, Warrington, Bolton-le-Sands, Walton-on-the-Hill, Kirkby Ireleth, Rochdale, Burtonwood, Witton, Flookburgh, Tunstall, Preston, Radclife, Burnley, Clitheroe, Woodplumpton, Blackburn, Lowick, Brindle, Walton-le-Dale, Kirkham, Walney, Lytham, Leyland, Leigh, Liverpool, Prescot, Bretherton, Crosby, Chorley, Broughton, Haslingden and Bolton. In this list are obviously a number of grammar school status.[55]

In 1908, Volume 2 of the Victoria County History for Lancashire was published, which included a series of articles on the grammar schools of the county, arranged roughly in order of foundation, by A.F.Leach and Rev. H.J.Chaytor. The schools described were Lancaster, Preston, Middleton, Prescot, Manchester, Farnworth, Blackburn, Liverpool, Bolton,

Leyland, Warrington, St.-Michael's-upon-Wyre, Winwick, Whalley, Kirkham, Penwortham, Clitheroe, Rochdale, Rivington, Blackrod, Burnley, Urswick, Hawkshead, Halsall, Warton, Wigan, Heskin, Garstang, Standish, Ormskirk, Oldham, Chorley, Leigh, Cartmel, Great Crosby, Bispham, Bolton-le-Sands, Bury, Upholland, Overkellett, Newchurch, Ulverston and Tunstall. Although Cockerham was also included, it was conceded that 'There is no evidence that the education was at any time other than elementary'. In the section 'Elementary Schools founded before 1800' are several schools with claims to grammar school status, at least for part of their history. Examples of these are Huyton, Newburgh, Aughton and Hindley.[56]

**(ix) The Daily Round**

Although Charles Hoole wrote in 1660 that in the majority of schools seven o'clock was a 'constant time both in Winter and Summer' at which hour it was ' fit every scholar should be ready at the Schole', in a number of Lancashire grammar schools, the working day in summer, usually defined as from Easter to Michaelmas, began at six o'clock. These included Rivington, Manchester and Hawkshead, although a half hour's grace was allowed at the latter school. Upholland, Great Crosby, Wigan and Blackrod began at seven o'clock in summer. Despite the fact that schools elsewhere usually had a break between eight and nine, the only reference to such a practice in the schools under review was at Lancaster, where the school hours, according to the 1501

statutes were 6-8 a.m.; 10-12 a.m. and 2-6 p.m.[57] However, the practice of going home for breakfast had been customary at Wigan, at least in the eighteenth century, for the additional rules of the trustees (11 June 1760) stated 'And we order that the scholars shall not for the future be allowed to be absent from school in order to go home for breakfast as has been usual.'[58] In the lower school of Manchester Grammar School during the last decade of the eighteenth century, the school hours were seven to half past eight; half nine until twelve and from two until five in the afternoon.[59] In summer, five o'clock was the usual finishing time, with Rivington being an exception with its six o'clock end to school.

With the exception of Crosby, where the school hours remained constant throughout the year, schools typically opened an hour later in winter. At Rivington, school started at sunrise and finished at sunset. The closing time at Wigan was three, four or five o'clock depending on the amount of daylight since it was forbidden for candles to be used in school.

Despite the long working day, relatively little time was given for play and holidays. Part of Saturday was a holiday. Pupils at Wigan were free in the afternoon, presumably from eleven o'clock, and a similar order was in force at Blackrod but the master was required to give 'them Exercises to be made ready against the next Schoolday, as Translations, Verses, etc.' Pupils at Wigan had a free Thursday afternoon in winter and a three o'clock finish on that day in summer, while at Blackburn, Thursday afternoons were a holiday all year.

Additionally, holidays were stipulated for the 'knowne holly dayes of the Church of England with halfe of the eve' at Upholland, while at Wigan 'all holy days used in the church of endland [sic] are to be allowed for the schollers refreshment'. The master and usher were also allowed to give limited holidays, as at Blackrod, where they 'may permitt the children to play upon Thursday afternon from three of the Clock if there be no Holyday in the week'. 'For the refreshing of themselves and encouraging of their Scholars', one play day a quarter was allowed at Rivington.

In addition to the masters, holidays could be requested by local dignitaries but the consent of at least three governors was required at Rivington and then no more than two days in a quarter would be allowed. At Blackrod, 'if a Person of Worship and Learning shall desire it', the masters had the power to grant a holiday on Tuesday afternoons. The master at Wigan could grant part of a day a month for recreation but he needed the permission of the Mayor if he was to exceed this. Additionally, no holiday would be allowed on a market day. No play day was to be allowed at Crosby during a week with a holiday in it. During other weeks, a holiday could only be given on Tuesdays or Thursdays, unless it was at the request of 'some worthy person'. If this order was transgressed, a fine of 3s 4d, payable to the Poor, was enforced.

Under the terms of the statutes of Manchester Grammar School, it was ordered that 'Every high-master shall take yearly only 20 days to sport them at one time or sundry times, as they be not both absent at

one time'. This appears to be additional to the two major holidays of Christmas and Easter.

Where reference is made in the statutes to holidays, with the exception of Upholland, Christmas and Easter were mentioned. The holiday extended from ten days before Christmas at Blackrod, 'a full week before' (Hawkshead) and four days before at Manchester. Typically, the pupils returned to school on the next day after Twelfth Night (Rivington), 'the next weekday after' (Wigan) or 'the following Monday' (Blackrod).

The practice of 'barring out', described as a 'savage licence practised in many schools..... by which the boys....growing petulant at the approach of liberty.... took possession of the school of which they barred the doors and bade their masters defiance from the windows' was acknowledged in the statutes of Upholland School, which allowed 'A fortnight and noe more ... to the Schollars for the barreing out of the master before Christmas'.[60] On the other hand, the custom was forbidden by the 1623 statutes of Great Crosby which stated 'that the scholars shall not exclude the Master or Usher at any time before the Nativity of Our Saviour Christ according as it hath been the fashion of some countries but shall be willing to be dismissed by the Master, a week or ten days before the time according to his discretion'.

Easter, the other major holiday, lasted from the Wednesday or Thursday of Holy Week to the Monday following Low Sunday. Although at schools such as Hawkshead, these were the only holidays, other schools enjoyed extra holiday periods. Both Wigan and Blackrod had ten days holiday

at Whitsuntide. Blackrod also had a holiday extending from the Thursday before Shrove Tuesday to the following Thursday. Rivington school appears to be exceptional in that it worked a four term year. These were from the Monday after Easter to the Saturday before Mid-summer-day; from the tenth day after Mid-summer to the Saturday before Michaelmas; from ten days after Michaelmas to the day before St. Thomas's day and from the next day after the Twelfth-day until the Wednesday before Easter.

### (x) Corporal Punishment

In an age which believed very much in the dictum 'spare the rod and spoil the child', as Vincent has pointed out, ' it was thought advisable to take precautionary measures against the abuse of this form of punishment and against other disciplinary actions which a schoolmaster might choose to adopt'.[61] Although elsewhere the schoolmaster was expected to be 'severe in his government' and keep his scholars in 'awe and good order' and ensure that any punishment would be administered 'out of loveing desire', the only schools in Lancashire which sought to control the behaviour of the masters were at Wyersdale and Rivington. Under the constitution of William Cawthorne, it was ordered that the masters 'doe not exceed in their correction above the number of three stripes with the rod'. Nor were they to 'strike any scholar about the head or strike with his fist or the palms of his hands'. The punishment for 'every such stripe or

stroke' was to be a fine of five shillings, deducted from the master's salary.[62] At Rivington, the masters were to be warned by the governors if they treated the scholars too cruelly.

Obviously, the response of each master was idiosyncratic and the very limited evidence that is available merely reflects the extremes. In 1792, John Lemprière unmercifully flogged a boy at Bolton School. In response, the governors, led by Jeremiah Gilpin, the Vicar, added a rule 'When the Headmaster or Usher....shall have any charge or complaint to make against any of the schoolboys..... then such master or usher shall call in four or more trustees who shall hear and determine upon such complaint and such reasonable punishment of the said schoolboy by expulsion or any other punishment shall be inflicted as such four or more trustees shall think fit'. Adding insult to injury, as far as the master was concerned, the trustees further ordered that the rules should be printed in large letters on a board and placed in the higher end of the school. At the same meeting, 'Thomas Smallwood', presumably the culprit, was expelled for 'extremely impudent and atrocious behaviour'. Lemprière resigned in December of that year.[63]

Another master, Samuel White, the usher, was commemorated in the doggerel verses of Joseph Peat, who entered Bolton School in 1808.

" I many a thrashing had from White", he wrote, which is hardly to be marvelled at since

"Old White would often turn his back
Towards the fire and in a crack
Therein we popped gunpowder squibs"

It was then that White exacted retribution

"then his mighty cane did shake
Oh such a one it made me quake
Twas wrapped with string and cobblers' wax
And left its mark upon our back".[64]

By way of contrast, the later stage, at least, of the mastership of Charles Lawson at Manchester Grammar School, was characterised by 'the entire absence of all forms of corporal punishment', a state of affairs due to the loyalty of the masters and upper boys, so that the master could afford to laugh over Horace's 'plagosus Orbilius'.' Discipline was maintained by the self-restraint and example of the older boys, these being, for the most part, boarders in the master's house.[65] Yet, apparently, such had been the vigour of Lawson's discipline in his earlier years that he had been known as 'The Flogging Turk'.[66]

Support for the disciplinary procedures of the masters was sought from parents who were expected to put their children unreservedly under the masters' control. Frequently, school orders enjoined them not to interfere with the masters' discipline. At Merchant Taylors' School, the 1623 Articles began, in fact, with 'Articles for the Parents and Friends'. Among the items, it was stated 'you shall be content your children shall have due and reasonable correction either for misusing themselves in manners or negligence in learning'. Parents of pupils at Wigan promised at the admission of their children that 'All schollers of what degree soever are to submit to due correction by the schoolmaster or usher'. All correction was 'referred to the

schoolmaster's discretion'. 'Parents that molest the schoolmaster against reason and order for the correction of their children, their children shall be utterly expelled the school for ever, unless they can prove the correction unreasonable'.[67]

Scholars were also expected to support the master or usher when dealing with unruly pupils. At Wigan, 'all schollers shall be ...ready to help the Master or Usher for the due and lawful correction of any stubborn schollers that resisteth'. Similarly, pupils at Manchester were expected to help the masters ' for the correction lawfully of any Scholar'.

Further control was exercised over pupils by ordinances which stipulated that the masters should accompany the pupils to church on Sundays and Holydays. At Rivington, Wigan and Hawkshead, masters and pupils were to sit together. 'One or more of the schollers' were to to appointed at Wigan 'to view and take notice of such schollers as shall not decently behave themselves'.

Pupils were also forbidden to frequent ale-houses (Hawkshead); to avoid such unlawful games as cards and dice (Wigan and Hawkshead) and cockfighting (Middleton). They were not to carry any weapons, especially daggers, in school (Hawkshead, Wigan and Manchester). Lying, swearing, cursing and filthy language were forbiddden (Upholland and Rivington). What was recommended was 'shooting the long bow', running, leaping and other harmless sports.

## (xi) School Situation and Design

A common feature of the eighteenth century grammar school was its physical proximity to the parish church, which also served to reinforce further the relationship between the school and religion. The link was, in fact, an extension of the situation in medieval times when the school was held in the church before specialist buildings were set up. In the more remote areas of Lancashire, due either to the lack of an endowment for the building of a school, or because of the small numbers of pupils involved, schools continued to be held in the parish church or chapel during the eighteenth century. Although their claims to grammar school status are very limited, the fact that the schools were taught by the curate indicates, in most cases, that instruction in Latin was possible at the chapel-schools at Seathwaite, Blawith, Torver (where before 1757, it was usual for the curate to teach a Grammar and English school) and Lowick.[68] Another example of a chapel-school was at Scarisbrick which was described in the Notitia Cestriensis as a 'Grammar School built for a meeting house in Oliver's time'.[69]

The chantry schools were originally held in the chapel to which the chantry was attached. Prior to the completion of Manchester Grammar School in 1519 at a cost of £218, the teaching had undoubtedly taken place in the collegiate church. Similarly, before the school had been built at Halsall, it had been held in the vestry.

Other schools closely linked physically to the parish church included Bolton built on ground belonging to the Vicar, while 'The place agreed upon for the erection of the Schoolhouse [at Ormskirk] is by and with the consent of William Knowles, Vicar, on the north side of the church-yearde in or near the place where the olde Schoole was begunne to be erected'.[70] A terrier of 1592, located Prescot School on the north side of the churchyard.[71] Leigh Grammar School was only built in 1685, so, presumably, before that date, the school had been held in a local church.[72] As a final example, Bury School was re-built in 1787 at a cost of £1330 on the site of the old school, near the parish church.[73]

A number of school statutes relate either to processions to, or services at, the parish church, which again indicates a close physical relationship. At Manchester 'The high-master and usher, for the time being, every Wednesday and Friday weekly for ever, with their scholars being and going two by two together, shall go in procession solemnly before the Warden of the said college...... and every scholar to say, if he be able of learning the Common Liturgy ...'. At Heskin, the scholars processed to the church on St. James' day for a Commemoration Service'.[74]

Although a number of school buildings have survived, information regarding the design and organisation of the grammar schools of Lancashire in the eighteenth century is still limited. Although there are examples of elaborate school design, outside the county, for example at Harrow, Charterhouse and Shrewsbury, the dominant designs

in Lancashire were the two storey buildings for the larger schools and the single room for the smaller school, with additional accommodation for the master.[75]

Middleton School, built at a cost of £135, was completed by approximately 1586 and was apparently the later model for the schools at Oldham and Bolton. Like many other urban grammar schools, despite the appropriateness of its original site, it became hemmed in by developments associated with the Industrial Revolution and the silting up of a local brook led to a tendency to flooding. The schoolroom was originally sixty feet long by twenty-three feet and lighted by four large five-light mullioned and transomed windows, occupying the two central bays with two in each wall; and six four-light mullioned windows without transons, three in each outer bay. The chambers for the master and usher occupied each of the outer bays, with the central bays being open to the roof. Externally, the school-house measured sixty-nine feet by twenty-eight feet by seventeen feet to the eaves.[76]

Great Crosby School was begun in 1619 and roofed over by Michaelmas 1621. John Harrison, who had acted as the local agent for the founder, agreed to superintend the building of the school but was reprimanded, on several occasions, by the Merchant Taylors' Company for not keeping good accounts and for not pressing the builders to get on with the job. 'The Schoole hath beene long in hand and wee understand .... that it is not yet covered wch wee mervaile at'. Harrison was requested to travel to London and to ' bring your accompts & the contract between the Mason and your Selfe.... it hath been a farr more chargeable worke

than was expected'. The master's house was only completed in 1623 and it was not until 1626 that the school gardens were finally laid out. The school, which covered about one acre, was of two storeys, with two porches and mullioned windows in front and behind the school and in the four bays. At the eastern end of the school was the master's house. Between the school and the house, within the school walls, was a stone staircase which led to the upper storey, which was divided into 'certain small rooms' for the usher and, perhaps, the servants. A plan of 1789, by Edward Brettargh, showed the master's house to the east of the school building. In the Charity Commissioners' report of 1826, it was noted that a small piece of 17 perches had been purchased by the Company in 1799 and added to the school premises for the master's benefit.[77]

Heskin School was described in the Wase returns as 'a tall and stately structure of hewn stone'. Its dimensions were 19 y 1f 2in by 5y 0½in.[78] Prescot School, which was disused after 1759, was 50 feet by 20 feet and catered for sixty pupils.[79]

Halsall School, situated in the church-yard and 'an ancient building' at the time of the Charity Commissioners survey, was divided into a boy's and a girls' school. About twenty-seven boys were taught by the master in the lower school room, while the upper schoolroom was used by the master's wife to teach the girls.[80] Other two storey buidings included West Derby (girls in the lower and boys in the upper schoolroom), Ulverston, where the grammar school occupied the top floor and a writing school the lower floor, and Marton.[81]

**(xii) Number of Pupils in the Grammar Schools**

At the time of the Charity Commissioners' survey, the number of pupils in the grammar schools of Lancashire ranged from one hundred and fifty to five, leaving aside those schools which had closed. (Table 2.5) The largest schools were Manchester, Rivington, Marton, Hoghton and Penwortham. Both Hoghton and Penwortham coped with the large numbers by teaching pupils on the National System, apart from five pupils at Penwortham, who were learning the rudiments of Latin. Other schools with over one hundred pupils included Newburgh, Garstang, Dalton-in-Furness and North Meols. Likewise, the latter two schools catered for their pupils by using Dr. Bell's system. Thus, of the nine largest schools with claims to grammar school status, only Manchester could be confidently placed in that category by the early nineteenth century.

Numbers of pupils tended to fluctuate, rising under the influence of an efficient master and falling when the standard of schooling declined, usually due to the infirmity or old age of the master. Similarly, school numbers were affected by their success in attracting fee-payers and boarders, in addition to the local scholars. In times of political unrest, there was a national tendency for the number of boarders to decline but this influence upon individual schools is almost impossible to determine due to the inadequacy of the records.

## Table 2.5

### Numbers of Pupils in Schools (at time of Charity Commissioners' Reports)

| | |
|---|---|
| Over 100 Pupils: | Clifton-with-Salwick; Dalton-in-Furness; Garstang; Hoghton; Manchester; Marton; Newburgh; North Meols; Penwortham; Rivington; Townbank. |
| 75-99 Pupils: | Bretherton; Broughton; Copp; Goosnargh; Kirkham; Wigan. |
| 50-74 Pupils: | Ashton-in-Makerfield; Bispham; Bolton; Burtonwood; Burnley; Bury; Halsall; Melling; Prescot; Presall; St. Michael's-upon-Wyre; Upholland. |
| 25-49 Pupils: | Aspull; Bispham (Eccleston); Blachburn; Blackrod; Bleasdale; Cartmel; Coulton; Dixon Green; Hawkshead; Leigh; Leyland; Lowick; Newchurch-in-Rossendale; Ormskirk; Overwyersdale; Pilling; Preston; Standish; Urswick. |
| 25 - Pupils: | Clitheroe; Cockerham; Colne; Farnworth; Great Crosby; Kirkby Ireleth; Lea; Oldham; Rochdale; Stand; Tarleton; Warrington; Whalley; Winwick. |

(xii) **Number of Pupils in the Grammar Schools**

At the time of the Charity Commissioners' survey, the number of pupils in the grammar schools of Lancashire ranged from one hundred and fifty to five, leaving aside those schools which had closed. (Table 2.5) The largest schools were Manchester, Rivington, Marton, Hoghton and Penwortham. Both Hoghton and Penwortham coped with the large numbers by teaching pupils on the National System, apart from five pupils at Penwortham, who were learning the rudiments of Latin. Other schools with over one hundred pupils included Newburgh, Garstang, Dalton-in-Furness and North Meols. Likewise, the latter two schools catered for their pupils by using Dr. Bell's system. Thus, of the nine largest schools with claims to grammar school status, only Manchester could be confidently placed in that category by the early nineteenth century.

Numbers of pupils tended to fluctuate, rising under the influence of an efficient master and falling when the standard of schooling declined, usually due to the infirmity or old age of the master. Similarly, school numbers were affected by their success in attracting fee-payers and boarders, in addition to the local scholars. In times of political unrest, there was a national tendency for the number of boarders to decline but this influence upon individual schools is almost impossible to determine due to the inadequacy of the records.

In addition to these general aspects, schools were liable to both seasonal and yearly fluctuations in numbers. The Charity Commissioners' reports, both printed and manuscript, provide the most accurate attendance figures for schools but these do relate to the 1820s. Evidence for numbers in school in the eighteenth and earlier centuries is largely lacking.

The problem of seasonal fluctuations was most acute in rural areas, due, presumably, to the demands for child labour. This was most evident in summer, when numbers at school were at their lowest. At Bispham, numbers varied from 30 in summer to 60 in winter. Dalton's numbers ranged from 80 to 130, while at Halsall, there were '54 at present, 75 last winter'. Bleasdale's numbers varied from 6 to 30 'according to the time of year'. At Thornton, there were usually 150 in winter and 100 in summer 'except at harvest time' and at Great Copp between 60 and 70 and 110.[82] Town and high status grammar schools did not report such variations in number but it was noted at Cartmel that the average attendance was fifty 'but more in winter'.[83]

The problem of attendance was not a nineteenth phenomenon as a similar problem had been noted at Merchant Taylors' School in the mid-seventeenth century. In 1651, in reply to the Company, who had received a complaint from the inhabitants of Crosby regarding the neglect of the school by Mr. Kidde, as part of the excuse for his behaviour, he wrote

'The ordinary absence of the scholars many of them kept away 2 or 3 dayes in a week especially in plow time but most of all in haytime and harvest when they are absent a whole quarter of a yeare together and yett tis expected they should profitt'.[84]

Apart from isolated references to the number of pupils in a school, little is known about this aspect, since, with two exceptions registers have not survived. The two exceptions are Rivington and Manchester and both provide a great deal of information about the eighteenth century.

The register for Rivington for 1575-6, apparently one of the two oldest extant, lists one hundred and fourteen pupils. However, this number was not to be reached again for more than two hundred years. In 1613, a Commission of Inquiry into the government of the school, by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, stated that due to neglect, the school was in a state of 'decay' for 'there hath been 80, 100 120 there at one tyme and nowe not above 30'. The 1615 school list was made up of thirty-eight pupils, while the 1623 list had increased to sixty-five. By 1627, the number of scholars had declined to twenty-nine, probably reflecting the departure of the master, George Rudall, some two years earlier, and the gap of six months when the school was without a master. Further decline continued with twenty-six in 1632 and eight in 1633. Only eight pupils are named in 1642, the only list available between 1633 and 1678, but there is a possibility that this is the number of new entrants rather than the total in the school. When the register was

begun again in 1678, by John Bradley, there was something of a revival with forty-eight names and this continued with fifty-six in 1681.

During the eighteenth century, the register provides lists of newcomers, numbers leaving, information about boarders and the numbers under the master and the usher, although such information is not provided consistently for each year. Until 1727, the names of pupils entering the school are given. These averaged about thirteen a year with, for instance, eighteen in 1717 and a low of seven in 1711. In January 1728, there were forty pupils on roll, with seventeen of these under the master. By 1731, 'The Names of the Present Number of Scholars in the Upper End of the School' came to twenty-seven. In 1734, there must have been a small decrease in school numbers for sixteen pupils left in that year and there were only eight newcomers. In 1742, the forty-six pupils were divided equally between the masters. By 1757, the master had twenty-seven scholars and the usher forty, including fourteen girls. Between 1765 and 1780, numbers declined. In 1765, there were forty-six pupils and only twelve with the master; forty-four in 1773 and thirty-four in 1780, the nadir. Gradually, numbers increased. In 1787, there were forty-three in the school and by 1790, the master's department was up to twenty-seven. During the last decade of the eighteenth century, numbers increased rapidly but the onus was mainly on the usher and the newly appointed writing master. In 1799, they had, between them, one hundred and five pupils.[65] This

Table 2.6

Entrants to Manchester Grammar School 1734-1799

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1734-1739 | 142 | ( 6-45 ) |
| 1740-1749 | 192 | ( 5-39 ) |
| 1750-1759 | 285 | ( 12-35 ) |
| 1760-1769 | 394 | ( 21-53 ) |
| 1770-1779 | 536 | ( 38-76 ) |
| 1780-1789 | 478 | ( 27-68 ) |
| 1790-1799 | 278 | ( 13-41 ) |

Total Entrants 2,305

Range of Yearly Entrants 5 (1746) - 76 (1779)

Based on The Admission Registers of the Manchester School, (ed. Rev. Jeremial Finch Smith), Chetham Society, Vol. LXVIII (MDCLXVI)

increase has been ascribed to the Governors acting under the pressure of local opinion in 'substituting children from the locality instead of foreigners'.[66] This explanation is very simplistic and ignores the point that the majority of pupils in the usher's department, which had shown the greatest increase had always, as far as it is known, attracted local children. The more likely explanation is that the curriculum being provided by the writing master was viewed as being more relevant.

Admission details, as well as information regarding university entrants and parental occupations, are available for Manchester Grammar School from the 1730s to the end of the century. (Table 2.6)[67] Between 1734 and 1799, 2,305 pupils entered the school. Excluding the information for the incomplete decade 1734-39, the lowest total was one hundred and ninety-two admissions between 1740 and 1749, while peak entrants numbered five hundred and thirty-six in the 1770s. The average number entering the school, during each of the decades, ranged from about twenty to fifty-four a year.

Mumford has also estimated the probable school population as 90-100 (1732-49), 150-200 (1764-82) and 120-150 (1783-1807). These estimates appear to be on the high side since he calculated average yearly admissions to be forty-eight (1732-49), fifty-eight (1764-82) and thirty-one (1783-1807).[68] In fact, the averages for the three periods were respectively twenty-one, fifty and thirty-four.

Evidence is also available from the 1620s onwards with regard to the numbers at Merchant Taylors' School. It was built originally

with a population of sixty scholars in mind. By December 1622, there were thirty pupils and an usher was appointed. On 23 July, the Company decided to send a visitation to the school, which commented in its report that the school was 'very slenderly furnished with scholars and many of those scholars the children of poor people and some of them papists'. A second inspection of the school in 1648 used exactly the same terminology, with the additional information that there was 'not above thirty boys there'. The reason for the decline was the Rev. Kidde's neglect of the school in favour of his duties as minister. On his appointment in 1651, John Stevens wrote in a letter that reached the Company on 14 October 'I cannot leave it worse than I found it, there being scarce a number in it besides such as have not yet learned their alphabet'. Within a year of his appointment, Edward Mollinex had increased the number of scholars to sixty, as Mr. Hartley of Manchester informed the Company in a letter of 29 April 1654. It also seems that Mollinex began to attract a number of boarders and so the Company agreed to spend £50 on extending the master's house to accommodate the boarders. There is no further evidence regarding the number of pupils in the school before 1750. In that year, Doctor Richard Pococke noted in his diary on 1 July: 'walked three miles to Mr. Halser's [Halsall) at Grosby [sic], a clergyman who has about forty West Indian boarders with him'.[63] Such a number of boarders, if accurate, would reflect a school population of about seventy to eighty pupils. A further sign of the prosperity of the

school is the Minute of the Merchant Taylors' Company for 8 July 1761 in which the appointment of an usher was authorised. In his return to the Bishop of Chester in 1778, Rev. William Troutbeck stated 'I give an account to the Merchant Taylors each year of the Boys taught gratis which has never been less than 40'. He also pointed out that ' I soon had a full School and was not able to take proper care of them myself'. Ushers continued to be a problem, due to the small endowment and in May 1800, Rev. Matthew Chester wrote to the Company pointing out the inadequacy of the usher's salary and 'that the number of scholars now under his care are from 35 to 40, rather more than usual during haytime and harvest'. A class of that size for the usher suggests a school of at least sixty. Chester was again writing to the Company on 25 January 1804, pointing out that he had 'between 40 and 50 scholars under my care'. As a result of the dispute with the villagers over the imposition of fees for writing and arithmetic, the school roll declined to about 50 in 1811; to 38 in 1821; 18 in 1822 and 21 at the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit.[90]

One other source for school rolls in the eighteenth century is the 1778 Returns. Although such information is not available for all schools, a number of returns did record the total pupils. At Blackrod, there were twenty pupils with the master and fifty with the usher; forty children at North Meols; thirty boys and fifteen girls at Oldham; thirty-four boys at Prescot; forty at Farnworth. Walton had thirty in summer and double that number in winter;

thirty at West Derby; sixty-five at Clitheroe; ninety at Penwortham; seventy at Standish; twenty to thirty at Bispham; eight to ten at Poulton in summer and double that number in winter; about forty at Bolton-le-Sands; forty to fifty at Warton; fifty at Broughton and sixty at Rochdale. At Hindley, the number of boys was uncertain. The nine boys referred to at Leigh merely reflected the free scholars.[91]

(xiii) **Ages of Entry**

Areas about which there is very little information concern the age of entry to grammar school; the time they spent there; the leaving age of the pupils with the exception of those going to university, and the internal organisation of the schools.

DeMolen has argued recently, that the accepted ages at which boys went to grammar school of six and seven, having learnt the 'petties' between four and five, is inaccurate, and that the usual age of entry, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at least, was nine years.[92] Although the posssibility of the grammar school providing elementary education is acknowledged, it does assume that once the child entered the school, he would at once begin to study the classics. Charlton has pointed out that it was the general practice to teach the elementary subjects in the grammar school as an integral part of the curriculum. Additionally, pupils could leave the grammar school with no more than a basic education.[93]

DeMolen's thesis seems to fall down in relation to actual practice in the grammar schools. In a relatively high number of cases, there was no provision for an usher and the concept of 'division of labour' would not apply. In such a case, unless instruction in reading or writing was available locally, it would have to be provided in the grammar school as a necessary preliminary to learning the classics. As a consequence of this basic educational requirement, it would seem logical that pupils, as young as six or seven years old, were admitted into the grammar schools.

Some educationalists did object to grammar schools teaching a basic education. John Brinsley, for example, in his Ludus Literarius, published in 1612, wrote "It seemeth to me an unreasonable thing that the grammar school should be troubled with teaching ABC seeing it so great a hindrance to the pains which we should take with our grammar schools for whom we are appointed".[94] This, if carried out in practice, would have restricted the number of very young pupils in the schools.

John Aubrey 'would not have them come to grammar school before nine or admitted after twelve years old' but previously the 'young gentlemen' would have been educated at home under their domestic nurses and governesses. Education would start at the age of about four with the nurses teaching them pleasant, short songs in order to 'exercise their tender young memories with delight' and giving them 'an habit of speaking plain and clear'. They would learn Latin, rather than Gothic, characters, towards the age of five and,

when proficient in the letters, receive a spelling book. At the age of five or six, the children would learn their numbers and be introduced to reading, not the Bible 'as the common way is' but to Comenius' Ianua Linguorum in English. With this background, the boy would then be ready to enter the grammar school.[95]

School rules shed little insight into the ages of entry into grammar schools. The only reference was in the 1597 statutes for Blackburn Grammar School where it was stated 'Noe Schollars are to be admited to the Schole under the age of ffyvve yeares and such only as shall be in fittinge soarte, fitt to conceave laringe etc.'.[96]

Unlike the situation elsewhere, where it was often stipulated in the statutes of the grammar schools that the pupils should be able to read on entry, no such provision seems to have been made in Lancashire, although two schools, Bury and Ormskirk, did so in the eighteenth century.

At Rivington, it was the wish that 'none be admitted to the School but can read' but in accepting that this would not always be possible 'in great need the Usher shall teach such to read'. The role of teaching the infants their ABC was given to the scholar that the master 'thinketh best' at Manchester. The master at Warrington Grammar School had no usher but was required to 'appoint every day one of his scholars learning Grammar of the two highest forms in the School one after another as the said Scholars shall sitte in order to teach all infants that shall come to the said

school to learn their ABC and Primars & so forth till they be entered into the learning of Grammar'.[97]

Thus, although the grammar schools had ben founded to teach the classical languages, they had in fact to make provision, in the majority of cases, for the teaching of reading. The references to 'infants' also suggests the presence of very young children. As a consequence, the result was probably children in the schools aged from five onwards, engaged in the learning of 'petties'. By the eighteenth century, it is possible that opportunities to learn to read were increasingly available outside the grammar schools, which, in consequence, could introduce school orders which insisted upon such a requirement as a prerequisite to entry.

### (xiv) Internal School Organisation

Information regarding the internal organisation of the grammar schools is very limited. In the statutes for Rivington,

> 'The Master and Usher shall divide their Scholars into forms more or fewer as the number of them shall require and as they be able and the Scholars have wit to learn. Commonly, either of them may teach three forms and ten or twelve in every form; and those must be in one form that be of like forwardness in learning and capacity to understand what is taught. Dullards and negligent may not hold back the diligent and forward'

This, in fact, implies a system of streaming but within each form there would be a wide age range. According to the twenty-second item of the Statutes of Wigan Grammar School (1664) 'Each Scholar shall be placed according to his progress in Learning'. At

Blackburn (1597), 'The formes or sieges may be seaven if the capabilities and poseedings of the schollars so require'.

No details have survived comparable to those of Wolverhampton Grammar School for 1609. Here the school was divided into four forms under the master with a total of twenty-eight pupils and three forms under the usher with forty-one pupils. Although the average age of the forms increased from 8 years to 17 years, a characteristic of each form was its range. For example, the range in the lowest form was 6 to 13 years and in 'The Former Part of the Third Form' was from 9 to 17 years, with an average of thirteen and a half.[98]

The most detailed evidence available is for Warrington Grammar School for the 1820s. In his evidence to the Charity Commissioners, the headmaster, Rev. Wiliam Boardman, answered 'I cannot state the precise ages of the boys in the school but I think the senior boy is in his fifteenth year and the youngest about nine'. There is, however, in the Charity Commissioners' file for Warrington, a list of boys in the lower school about 1820, which, probably, reflects the school organisation in the eighteenth century, at least as far as the usher was concerned. The first class was divided into four forms. In the first form were three 7 year olds; in the second eight pupils (three aged 8; two aged 9; one aged 10 and two aged 11); six pupils in the third form (one aged 7; 3 aged 8; one aged 9and 1 aged 11) and in the fourth form there were three boys, aged nine, ten and twelve.[99]

Several descriptions have survived of Manchester Grammar School in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In the late 1790s, Samuel Bamford, later known as the Rochdale Weaver, entered the school which was

'a large room of an oblong form extending north and south.......At the northern end of it was a fireplace with a red cheerful glow in the grate. The master's custom was to sit in an arm-chair with his right hand towards the fire and his left arm resting on a square oaken table, on which lay a newspaper or two, a magazine or other publication, a couple of canes with the ends split and a medley of boy's playthings.......The scholars were divided into six classes, namely Accidence or Introduction into Latin, Higher Bible, Middle Bible and Lower Bible, Testament and Spelling Classes. The Accidence class sat opposite the master and the Higher Bible class was at the back. Each class sat on a strong oaken bench, backed by a panel of the same against the wall and a narrow desk in front, so that all sat round the room in regular gradation. The spellers only had not a desk, they sat on forms outside the desk of the Higher Bible class, they being considered as children among the boys'.

After the daily 'mustering and flogging', each class in turn gathered round the master's table and went through their lesssons. Any child who could make out a word in spelling or reading, when those above were at fault, would then move up 'thus the quickest spellers and readers were always the upper end of their class'. Promotion apparently depended both upon ability and having friends in a higher class. If a boy at the head of the class had friends in the next class 'their head boy would take him by the hand and leading him to the master would say "If you please sir, must ______ (mentioning the surname) go into my class?' The master would then give an immediate decision.[100]

De Quincy, who entered the school in 1800, wrote that

'The schoolroom, though of ample proportions, was dreary, and the external walls, which might have been easily and at little expense adorned with scenes from classical history, were quite bare, nothing relieved the monotony'.

On his introduction into the school, he was asked to put into Latin part of one of Steele's papers in the 'Spectator'. Lawson complimented him on his rendering 'the first and last time he did such a thing'. He spent his first evening in the boarding house discussing Grotius 'whose book on the evidences of Christianity was prescribed for the Sunday evening exercise' He, also, was impressed with the boys' knowledge of literature stating 'I have not found anywhere a greater comprehensive knowledge of the subject'.[101]

Another account of the school derives from George Morewood, who entered the school in the summer of 1771 and stayed until 1780. He transferred out of the Lower and into the Middle School, which with the Upper School was held in the long schoolroom, after Christmas 1772. Here there were three masters, Mr. Lawson, Mr. Darby and Mr. Jackson. Morewood's impression of Lawson was that he was not a profound teacher but he had a strong sense of justice and was impartial in his dealings with the boys.[102]

A more critical account of the school is derived from Thomas Seddon.

'In that highly reputable Grammar School at Manchester (though fixed as Fate to the dunces' form) I must by dint of memory have been made into a decent classic, for the progression there is so cautiously slow that,according to the rules established there, neither the brightest boy nor the most consumate blockhead is permittted to advance more than one class in twelve months, so ythat the ignorant associating with the igenious through a course of education cannot remain in ignorance' [103]

(xv) **Private Schools**

During the eighteenth century, a number of private schools were set up, in some cases, in direct opposition to existing grammar schools. An interesting example was the school set up by Mr. Mingay at Hawkshead. In the Wordsworth family accounts for 1785, he is described as a dancing master, receiving £2:18:6 for teaching the four Wordsworth boys to dance. Two years after William left the school in 1789, Mr. Mingay's 'dancing school' had become the 'Hawkshead School and Military Academy' and the curriculum was now French, 'writing in all hands', merchant's acounts, geography and the use of globes, dancing, fencing and music.[104]
At Bury, a private classical school took over the role of the town grammar school, when the latter fell into disuse in the early eighteenth century. In the diary of Richard Kay is an entry 'My sons Richard, Samuel and John were first entered at the Latin School with Mr. Rider on Monday 6th. February 1715-6..... and little Thomas went the day after. Mr. Rider was but newly come to teach there and then Mr. Boardman became usher'. Boardman had, from

the 1690s, been the master of the grammar school. John Kay was six and a half at the time, while Richard, who was nearly nine, left the school in 1724 at the age of almost seventeen. Richard Kay paid 5s. a quarter to Thomas Rider for classical instruction (with a rebate for absences!) and 1s 6d a quarter to Thomas Boardman for teaching Greek Testament to Thomas. The school closed in 1724 with two of the brothers transferring to Mr. Antrobus' school at Knutsford and two to Stand Grammar School.[105]

A number of private schools were set up in Manchester in the course of the eighteenth century. Among these was the school of Rev. Henry Whiteoake Fawcett held in a 'large commodious room' opposite the Half-Moon Tavern in Deansgate. Thre he taught 'English, Latin and Arithmetic, writing and merchant accomplishments in a plain, easy, useful and concise, yet comprehensive method'. Fawcett also had to reassure the Manchester public that 'the maliciously spread' report that the school had 'more scholars than he can well teach' and that he could not take in any more scholars was 'groundless and entirely inconsistent with truth'.[106]

In April 1754, James Wolstenholme, who had been a pupil at the grammar school and who 'stands well recommended by the master, the Rev. Mr. Purnell' notified the Manchester public that he intended to open a school 'for the reception of those who desire to learn in the English, the rudiments of the Latin tongue'. The methods to be employed would be those recommended by his former headmaster.[107]

Another school was run by Leonard and Thomas Burrow who taught English 'in the most easy and expeditious way for learners', Latin and Greek 'following herein the course and customs of the best schools'; writing and arithmetic 'universally and compendiously taught with an application of it to all the useful purposes of life and branches of trade; Book-keeping, Mensuration etc.' 'Ladies' were also 'taught needlework in a commodious department under the same roof'.[108]

As a final example, in December 1763, Henry Whittaker, writing master and accountant, reported that he had engaged William Payne to instruct young ladies and gentlemen in the art of drawing.[109]

The presence of these schools suggests that, even when the grammar schools were seemingly meeting local educational requirements, there was still a demand for schools offering an alternative education, especially in relation to a wider and more relevant curriculum. What is unknown is the extent to which these schools attracted pupils not in sympathy with the views of the Established Church but even in this sector of education, the role played by clergymen of the Church of England was very significant.

An interesting link between the grammar schools and private academies is provided by Upholland Grammar School. In 1782, John Braithwaite was appointed headmaster. About one year later, he began to take boarders into his house. He laid aside the title 'grammar school' in favour of 'Upholland Academy', which 'was held in high estimation and resorted to by youths from various parts of

the kingdom'.[110] As an indication of the social standing of the boarders, the fees amounted to over 100 guineas a year.

(xvi) School Trustees

Although the basic roles of the school governors or trustees were broadly similar, the composition of these bodies varied greatly from school to school. The distinction was primarily between those schools governed by a distant body and those whose governors were local men, although a number of schools combined these aspects.
Three Lancashire grammar schools came directly under the control of London Companies. The Drapers' Company was responsible for the schools at Kirkham and Goosnargh and the Merchant Taylors' Company for the school at Great Crosby. Although control at a distance of more than two hundred miles was adequate when the school was running smoothly, this was not the case when disputes or problems arose. This was admitted by the Charity Commissioners in relation to Kirkham School but here the situation was ameliorated, to some extent, by each of the fifteen townships sending representatives to a meeting each year at which six visitors for the school would be elected. Their function was both to watch over the school and to provide information to the Drapers' Company.[111]
In 1629, a high powered deputation was sent to examine the Merchant Taylors' School at Crosby. A further visit took place in 1648 but there is no extant evidence for any further visit by the Company

until 1822, when the headmaster and villagers were in dispute. In the intervening period, it had either appointed, or ratified the appointment of masters and had generally kept in touch with the school by means of letters. But it was, also, realised that there was need for a local body to supervise the school and in the report of 1648, it was recommended that as 'the want of often examinations of the school hath been a great cause of the decay ......power be given to some learned men and others dwelling thereabouts to be supervisors and to cause examination to be made of the scholars twice every year to see how they profit, from whom the Company may be informed from time to time of the proficiency of the scholars and how the master and usher do perform their duties'.'[12] In 1652, Edward Mollinex was appointed upon the recommendation of the Visitors who visited the school in the following year to ascertain his progress. Between 1660 and 1663, the Visitors continued their twice yearly inspections.The appointment of Visitors continued after Rev. John Waring took up his post. However, from 1711, when Gerard Varing had been appointed to the school on petition to the Company by the local inhabitants, to 1788, there were apparently no visits to the school by any member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, nor were any local visitors elected. In 1788, John Beatson of Holt, near Chorley, a Company Warden, who made frequent visits to his Lancashire home for reasons of health, was asked by the Company to oversee the school in conjunction with the Rev. Nicholas Baldwin. The reason for the reappointment of Visitors after a long

gap might have been due to the Lancashire connection of Beatson jogging the Company's memory in relation to this school. More probably, however, it was associated with a query over the legal possession of land acquired for the school by Rev. Anthony Halsall, sometime before 1755. The Company wondered if the land belonged to it and asked the Visitors to investigate this matter.[113]

The Letters Patent for Middleton Grammar School constituted the Principal and Fellows of Brasenose College Oxford as governors of the school with power to regulate its affairs, fix the masters' salaries and control its endowment revenues, as well as nominating the six scholarships to be held in the college. In this case, there were no local trustees. However, financial problems arising during the Civil War and Commonwealth period led to prominent local families, such as the Asshetons and Hopwoods, taking a more active interest in the school. It also meant that the upkeep of the school was placed in the hands of the local community and in 1781, extensive structural repairs were carried out at the expense of the parish.

The problems arising from the relationship with Brasenose College led eventually to a legal action in Chancery, the main object of which was to recover the surplus income from the Nowell endowments for the school. In 1831, the application was rejected on the grounds that Middleton School was only entitled to the stipend arising out of the endowment; a decision that was confirmed on appeal to the House of Lords in 1834.[114]

At Rivington, the role of the Master and Seniors of St. John's College, Cambridge, was basically to oversee the work of the governors. However, they assumed the founder's statutes as giving them the right to appoint the masters, settling disputes over the appointment of governors and reforming abuses in the school. A basic problem was that Pilkington made no financial provision for the College to carry out these tasks. A conflict between the College and the governors arose in 1617, when the Master and Seniors wrote to say that they had appointed certain gentlemen to look into the school's afairs and reform them. The governors in reply stated that the College, under the Statutes, had no right to reform abuses and that the right of visitor belonged to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In the same year, a dispute with the master, John Ainsworth, was dealt with through the Duchy of Lancaster, rather than St. John's College. One useful link with the College meant that the governors did not have the trouble of appointing masters. Usually, this worked out well, although there were occasions, such as in 1633, when the College chose William Duckworth as master in opposition to the governors' candidate, when conflict arose. In 1788, the College nominee, Samuel Waring, was rejected at a public vestry meeting on the grounds of his youth. On this occasion, there was no dispute with the College, for the governors were soon writing to them seeking a fresh appointment. In October 1797, Mr. Craven, the Master of the College, showed a personal interest in writing to assure the governors that they

should be free of blame or censure with regard to irregularities concerning the appointment of at least two governors 'should the matter come to the knowledge of the Visitor'. [115]

The Mayor and Corporations at Liverpool, Lancaster, Preston and Wigan had responsibility for the town grammar school. There were a number of advantages in such bodies supporting the schools. First of all, there was the local interest and involvement. Secondly, the Corporation provided continuity in control and management. Thirdly, through its power to raise a rate, the Corporation was able to secure the financial position of the school, as happened at Liverpool, for example, in 1565 and 1601. Fourthly, the Corporation could support the school by bringing legal force to bear. Again, taking an example from Liverpool, in February 1565, the town obtained a grant which confirmed the Certificate ordering the wages of the master to be paid annually by the Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster to the Mayor and Burgesses, after the Duchy had refused to accept the Continuation Certificate of the Chantry Commissioners. [116] A disdavantage of such local control was also, shown at Liverpool, in that if there was a powerful local faction opposed to expenditure on the school, then it could be allowed to decline. In 1801, the question of building an enlarged school at Liverpool was referred to the Select Finance Committee, which issued an order in 1802 for an immediate start on a new school. The death of the master, John Baines, led to what was officially a temporary

closure of the school in 1803 but it was never re-opened. An additional factor was that Baines had been the driving force behind the new building, proposed from 1774, and it could have been his death which allowed his opponents on the Corporation to delay, and then finally kill off, any scheme to build a new school, though why they should have wished to do so remains obscure.[117]
Considerable variations were also to be noted in the sizes of the governing bodies, ranging from fifty to one. By Letters Patent of 1567, it was ordered that 'fifty men of the more discreet and honest of the inhabitants [of Blackburn] or freeholders in the said town and parish........ shall be called governors'. A problem arose, however, over finding the full complement of fifty and the Charity Commissioners discovered, in fact, thirty-three, with the last election having been held in 1819, when fifteen new governors had been chosen.[118] Another large governing body was at Cartmel, where 'The Twenty Four' had the right of appointing the master.[119] Croston with twenty-two, Warrington with sixteen and Lowton and Ormskirk with fifteen trustees were other sizeable governing bodies. More usually, the trustees numbered between twelve and six as at Bispham, Bolton, Blackrod, Rivington, Bolton-le-Sands, Croston, Leigh, Leyland, Manchester, Oldham, Penwortham, Upholland, Prescot, Poulton, Farnworth, Standish, Tarleton, Urswick, Burtonwood, Burnley, Clitheroe, Newchurch, Aspull and Ashton-in-Makerfield.
In schools where there was only one trustee, this was usually the result of the heir, or named representative of the founder, being

responsible for the appointment of the master. At Kirkland, the owner of Kirkland Hall had this right. Similarly, at Clifton-with-Salwick, the heir of the founder was responsible for the school, as was the case at Presall-with-Hackensall, Newburgh, Warmpton and Winwick. In the majority of the cases, the Charity Comisssioners supported the enlargement of the body of trustees.

At Rochdale, Warmpton and Bretherton, the Charity Commissioners found no legally constituted trustees. At Rochdale, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or in default the Master of Corpus Christi College, or in his default the Vicar had power to appoint the master.

At Bretherton, James Fletcher, the founder, had stipulated fifteen trustees and periodically during the eighteenth century the number had been made up. The Charity Commissioners were, however, unable to find any conveyance of the trust estates from the times when they had been purchased. Accordingly, the legal estate in each part of the property apparently resided in the heir of the surviving trustee under each respective purchase, which made it difficult to trace them. In 1813, after a five year period when rents had been paid direct to the master, the trustees had ordered that henceforth all rents should be paid to them. The master presented a petition to the Master of the Rolls claiming his right to receive the rents. After a series of legal cases, the master, Mr. Johnson, claimed and exercised the entire control and management of the trust property, denying any right of interference by the trustees.In the view of the Charity Commissioners 'it is not fitting that the trust

property should remain under the uncontrolled management of the master'.[120]

No persons had been appointed since 1637 as trustees at Warton to replace those appointed by the grandson of the founder. Prior to 1808, the masters had been appointed by the Vicar or the Huttons of Maske Hall but, from that date, the school had been closed.[121]

The most detailed information in school statutes regarding governors is to be found at Rivington. Interestingly, the statutes start with their duties. Every year one of the 'discreetest and wisest' should be chosen as spokeman, whose job it was to call the others together ' to debate, talk and take orders, for doing of such things.....as shall meet to be done for the good governance of the School' On appointment, each spokeman was required to take an oath and if he did not do his duty, accordingly after a warning, he would be replaced. At the meetings, they were required to pray for guidance and to make themselves aware of the appropriate statutes regarding the decisions that they were making. Governors were also required to be at least twenty-four years old; no two were to be 'bretheren', 'nor gentlemen more than three'. The schoolmaster, usher and curate were not eligible for office, though it was recommended that their advice should be utilised. Likewise, the governors were to 'be of honest name and behaviour, no adulterer nor fornicator, no drunkard nor gamester, no waster of goods'. Anyone who was wilfully absent from the election of a master or usher, or who refused the take the oath would lose his position.

The first duty of the governors was 'to look that the schoolmaster usher and scholars do their duty in teaching and learning'. They were required to overseee the masters' punctuality, their social and moral behaviour, to warn them of their misbehaviour, to ensure that an accurate school register was kept, to inspect the school four times a year and to inspect the school books for damage or unauthorised writing in them.[122]

At Bury, under the terms of Rev. Roger Kay, the trustees, thirteen in all, were to be made up of seven clergymen, except the Bishop of Manchester, living within ten miles radius, and six laymen. The latter were required to have estates of at least £50 a year value; to be at least twenty-one years old and to be in communion with the Church of England.[123] To avoid a situation arising similar to that at Bretherton, the trustees, on election, were required to convey the school estates to the use of themselves. They were to pay the masters' salaries, as well as £20 towards the two exhibitions and £5 for the rent gatherer. In addition,they had an allowance of £4 to spend on books for the poor boys in the school. Should up to six trustees die, or spiritual preferments become void, or if trustees should move out of the county, then elections should be held to bring the number of trustees up to the number stipulated by the founder. To compensate the trustees for their work, they were able to spend £5 a year for their annual 'entertainments'.

As was typical of any walk of life, the interest and active involvement of the governors varied both in time and place. Yet the

school governors have been blamed for the decline of the grammar schools in the eighteenth century by commentators from that period onwards. Nicholas Carlisle had no doubt that 'It is painful to relate that many of our numerous and ample endowments have fallen to decay by the negligence or cupidity of ignorant or unprincipled trustees, who have silently or by conivance, suffered the alienation of the very lands which they were called upon so solemnly to defend and which were in a great ordained for the Education of their own Children'. He went on to list the reasons for 'the property...... of these benevolent Institutions being lost or sunk' as being due to it being 'embezzled or disgracefully misapplied, or lessened or impaired by gross dereliction of duty, and very great frauds are committed in letting and managing the Estates'. That the governors could get away with this when the 'Nobility, Gentry or neighbouring Ministers are often the special Visitors' was because 'such interference is, probably, seldom exercised, unless at the honest indignation of some conscientious Parishioner'.[124] More recently, it has been claimed that 'school governors did little or nothing to prevent the decline of grammar schools. It is not unreasonable to surmise that apathy and discouragement among schoolmasters was attributable to or aggravated by indifference or irresponsibility on the part of the governors'.[125] This is a theme which will be returned to in Chapter Seven.

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# CHAPTER THREE

# CHARITY AND THE ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

## (i) The Dilemma of the Grammar School

The extent of the charitable impulse in relation to the provision of schools can be gauged from the 4,167 endowed schools, identified in England, in 1818. Of this total, approximately seven hundred could be classified as grammar schools.[1] Two features might be noted in relation to these schools. The first is that the majority of these had been founded before 1700 and they do appear to reflect a period when philanthropy was directed towards the establishment of 'grammar ' rather than 'charity' schools but there can, also, be identified a period of overlapping educational objectives. Tompson's sample survey of fifteen counties also bears out the relative paucity of grammar school foundations after 1700. 177 foundations were identified prior to 1600; 121 in the seventeenth century and 36 in the eighteenth century.[2] Secondly, these schools were not due to any state initiated or supported ventures but

rather to the 'lavish prodigality' of individuals 'who, literally, founded a system of secular education in England'.[3]

By the start of the eighteenth century, pressures were increasing on the grammar schools in relation to their charitable function, which, it has been alleged, were mainly due to the economic effects of inflation, although there were other factors at work including social status and the legal requirements of their charters.[4] Four possibilities were open to the grammar schools. Firstly, they could continue without making any changes. Secondly, they could convert to fee-paying institutions but this would have involved changing the nature of the school. It might, also, have resulted in the exclusion of local scholars. Thirdly, the classics could be retained free of charge but with fees introduced for all other subjects. Fourthly, other non-classical subjects could be offered but without the imposition of any fees. The basic dilemma was whether or not to retain their classical status, or to 'decline' to the level of charity schools by emphasising non-classical subjects. However, the situation is more complex than Tompson suggests and the reaction of each school must be seen in relation to its own economic, social and legal position. Thus, a school in a strong economic position could continue to rely solely upon its provision of a classical curriculum, since it would not require the income derived from fees. By way of contrast, a small school with a limited endowment which attempted to provide a classical education in face of local resistance could very well find itself deprived of

pupils unless it accommodated itself, first of all, to the demands for an elementary education.

With regard to the effects of inflation, Sanderson has pointed out that it was not always to the disadvantage of schools and that those which derived a considerable proportion of their income from land rentals, which were rising proportionately, would probably benefit.[5] This would apply, however, only to schools which held relatively short leases, which would allow constant adjustment to the new economic situation.

Although, as already stated, there were a number of possibilities open to the grammar schools, in the course of the eighteenth century, individual schools did tend to polarise into either the classical or elementary category. It is the major concern of this chapter to examine the extent to which the grammar schools of Lancashire, in the face of these pressures, continued to adhere to their charitable function.

(ii) **Charity Commissioners' Reports and the work of W.K.Jordan**

The main sources available to the educational historian in assessing the contribution of charity to the establishment of grammar schools are the Reports of the Commississioners to Inquire concerning Charities. These reports, thirty-two in total, were published in thirty-eight volumes between 1819 and 1840. An additional advantage of these Reports is that the original manuscripts are available and these provide a great deal of extra information, with the evidence of individuals, who were interviewed by the Commissioners, being of especial interest.[6] Due to a number of omissions and inaccuracies, these have been supplemented by the 1908 Parliamentary Papers.

A second source is the work of W.K.Jordan in relation to philanthropy in England between 1480 and 1660. Jordan's major study, Philanthropy in England, is now generally accepted as a classic. This has been supplemented by five subsequent studies, which have shed further light on the situation in relation to London, Rural England, Kent, Lancashire and the West of England.[7] On the positive side, the works of Jordan have been the most systematic attempt to record and account for the social phenomenon of charity from the late fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries. They have stimulated further research at a local level but more importantly have developed an appreciation of the areas of

religion, social benevolence and education, although Jordan has probably overstated the role of Puritanism as pervading the whole of English life from 1540 to 1660.

Criticism of Jordan's work has been expressed, especially in relation to his failure to deal with the changing value of money over the period.[8] More recently, Feingold has pointed out that the pre-occupation with the economic weaknesses has tended to obscure 'other equally important issues', namely, the social and religious factors which underlay the rise of philanthropy.[9] He is also critical of Jordan's statistical techniques which, it is felt, lead to a number of conclusions being drawn, which reflected Jordan's objectives rather than the evidence available. These three objectives are 'to convince the reader that there occurred a revolutionary, large-scale movement of philanthropy' of a new nature; to account for the rise of the merchant class in relation to the provision of charity and to explain the changing emphases of charitable endowments in terms of changes in the social structure of England.

**(iii) Philanthropy in Lancashire**

It has been estimated by Jordan that £833,493 was bequeathed for educational purposes between 1480 and 1660. Of this amount, £448,899 was provided for schools. An indication of the importance attached to education can be gained from the fact that with 27% of

## TABLE 3.1

### Educational Bequests for Schools 1480-1660

[After Jordan]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1481-1490 | £3,894 | 1571-1580 | £22,647 |
| 1491-1500 | £1,200 | 1581-1590 | £19,171 |
| 1501-1510 | £4,230 | 1591-1600 | £20,540 |
| 1511-1520 | £10,062 | 1601-1610 | £30,314 |
| 1521-1530 | £9,256 | 1611-1620 | £97,774 |
| 1531-1540 | £7,379 | 1621-1630 | £63,118 |
| 1541-1550 | £8,226 | 1631-1640 | £29,391 |
| 1551-1560 | £21,171 | 1641-1650 | £33,345 |
| 1561-1570 | £10,377 | 1651-1660 | £55,387 |

the total bequests, it came second to the poor (36%) as an object of charity. Religion (21%), social rehabilitation (10%) and municipal betterments (5%) were the other categories sharing in a total of £3,100,000.[10]

In his sample counties (Table 3.1), the amounts donated for schools on a ten year basis ranged from £1,200 in 1491-1500 to £97,744 in 1611-20. One must, however, be aware of the general decrease in the value of money over the period and the problems of comparing and aggregating donations given at different times. Additionally, it must be noted that although Jordan ascribed the bequests for the foundation of grammar schools, a number were made for non-classical schools, with the most obvious example in Lancashire being Chetham's Hospital School.

At a county level, donations ranged from £259,263 in London and £48,572 in Yorkshire to £6,789 in Buckinghamshire, with Lancashire's total being £33,185. During this period, the amount donated for all educational purposes within the county was £43,359:13:0, with schooling making up 76% of the total.

By 1600. it has been calculated that £9,244 (Table 3.2) had been directly invested in schooling in Lancashire.[11] This figure exceeds Jordan's estimate of about £7,400 (£2,400 up to 1540 and about £5,000 from 1541 to 1600) by £1,800. This discrepancy is explained by the inclusion of Pemberton's bequest for Heskin Grammar School, which he had built at a cost of £400 and had endowed with £30 a year by 1600. Jordan counted this as a seventeenth century

## Table 3.2

### Charitable Bequests for Schools in Lancashire before 1600

Upto 1500 £300

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1501-10 | £ 220 | 1551-60 | £ 641 |
| 1511-20 | £1,508 | 1561-70 | £1,497 |
| 1521-30 | £ 505 | 1571-80 | £ 557 |
| 1531-40 | £ 27 | 1581-90 | £ 863 |
| 1541-50 | £ 597 | 1591-99 | £2,528 |

Total = £9,244

## TABLE 3.3

### Charitable Bequests for Schools in Lancashire up to 1600 by Social Rank

| | |
|---|---|
| Clergy | £4,212 |
| Gentry | £1,583 |
| Merchants | £1,482 |
| Others | £1,967 |

Total = £9,244

endowment. Also included is the £400 bequest for Eccleston in 1597, which was the subject of a Chancery Decree in 1669, with the school not being established until the eighteenth century. In addition, there were the amounts raised by subscriptions at Blackburn Grammar School. What the Table does show is the importance of the last decade, in providing more than a quarter of the total bequests. Other important decades were 1511-20 and 1561-70 during each of which approximately £1,500 was donated.

The dominance of the clergy in establishing schools over this period is confirmed (Table 3.3) but, as is to be expected from the scale of the endowments, it is the bishops and archbishops, rather than the parochial clergy, who were most fully represented in this category. Their bequests amounted to nearly three times those of the gentry, who formed the second most important group. In view of Jordan's assertion that philanthropy involved great numbers of people, only fifteen clergymen are represented in a period in excess of one hundred years.

It has been estimated that there were 763 gentle families in Lancashire in 1600.[12] In view of this number, this social class appears to be very much under-represented in the sample. Their charitable gifts fell into two periods, namely, the first half of the sixteenth century and the last decade, with no bequests noted between 1549 and 1593. Approximately twelve donors were involved, ranging from the Second Earl of Derby to the donation of £6:13:4 for Blackburn Grammar School from William Fleetwood, Esquire. In

## TABLE 3.4

### Charitable Bequests for Schools in Lancashire 1601-1660

| | |
|---|---|
| 1601-10 | £1,419 |
| 1611-20 | £3,578 |
| 1621-30 | £1,906 |
| 1631-40 | £1,201 |
| 1641-50 | £1,414 |
| 1651-60 | £9,892 |

Total = £19,380

## TABLE 3.5

### Charitable Bequests 1601-1660 by Social Rank

| | |
|---|---|
| Clergy | £ 439 |
| Gentry | £ 1,267 |
| Merchants | £14,172 |
| Others | £ 3,502 |

Total £19,380

comparison to the average bequest of £313 by clergymen, those of the gentry amounted, on average, to £161.

Although the sample of merchants living either within the county or in London is very small, their involvement in education was limited to the last decade of the century, with the exception of John Holmes's bequest for Blackrod. This situation was made even more unrepresentative in that the equivalent of £1,291 was due to the benevolence of Sir James Pemberton at Heskin and the Sherrington brothers at Wigan. What this evidence suggests is that the mercantile class had not yet generally awakened to their role in relation to the provision of schooling, in Lancashire at least.

Between 1601 and 1660, £19,380 was provided for endowed schools in Lancashire (Table 3.4). £9,892 of this total was donated in the 1650s but the picture is distorted by the £7,000 bequest of Humphrey Chetham and of a sum equivalent to £1,400 from Henry Colborne at Kirkham. The decade 1611-20 was, also, characterised by the high level of educational bequests. Again, the situation was dominated by a handful of testators, in particular, John Harrison, who left the equivalent of £1,500 for the Merchant Taylors' School at Great Crosby. Bequests of £400 each were received from Hugh Bullock (Wigan) and as an augmentation at Heskin from Sir James Pemberton. The level of the bequests in the other periods fluctuated between £1,419 (1601-10) and £1,906 (1621-30) and it was these figures that were more representative of the period under review.

What is confirmed is the dominance of the merchant class, and especially those from London, in relation to philanthropy. (Table 3.5) In comparison with the period 1480-1600, the contribution of the clergy was negligible, with £300 out of the £439 donated over the period coming from Henry Bury's bequest. Likewise the contribution of the gentry saw an overall decline, with Mary Langton's bequest for Standish providing nearly one quarter of the value of their endowments.

However, the situation with regard to the classification of donors is not clear cut, especially in relation to two aspects. First of all, the gentry and the merchant class were inextricably linked, particularly as careers in trades were seen as socially acceptable for the younger sons of the gentry, who did not receive the benefits of being set up on their own estates. Out of more than eight thousand apprentices bound to the members of fifteen London Companies in the years 1570-1646, over 12% were the sons of gentlemen, knights and esquires. In the higher status Companies, the proportion was over one-third.[13] Robert Lever, who re-endowed Bolton Grammar School, provides an interesting example in that he also had the benefit of an estate in Rivington. Secondly, with their incomes at a comparable level , a number of merchants made the transition to gentry status by buying an estate. Lancashire examples included Sir Nicholas Moseley, John Harrison, and Humphrey Chetham.

What is surprising about the contribution of the merchants to schooling in Lancashire is that in a period of twenty years (1601-10 and 1631-40) only one bequest, an annuity of £7, was provided. It can, in consequence, hardly be argued that the contribution of this class was constantly maintained. It, also, appears that the merchant class of Lancashire was quite willing to leave the endowing of schools to London merchants, with the exception of Humphrey Chetham and the Sherrington brothers. As an indication of the role of London merchants, between 1611 and 1620, they provided eight of the nineteen endowments. In 1641-50, they were responsible for five of the eight endowments and for nine of the twelve between 1651 and 1660. Although it has been stated that the charitable impulse of the merchants was not constant, what is not in doubt was their overwhelming generosity compared to other groups. and in Lancashire, they were responsible for virtually three quarters, by value, of the school bequests.

To a large extent, the role of the clergy and gentry, in relation to philanthropy was taken over in the seventeenth century by the yeoman class. It has been argued that the yeomanry were best placed to prosper, during the period under review, whether they were freeholders or tenants.[14] They were not 'a contented peasantry' but frequently 'ambitious, aggressive, small capitalists ...... determined to take advantage of every opportunity for increasing their profits.''[15] In fact, their outlook complemented that of the merchant class. Twelve schools were founded by yeomen 'who were

determined to provide their own villages with institutions which they believed were required in the modern world'.[16] Typical of this class was Peter Burscough, who endowed schools with £100 each at Walton-le-Dale and Brindle and who donated the same amount as an augmentation at Leyland.

### (iv) Philanthropy of Women

One aspect of interest in relation to philanthropy was the increasing involvement of women, especially in view of the accepted orthodoxy that girls were not educated in grammar schools and would, therefore, not benefit from their actions. Although it appears, on some occasions, that these women were acting in accordance with the instructions of their husbands, there are also, examples where they were displaying their own independence and initiative. In this context a problem does arise in seeking to explain their actions in relation to the 'Puritan ethic' postulated as being the driving force underlying male, and especially mercantile, philanthropy, unless they are seen as merely reflecting it.

A total of approximately £990 was given towards the endowing of schools between 1603 and 1659, representing about 3.5% of the Lancashire bequests. The gentry was represented by Mary Langton (1603) and Mary Abram (about 1621), who were responsible for the

initial endowments at Standish and Hindley. The school at Bretherton owed its foundation to Jane Fletcher, the wife of a London merchant, who had been encouraged by her husband to set up a school. After her death in 1654, her husband had a school built and added to the initial bequest. Although the widow of Richard Higginson had not founded the school at Bispham, she was instrumental in its continuation, for the school had been endowed with property that had been confiscated from the Dean and Chapter of St.Paul's. After the Restoration, the property was restored to its original owners but she saved the school with a gift of £200. Two other women, both ale-house keepers, were responsible for the endowing of schools at Walton and Kirkham. Augmentation grants were settled by women donors on the school at Windle in 1614 but these were relatively small amounts, being £60 in capital and an annuity of £1. Although the initial impact of women in relation to philanthropy was relatively insignificant in relation to the overall picture, it was to be an aspect that would develop in the period 1660 to 1800.

**(v) Philanthropy and Puritanism**

In Lancashire, the link between Puritanism and a number of major testators was very strong. The most obvious example was Humphrey Chetham, although he was also exceptional in that his was the only major bequest made by a merchant who was not living in London. In

addition to his educational bequests, he left £100 for a public library, £1,000 for books and £200 for books to be placed in two churches and three chapels. Among the works he prescribed were those of William Perkins and John Calvin.[17] Robert Lever of Bolton was another confirmed Puritan. Although he was a merchant, his family gained gentility and he was left a moiety of Rivington Manor by his father in 1620. He, also, had close personal links with well known Puritans. His nephew, also called Robert, recalled that he had heard his uncle declare several times to John Harper, the Puritan Lecturer in Bolton, that if he would pull down the old school, he would bear the cost of building a new one. Additionally, Lever left a bequest to Edmund Calamy. A further link was provided by his niece's marriage to Calamy's son.[18] Another example was Nathan Walworth, who had built a chapel at Ringley at a cost of £250 in 1625 and, ten years later endowed it with £10 a year. Towards the end of his life, he built a school adjacent to the chapel and endowed it with land in Yorkshire worth about £300.[19] As a final example, although there is no direct evidence of John Harrison's puritanism, the first master at the school at Great Crosby was Rev. John Kidde. His testimonials included one written by William Crashawe, Vicar of Saint Mary Matfelon, Whitechapel and the Master of Emmanuel College. Kidde had first come under Crashawe's influence when the noted Yorkshire Puritan had been Rector of Beverley. He had later moved to London and in 1618 had offered Kidde a curacy in his parish.[20] It is unlikely that the

Merchant Taylors' Company would have appointed, as the first master of the school, anyone who was out of sympathy with the religious views of the founder.

There is. thus, evidence of Puritan benefactors among the merchant class. However, it must be pointed out, at this stage, that one of the main sources of religious beliefs, namely the wills of philanthropists, are suspect in three respects. First, the wills tended to conform to a standard formulary. Second, in addition to lawyers, a large number of people, including schoolmasters, were employed to write wills and the professions of faith and piety could well represent the views of the scribe. Finally, although Jordan has stated 'Men draw their wills in the name of God and in the face of God.....', wills were also public documents and , as such, would seek to show the testator in the best possible light.

As has been argued elsewhere, the scale of mercantile bequests in Lancashire could well reflect the accident that at least three of the major philanthropists, Chetham, Lever and Harrison died without leaving any children.[21] It might be claimed that since they had no issue to carry on the family name, then the school they founded would become their memorial.

In seeking to account for philanthropy in terms of Puritanism, the question arises as to why the group one would expect to be the most prominent, namely the clergy, was conspicuous by its absence.

Likewise, the contribution of the gentry to educational development was very limited. (Table 3.5) Nor was philanthropy confined to

Puritans since Hindley School was endowed in 1632 by a member of the Catholic gentry. Puritanism appears, therefore, as Jordan stated, as a major but not the sole determinant of the social aspirations of the seventeenth century philanthropists. Outside of the merchant class, the links between Puritanism and philanthropy become more tenuous.

For the period 1480 to 1660, a total of approximately £28,500 was given towards the provision of schools in Lancashire. A problem arises as this figure is about £4,500 less than Jordan's figure of £33,185. His estimates of capital equivalents of £7,400 donated between 1480 and 1660; £9,703 for 1601-40 and £9,670 for the period 1641 to 1660, amount to a total of £26,773, which accords with the previously cited figure of £28,500. The discrepancy arises from Jordan's second category, which included augmentation grants, donations for school buildings and for endowments in other counties. In his Social Institutions of Lancashire 1480-1660, he calculated that £1,448 was given for these purposes between 1601 and 1640 and a further £2,769 between 1641 and 1660.[22] Although he does not give a figure for the earlier period, about £2.200 was presumably donated for these purposes in the sixteenth century to account for his total of £33,000.

There is, however, evidence that Jordan's overall figures are inaccurate. Although he set out 'to make certain that the donor was counted but once'.In cases in which a benefactor divided his bequest between his place of residence and other counties, as often

happened with London donors, benefactions were credited to the counties which benefited. Jordan did not include London donations for other counties in his discussion of London bequests but he did include them in his calculations. The result was, as Feingold has shown, that these donations were counted twice, with a result that there has probably been an overestimate of the level of philanthropy for schools by about 20%. The discrepancy between the two estimates of £28,500 and £33,185 could be explained in terms of this overestimation. It is also partially explicable in terms of bequests by Lancashire donors for schools in other counties, which have not been included in the £28,500 estimate. Whatever the reason, Jordan's estimate in relation to philanthropy in Lancashire appears to be on the high side.

**(vi) Philanthropy Deflated**

One area of criticism in relation to Jordan's work is that he failed to take into account the effects of inflation in assessing the level of bequests. Jordan was, himself, aware of the static nature of his data. The fact that he made no attempt to cater for this in his calculations probably lay in his distrust of any meaningful index of inflation ever being devised, which would have applicability to anything other than a local area, especially as 'the prices and values in one English region in, say, the late sixteenth century, bore no relation to prices in another.'[23] He

had, apparently, set out originally to overcome this problem but 'we have found it impossible to adjust our data to the rising curve of prices'.[24]

That the problem was not insuperable has been shown by the scales of inflation that have been calculated. The most useful appear to be those developed by E.H.P.Brown and S.V. Hopkins for the years 1224 to 1954.[25] An annual index was calculated, based on the price of a composite unit of consumables in Southern England. The index was also convenient in that the base line of 100, which began with a period of stable prices (1451-75), closely coincided with the start of Jordan's data.

Although R.B.Outhwaite has pointed out that the index has been used 'erroneously in theory and perhaps misleadingly in practice' to measure the general pattern of inflation, W..G.Bittle and R.Todd Lane have compared the amount of charitable benefactions, on a ten year interval, for four localities, London, Buckinghamshire, Norfolk and Yorkshire, together with the amounts for England with the Brown-Hopkins index.[26] Their thesis was that if there was a high correlation between the two sets of figures then, despite Jordan's view, the index could be said to be valid. The statistical technique used was the product-moment correlation, in which a perfect relationship would result in a score of +1.0. Scores of between +.76 and +.64 were found for the correlations between the Brown-Hopkins Index and the four counties, together with England. The conclusions of Bittle and Lane were that regional differences

did not play a significant role and that the high correlations between the sample areas confirm either the philanthropic urge or the effects of inflation.

In order to calculate the deflated values of the philanthropic bequests for Lancashire, a simple formula 115J/PB=C was applied, where J equals the charitable total expressed in pounds; 115 is the Brown-Hopkins Index median for the period and is a constant; PB is the Brown-Hopkins Index and C represents the charitable bequests in relation to 1490 values.

It must be noted that the figures for a particular decade are subject to wide variations and that the average figure does, itself, suffer from a number of inherent problems. In particular, it tends to mask the range of indices. During the 1480s, for example, they ranged from 162 in 1483 to 86 in 1486. Generally, however, although until 1570, the dominant trend was upwards, the range of indices, with the exception of the 1550s, tended to be limited. For instance, 107 to 92 in the period 1501-10 and 265 to 290 in the 1560s. In the last three decades of the century, the points rise on the Brown-Hopkins index was 109 (265-374) in the 1570s; 167 (324-491) in the 1580s and 315 ((370-685) in the 1590s. During the first decade of the seventeenth century, the index remained at the 1590s level. The following decade did see an increase but there was a twenty year period of stability. The 1630s and 1640s were marked by further inflation but in the 1650s, it fell back to somewhere between the levels of the 1630s and the

## TABLE 3.6

### Delated Values of Bequests 1480-1660

| | Value | Delated Value |
|---|---|---|
| Pre 1500 | £ 300 | £ 300 |
| 1501-10 | £ 220 | £ 244 |
| 1511-20 | £1508 | £ 1530 |
| 1521-30 | £ 506 | £ 390 |
| 1531-40 | £ 27 | £ 20 |
| 1541-50 | £ 597 | £ 343 |
| 1551-60 | £ 641 | £ 258 |
| 1561-70 | £1497 | £ 615 |
| 1571-80 | £ 557 | £ 203 |
| 1581-90 | £ 863 | £ 277 |
| 1591-1600 | £2528 | £ 615 |
| 1601-10 | £1419 | £ 344 |
| 1611-20 | £3578 | £ 791 |
| 1621-30 | £1906 | £ 421 |
| 1631-40 | £1201 | £ 230 |
| 1641-50 | £1414 | £ 254 |
| 1651-60 | £9862 | £ 1848 |

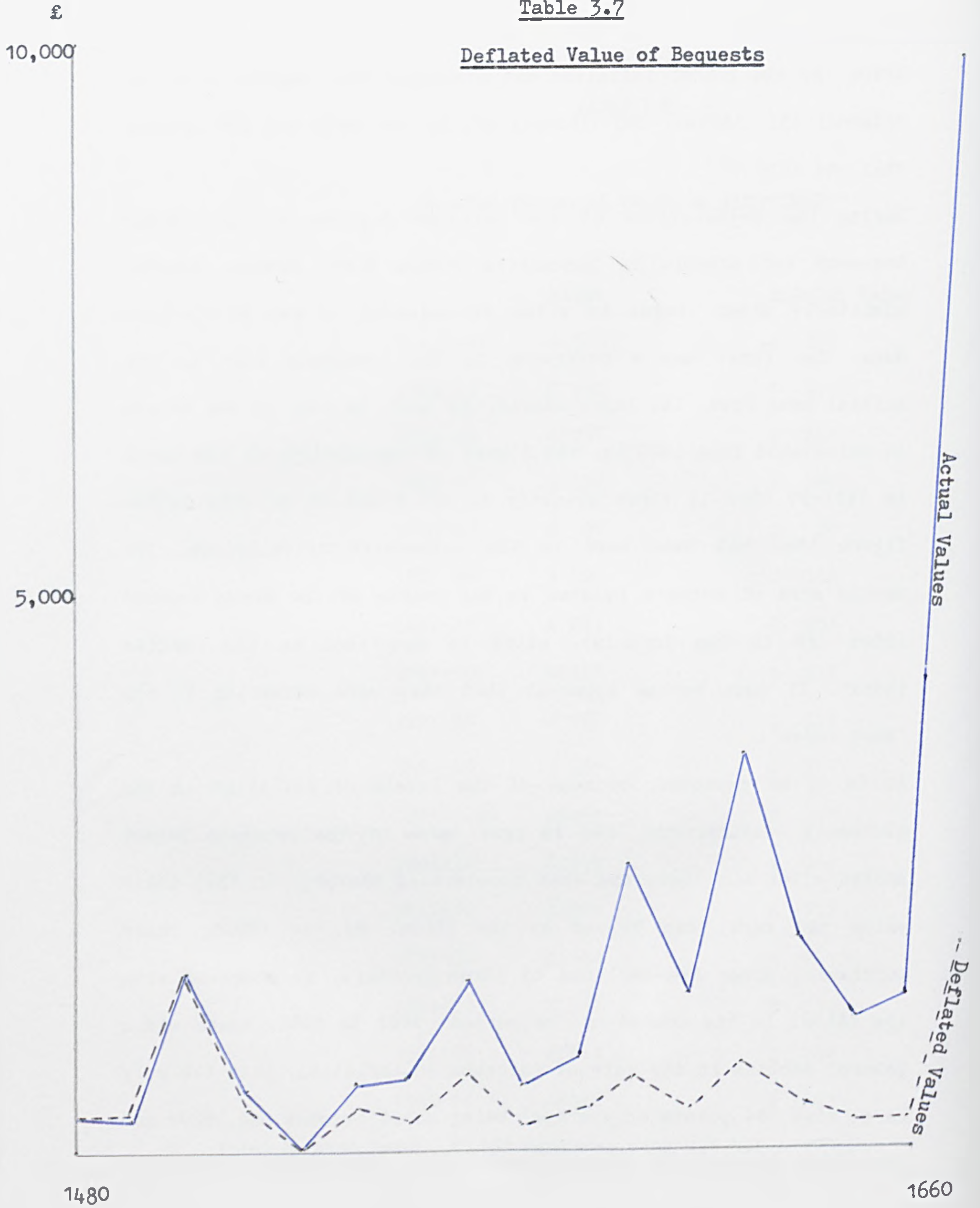
Total Delated Value £8,683 compared with £28,624

1640s. By the 1650s, inflation was averaging 620 compared with 116 (1480s); 151 (1520s); 283 (1560s); 478 in the 1590s and 526 between 1611 and 1630.[27]

During the calculations of the deflated figures for charitable bequests for schools in Lancashire (Table 3.6), several doubts, admittedly minor, began to arise in relation to the Bittle-Lane data. The first was a reference to the 'constant 115' as the initial base line. The index should, in fact, be 116. If the decade is calculated from 1480-89, the figure is exactly 116; if the basis is 1481-90 then it rises slightly to 116.3 and it is this latter figure that has been used in the Lancashire calculations. The second area of concern related to the source of the Brown-Hopkins index (PB in the formula), which is described as the 'median index'. It soon became apparent that they were referring to the 'mean index'.

As is to be expected, because of the levels of inflation in the sixteenth century, the loss in real terms of the bequests became marked after the 1520s and then accelerated sharply, so that their value had more than halved by the 1550s. By the 1590s, their purchasing power had declined by three-quarters, as compared with the 1480s. In the course of the period 1601 to 1660, there was a general decline in the rate of increase in inflation, with the only large rise (84 points on average) being noted between the 1620s and the 1630s figures. As stated previously, the relative peace and

Table 3.7



stability of the 1650s actually resulted in deflation for the first time since the 1490s.[28]

One of the results of calculating the deflated values of bequests is that the balance of donations changes. In terms of the total value of bequests which amounted to £28,624, less than one-third was donated prior to 1600. On the deflated values, this rises to 54%. The question now arises as to why the period 1601-40, described by Jordan as being the peak period of philanthropy, is now revealed as no more significant than the previous forty years. In fact, the figures are now virtually identical; £1,786 as compared with £1,710. Likewise, the role of the merchant class during this period is no more significant than the role of the clergy had been in the previous century.

The data has, also, been presented in graph form (Table 3.7). Both graphs follow broad similar patterns but what appears as a general upward trend in the total of bequests, becomes more constant in the deflated figures. It is noticeable that, until the atypical 1650s, the peak period had been 1511-20 and, in no case, in Jordan's key period of 1601-40 was this figure exceeded. Interestingly, 1511-20 also coincides with the peak period, in relation to the deflated figures for the whole of Jordan's data, as noted by Bittle and Lane.[29] The problem is now to explain the relative decline in philanthropy after 1520.

In all probability, the true value of the bequests lies somewhere between the raw total and the deflated figures. It is difficult to

TABLE 3.8

Bequests for Grammar and Non-grammar Schools 1601-60

| | Grammar Schools | Non-Grammar Schools |
|---|---|---|
| 1601-10 | £1,119 | £ 300 |
| 1611-20 | £3,258 | £ 320 |
| 1621-30 | £1,386 | £ 520 |
| 1631-40 | £ 564 | £ 637 |
| 1641-50 | £ 764 | £ 650 |
| 1651-60 | £2,852 | £7,010 |

Total Bequests for Grammar Schools £9,943; Non-grammar Schools £9,437

accept the thesis of Bittle and Lane that 'the more stable course followed by the latter [the deflated figures] suggests that the deflated totals represent the truer picture of the period'. The evidence for Lancashire, which is idiosyncratic, suggests instead a series of fairly consistent peaks and troughs rather than a 'stable course'.

One final point needs to be made. It does appear that philanthropists were aware of the effects of inflation, in that provision for schools in the seventeenth century was generally at a higher level than in the previous century. Such awareness developed over a period of time rather than as a reflection of yearly fluctuations. Thus, a donor in 1558 would have been unlikely to have halved his bequests on the ground that the index now stood at 230 as compared with 409 in the previous year.

Another aspect of philanthropy, especially in relation to Jordan's calculations over the period 1601-60, needs to be considered. It was Jordan's assumption that all schools founded before 1660 were grammar schools. As has been shown in Chapter One that this was not the case and the value of grammar and non-grammar school bequests between 1601 and 1660 have been tabulated in Table 3.8.[30] What these figures do show is that during the first half of the seventeenth century, the founding of non-grammar schools had become an important aspect of educational philanthropy. By the 1630s, in Lancashire, about one-half of the new endowments were in this category. This raises questions as to the extent to which the

founding of such schools reflected changed attitudes on the part of the founders. Two aspects might be suggested as contributing to this new emphasis. The first was that a number of schools, such as Astley and Rumworth, had very limited endowments and would, in consequence, probably be unable to attract a graduate master. Secondly, a number of schools were founded in conjunction with chapels or churches, as at Didsbury, Walton-le-Dale, Hoole, Astley, Ringley, Dendron and Scarisbrick. In these cases, it would apear that the ability to teach Latin was relegated to an inferior position, as compared to teaching children to read the Bible.

**(vii) Eighteenth Century Grammar School Endowments**

An area that has been totally neglected by educational and social historians is the extent to which philanthropy continued to be directed towards the provision of grammar schools until the end of the eighteenth century. This has been due to two reasons. The first is linked to the alleged decline of the grammar schools in the eighteenth century and the assumption that little, or nothing, of interest was taking place in relation to these institutions. Secondly, the emphasis moved to an examination of philanthropy in relation to the education of the poor in non-classical schools, as an eighteenth century phenomenon.

## TABLE 3.9

### Grammar Schools founded 1661-1700

| | |
|---|---|
| 1661-70 | Stand; Upholland |
| 1671-80 | |
| 1681-90 | Cartmel; Clifton; Presall; Overwyersdale; Melling; North Meols; Colne |
| 1691-1700 | Bispham; Halton. |

[For eighteenth Century Foundations, see Table 2.3]

In the period 1660-1790, a total of thirty-two schools with claims to grammar status were endowed in Lancashire (Table 3.9). In the majority of cases, there is evidence of their existence prior to their legal foundation.

In general, the eighteenth century grammar schools were characterised by inadequate endowments, which often meant that free schooling was very limited and that the master relied ,to a large extent, upon the income from fees. In addition, the prescribed curriculum was usually Latin together with combinations of reading, writing and arithmetic. It also seems that the schools were open to all children of the parish and, in a number of cases, provision was actually made for the education of girls. In consequence, the distinction between 'grammar' and 'charity' school became increasingly blurred.

The free school at Newchurch in Rossendale owed its origin to the bequest of John Kirshaw, who left land and property upon trust in 1701. After the death of Kirshaw and his wife, the bequest was to benefit the master appointed to teach Latin, Greek and English. In addition to this bequest, he left an additional £90 to the school.[30] After the death of Ann Kirshaw in 1709, two years' rent was allowed to accumulate in order to build up the reserves to pay for the cost of a schoolhouse. There is, however, some doubt as to its status. In 1716, Ralph Cresswell was licensed to teach in the free grammar school.[31] Four years later, the Magna Britannia described it as a 'charity school in which ten poor boys are taught

to read, write and cast accounts in order for trades.'[32] According to the 1778 Returns, 'The Children are taught in it English, Latin and Greek'. This could well have reflected the official, rather than the actual, curriculum since the clergyman making the return appeared to have no first hand knowledge of the school for he went on 'I believe they are instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion'.[33] The fees demanded by the school were described in the Statutes of 1752. All 'inhabitants of that part of Rossendale belonging to Newchurch' were to be taught English and Latin free 'having first learnt their letters'. They were required to pay 1/- at entrance and on the first Mondays after the Epiphany and midsummer, a sum of betweeen 2s.6d. and 6d., together with 2d. for mending windows, at Michaelmas. Parents 'utterly unable to pay' were exempted these charges. Two of the poorest scholars were recommended to the master as 'objects of charity'. In 1787, a school was built at a cost of £163, raised by subscription. At the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit, there were thirty-five children in the school but there was no reference to any pupils learning Latin.[34]

In 1702, Christopher Parkinson left a bequest of £4 a year to a preaching minister to officiate at Admarsh and the residue to a schoolmaster to teach in the chapel at a minimum salary of £6 a year. In 1826, the curate was teaching all the boys and girls who

came to the school in the 3Rs, together with Maths and Latin if required.[35]

By indenture of 30 June 1709, Sir Charles Hoghton provided monies to build a school 'of sufficient length and breadth to contain fifty scholars' at Hoghton and to allow £400 towards one or more able Protestant schoolmasters to teach such children to read and understand the English, Latin and Greek tongues'. By the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit, one hundred and fifty pupils were being taught the 3Rs on the national system.[36]

Robert Carter in his will of 1711, left about twenty-two acres of land to maintain a free school at Presall 'for the good of poor children'.[37] In 1716, it was described as a 'free grammar school', while the nomination of Benjamin Kirkham (master 1746-c1790) mentioned 'grammar, writing and arithmetic being taught.[38] Again the Charity Commissioners noted that Latin would be taught if required'. The original bequest had doubled in value to £42:10:0 by 1826.

Latin scholars were found by the Charity Commissioners at Newburgh and Marton, with some pupils learning Greek at the former school since 1804. Newburgh had been founded in 1717 under the terms of the will of Rev. Thomas Crane. Originally, the intention had been to demand fees as long as the master's salary did not exceed £30 a year but a bequest in 1761 by Richard Okell had, as its purpose, the exemption of pupils from fees and quarterage. In 1793, Jonathon Lucas left £5 a year to teach twelve poor pupils to 'the

officiating master of the grammar school of Newburgh'. The bulk of the pupils in the 1820s were receiving an education based on the 3Rs.[39] Marton School, also endowed in 1717, did not stipulate the provision of a classical education in its foundation deeds and in 1717, Thomas Clarkson was referred to as the master of the 'charity school'.What was unusual about this foundation was that pupils learning the classics were expected to pay a small gratuity.[40]

Copp School at Great Eccleston was included by the Charity Commissioners as a grammar school. There is, however, no reference to a classical education in the wills of either William Fyld (1719) or Wiliam Gualter (1748), nor was there any evidence provided by the Charity Commissioners to suggest a classical basis for the school.[41] Nevertheless, there was a reference in 1813 to Richard Johnson of 'the Free Grammar School of Copp'.[42]

The fourth school endowed during this decade was at Dixon Green, within the township of Farnworth. In an indenture of lease and release, dated 28 and 29 March 1715, the aims of the school 'lately erected' were that the children of the inhabitants 'might be taught to read and understand the English and Latin tongues or either of them'. This was reinforced in the will of Nathan Dorning (1728) who left £150 'having a particular regard to the instruction of poor children......in causing them to be taught the English and Latin tongues'. At the time of the Charity Commissioners' inquiry, there were thirty-four children in the school but there was no reference to the teaching of Latin.[43] The majority of pupils paid fees.

Bury, re-founded by deed and will of Rev. Roger Kay (1726 and 1729), was the only example of a well endowed grammar school in Lancashire in the eighteenth century. £50 was allowed for the master's salary and £20 for the usher's. In addition, £20 was available each year for two exhibitions. £4 was allocated for books for poor scholars. The curricular emphasis was on Latin, Greek and Hebrew, while the usher would teach the pupils in the lower forms together with writing and mathematics. Besides cockpence, entrance fees and half-yearly payments were expected of the pupils, although if 'the parents of any such boys should be so very poor that they should not be able to pay the aforesaid sums, he [the founder] hoped the master and usher would not require the same'. Since the freedom of the school was restricted to those born in the parish, or those who were relations of the founder, the master was free to set his own fees for 'outsiders'. Despite the 'traditional ' nature of the re-founded school at Bury, there were concessions to the 'charity school' ideals in that Kay also made provision for £7 a year to be available for apprenticing a poor boy, who should be presented 'as well qualified for a trade by reading, writing and arithmetic'. He, also, in a memorandum of 28 April 1729, directed that ten poor girls should be sent to the free school under the usher, who was required 'to take particular care of them, to teach them to write well and to be good accountants, to fit them for trades, or to be good servants'. £5 a year was to be made available for apprenticing one girl.[44]

By way of contrast, Finisthwaite School, also categorised as a grammar school, was built by subscription in 1724 and endowed under the terms of J.Dixon, who left a cottage and garden in trust for the master of the grammar school. At the time of the Charity Commissioners' inquiry, all the poor children who applied were taught the 3Rs for 2d. a week and Latin 'if they required it' at the same charge.[45]

In his will of 1729, Ralph Hawkyard gave an initial bequest of £200 towards a school at Warmpton due to 'the great want of learning in the said parish, especially among the poorer sort of people who..... were in a great degree void of learning and not capable of reading the Divine Scriptures' and for the maintenance of a schoolmaster who should be capable of teaching Latin, Greek and English. The master, at the time of the Charity Commissioners, had been appointed prior to 1787 and had taught Latin, in addition to the 3Rs 'if required'.[46]

In 1744, Edward Bootle donated the land on which Clayton school had been built to encourage the schoolmaster, who was to teach Latin and English, to live within the Manor of Clayton. There was no endowment for the school until £5 a year was given by Samuel Crooke in 1770 and the interest on £100 left by John Beatson in 1792. In 1826, the school income amounted to only £9:16:0, which allowed three free scholars in respect of Crooke's endowment. All other pupils were learning the 3Rs and it is doubtful if the school ever functioned as a grammar school.[47]

The remaining nine schools can be classified in two groups, with Broughton School having characteristics of both. Although Latin was prescribed at Burtonwood (1741), Lowton (1751), Lydyate (1763) and Aspull (1790), it is doubtful whether they ever functioned as grammar schools. They were characterised by low endowments £12:1:8; £20; nil and £1 respectively. In the 1820s, they were teaching only the 3Rs to pupils paying fees, apart from reading at Burtonwod and six free scholars at Lowton. At Burtonwood, the master was not qualified to teach the classics and this was probably the case at the other two schools.

Tatham, Lowick, Kirkland and Lea were characaterised by higher endowments, masters qualified to teach Latin and, with the exception of Lea, quarterage payments.[48] At Tatham, Latin was an additional subject; while at Kirkland, it was taught 'if they stayed long enough'. It was taught 'if required' at Lea. The curate at Lowick was, presumably, capable of teaching Latin if the need arose.[49]

Broughton School was endowed in 1784 by Edward Taylor, who left £100 for a grammar school on condition that £60 should be raised by subscription within twelve months. In 1819, the master, competent to teach Latin, was in receipt of only £6:8:0 a year.[50]

## TABLE 3.10

### Bequests for Grammar Schools 1661-1800

| Period | Amount |
|---|---|
| 1661-1670 | £ 454 |
| 1671-1680 | £ 620 |
| 1681-1690 | £1,446 |
| 1691-1700 | £1,150 |
| 1701-1710 | £ 620 |
| 1711-1720 | £2,445 |
| 1721-1730 | £3,578 |
| 1731-1740 | £ 225 |
| 1741-1750 | £ 360 |
| 1751-1760 | £ 780 |
| 1761-1770 | £ 670 |
| 1771-1780 | £ 530 |
| 1781-1790 | £ 340 |
| 1791-1800 | £ 910 |

Total Bequests for Grammar Schools 1661-1800 £14,128

## (viii) Grammar School Bequests in the Eighteenth Century

Educational bequests for grammar schools in the period post 1660 fall into five categories. In addition to their foundation and refoundation, there were also the augmentation grants towards the salaries of the master and, occasionally, the usher. Bequests were also provided which allowed a number of poor scholars to be educated in the grammar schools, usually under the usher. A fourth category included the provision of books, paper, pen and ink for the scholars. The final category was made up of those schools with bequests which enabled pupils to be apprenticed.

The sum result was that a minimum of £14,128 was provided for educational purposes in the grammar schools of Lancashire. (Table 3.10) This is only about one half of the total given over the period 1480 to 1660 and, if the effects of inflation are taken into account, the contrast becomes even more marked. However, what this does confirm is that the philanthropic impulse in relation to grammar schools did not die away but continued alongside the 'charity school movement', although, as mentioned earlier, the distinguishing line between the two types of school, in a number of cases became more blurred in the eighteenth century.

During this period both the number of persons making charitable bequests and the range of their social backgrounds increased as compared with 1480-1660. No longer were London merchants to be found endowing schools in their birthplaces and, as a consequence, the level of bequests was much lower. The only large scale bequest was that of Rev. Roger Kay at Bury, which had an equivalent value of a minimum of £1,800. No other bequest for a grammar school approached this figure. In 1717, Rev. Thomas Sandys left £800 towards books and the education of poor boys at Hawkshead. This was, in fact, the second highest bequest. A large number of the bequests provided the school with no more than £10 a year, with the average being £181, or using Jordan's ratio of interest to capital of 1:20, the equivalent of just over £9 a year.

What these figures reveal is that after the Restoration the number of bequests for grammar schools declined and the only major schools established were Upholland and the combined grammar and free school at Goosnargh. From 1680 to 1700, bequests rose to the levels of earlier in the century. Despite the bequest of Sir Charles Hoghton, the amount provided for education fell back to the levels of the 1670s during the first decade of the eighteenth century. The peak period for bequests was from 1711 to 1730, when almost half of the total given over the entire period from 1661 to 1800 was donated. A number of significant bequests were made. In addition to those of Rev. Roger Kay and Thomas Sandys, previously mentioned, they

TABLE 3.11

Recalculated Value of Bequests for Grammar Schools 1661-1800

| | |
|---|---|
| 1661-1670 | £ 446 |
| 1671-1680 | £ 626 |
| 1681-1690 | £1,570 |
| 1691-1700 | £1,077 |
| 1701-1710 | £ 637 |
| 1711-1720 | £2,346 |
| 1721-1730 | £3,674 |
| 1731-1740 | £ 250 |
| 1741-1750 | £ 376 |
| 1751-1760 | £ 764 |
| 1761-1770 | £ 585 |
| 1771-1780 | £ 407 |
| 1781-1790 | £ 251 |
| 1791-1800 | £ 529 |

Total £13,538

included William Grimbaldeston's at Kirkham (£400), Peter Legh's at Winwick ( £24 a year the equivalent of £480 ) Nathan Dorning's at Dixon Green ( £300) and Ralph Hawkyard's at Warmpton (£280).

What is also interesting about the level of bequests between 1711 and 1730 is that it coincided with the peak period, from the financial point of view, of the charity school movement. From 1731 until the end of the century, the level of bequests fell away, apart from a revival at the end of the century, which was also reflected nationally.

In Table 3.11, the levels of bequests has been considered in relation to the underlying movement in prices between 1661 and 1800 using the formula

$$\frac{620.6 \times B}{B\text{-}H.I} = DC$$

620.6 is the constant index based upon the baseline period 1651-1660; B equals the sum of the educational bequests over each ten year period; B-H.I. is the Brown-Hopkins Index and DC represents the adjusted value of the bequests.

Due to the index fluctuating only a relatively short amount, either side of the baseline, between 1661 and 1730 and a further twenty years of deflation, with prices in the 1750s only slightly above the 1650s level, the value of the bequests was maintained. It was only between 1760 and 1800, when the index rose from 710 to 1067 that their value began to decline. The result of these adjustments is that the raw total of £14,128 is deflated to £13,538.On the

basis of these figures, it could be argued that there was no decline in the level of philanthropy directed towards grammar schools in the eighteenth century.

**(ix) The Freedom of the Grammar School**

Further light might be shed upon the charitable function of the grammar schools in the eighteenth century by examination of the extent to which they provided a free education for their scholars. Underlying this aspect is the assumption that the grammar schools would, in theory at least, be open to pupils of all social classes. The main sources for such information are the foundation deeds or early statutes of the schools, augmented by wills and other legal documents, such as leases. These include not only general information with respect to the freedom of the school but, also, qualifications related to residential, financial and educational criteria.

The term 'free grammar school', attached to such foundations, does not appear to have attracted any debate as to its meaning prior to the nineteenth century. Free schools originated in the Middle Ages with free places becoming common by the fourteenth century.[51] By the sixteenth century, schools were set up which were basically free, although, in some instances, there were incidental expenses such as cockpence and potation money. Additionally, for pupils living at a distance from the school, there were the expenses of

board and lodging. Those, who lived at a distance from schools, might also be required to pay fees, since the freedom might well be restricted to pupils dwelling within the local or adjacent parishes.

Although the grammar schools were set up as charitable institutions, the question does arise as to who was entitled to the benefit of the endowment. The answer appears to be that it applied to all pupils in the school, irrespective of social position or income. There were examples of boys from poor homes being educated in these schools, but they were very much in the minority. In theory, the situation was one in which 'the cleverest boys of all classes were brought up together'.[52] In practice, 'the poor who gained by them were not the labouring poor but the relatively poor, the lower middle clases'. [53] This does give rise to the incongruous position in which 'bread for the poor', 'provision of Bibles', 'cloaks for old women', 'almshouses for twenty widows' and 'the education of the middle classes' fall into the same category as 'objects of charity'. Such educational provision is decidedly out of place.

Another aspect related to the education of the poor had developed by the eighteenth century. This was the total opposition, in some circles, to any education which would raise them out of the station in life 'to which it had pleased Divine Providence to call them'. Writers, like Soame Jenyns in his <u>Free Enquiry into the Nature and Origins of Evil</u>, could write in such terms as 'like animals, the

## TABLE 3.12

### Freedom of the Grammar Schools at the time of the Charity Commissioners Survey

| School Founded | Local | Unlimited | Fee-paying |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prior to 1600 | 17 | 8 | 1 |
| 1601-1700 | 18 | 3 | 3 |
| 1701-1800 | 16 | 1 | 4 |

poor are happy in their ignorance' and 'ignorance is a cordial administered by the gracious hand of Providence'. While George Hadley, arguing against the setting up of Sunday Schools, felt that the ploughman 'who could read the renowned history of Tom Hickathrift, Jack the Giantkiller or the Seven Wise Men' would not be content to 'whistle up one furrow and down the next from dawn in the morning to the setting of the sun'.[54] Such attitudes, if reflecting wider social attitudes, would hardly likely to encourage the poor in grammar schools.

Leaving aside, for the present, the validity of their claims to grammar school status, all such schools, identified as classical foundations in Lancashire, by the Charity Commissioners have been investigated in relation to their freedom. The most frequently applied criterion was that based upon a residential qualification. (Table 3.12) This might be a town, parish or adjacent areas.

A pleading in the Court of Duchy Chamber of the Duchy of Lancashire referred to the school at Bolton which had been set up for 'teaching the youth within the said parish and town'.[55] Originally, the will of John Crosse at Liverpool had limited the freedom to 'all the children whose names be Crosse and poore children that have no socour'.[56] By the seventeenth century, the freedom was restricted to the sons of freemen. In December 1636, Mr. Rathbone, the master, was presented for 'denyinge to teach freemens children'.[57] That the question of the extent of the freedom was still an issue in 1645 can be seen from the appointment of John

Bird, who was offered a salary of £15 a year on condition that he taught the sons of freemen gratis.[58] There is also a reference to the appointment of Lambert Austine in 1646 which allowed him to 'take payment .....of all the Inhabitants that are not free'.[59] In 1748, due the decline in the number of pupils, an official visitation by the Mayor and Corporation reported that 'the Latin and English Tongues, as also Writing and Vulgar Arithmetick [shall be taught] as an inducement to them to send their children in; thereby effectually to answer the good intent of the said school in giving sutable [sic] education to the children of the poor freemen'.[60] Under the mastership of Adam (or Abram) Ashcroft in 1749, numbers rose in the school to such an extent that an official visitation was ordered by the Council in 1752 to discover which of the parents were 'able to pay a quarterage and which of them do'. It was reported that the school was 'filled up with a good number of scholars who have no right to the benefit of the said school'. As a result, an instruction to the master of 1 August 1753, allowed him to admit no pupils without the signed authorisation of the Mayor and Bailiffs.[61]

Like Liverpoool, Preston admited free the sons of freemen of the town. This, however, seems to have been a custom based on tradition rather than upon any legal requirement.

Among the schools which stipulated local residence as a condition of freedom were the sixteenth century foundations at Penwortham, Prescot, Wigan, Winwick, Leyland, Broughton and Rochdale.

In several cases, the freedom was extended beyond the town or parish boundary. The indenture of 1 August 1588, in relation to the establishment of the school at Ashton-in-Makerfield referred to 'Ashton and other places adjoining'.[62] At Whalley, the endowment was to benefit all boys 'of the township of Whalley and the neighbourhood'.[63] Other schools which extended their freedom beyond the immediate locality included Middleton, Lancaster, Heskin and Hawkshead.

A development that was to become more popular in the seventeenth century was evident at Blackburn, where the freedom was originally unlimited. Under the terms of the Statutes of 1597, pupils coming from other places were charged 8d. a quarter.[64] The situation was complicated by the smallness of the endowment. In September 1590, the governors of the school adopted a resolution which would prevent the children, or the children's children or any descendants of those inhabitants,who did not contribute towards the £20 required to purchase premises towards the maintenance of the school, from ever attending the school. Two years previously, in 1588, the governors had imposed fees of 4/- a year for older boys and 2/- a year for younger ones.[65] Poor pupils were exempted from these payments. In 1826,the Charity Commissioners noted that the freedom was again unlimited.

An interesting feature is the extent to which unlimited freedom was an aspect almost exclusively limited to the period prior to 1620 in Lancashire, where twelve such schools were to be found. On a wider

scale, Tompson noted that forty-one of the fifty-one schools, which he had identified with unlimited freedom, dated from prior to the seventeenth century.

A possible explanation is that the endowing of grammar schools was originally perceived as a general charitable feature and, in consequence, no specific group was identified. Increasingly, as such foundations became a memorial to the founders in their birthplaces, it became their wish that only local boys, who could identify closely with them, should benefit primarily from their charity. At Rivington, for example, the school was set up in the first place for the children and youth 'of the village or hamlet of Rovington, alias Rivington' and also 'of other villages and hamlets near adjoining' and finally' of other our faithful and liege people whosoever they might be'.[66] Warrington Grammar School was endowed 'whereby men's sons might learn grammar'[67] Manchester, Blackrod, Clitheroe, Warton and Urswick were the other schools in this category.

The only other foundations with unlimited freedom were at Standish and the Merchant Taylors' School at Great Crosby. In 1623, the statutes of the latter school stated 'that the inhabitants of Much Crosby as well as others shall be content to pay unto the Schoolmaster for the admission of every scholar and writing his name in the Register twelve pence'.[68] This seems to imply that the freedom of the school extended beyond the chapelry or parish,

although the founder, John Harrison, made no residential stipulations in his will.

During the seventeenth century, other schools placed limitations on their freedom. At Upholland, it was restricted to those who were not worth more than £6:13:0 a year.[69] Others limited the number of free scholars. For example there were fifty at Overwyersdale; four at Colne and Leigh.[70] As the number of schools offering unlimited freedom declined, there was an increase in the number of foundations which offered places to pupils living outside the parish and paying the appropriate fees. At Bretherton, the school orders for 1655 refused entrance for Catholics and to children of families that had opposed its building. The children of feofees living outside Bretherton were entitled to a free education but others from outside the area had to pay.[71]

At neighbouring Croston, there was an allowance for ten pupils to be admitted on payment of quarterage.[72] The major problem that could arise with fee-payers was that they might receive preferential treatment and so the governors of Croston School ordered the master to show 'as much or more care of the free scholars'[73]

Pupils 'legitimately born and bred, or incorporate in the parish of Kirkham (with the exception of Goosnargh, Newsham and Whittingham)' were to be taught free of charge but 'foreigners' had to pay on a sliding scale, according to the master they were under. These

amounted to £1 a year to the master; 16/- a year to the second master and 10/- a year to the usher'.[74]

In at least two schools, Chorley and Cockerham, it seems that there was no free education provided. This was the conclusion of the Charity Commissioners in 1908 in relation to Chorley. At Cockerham, it seems to have been the custom for the pupils to pay quarterage.[75]

Twenty-one grammar schools were identified by the Charity Commissioners as eighteenth century foundations in Lancashire. With the exception of Bleasdale, all the schools were limited to local scholars. Four schools also specified the number of free scholars ranging from six at Lowton to eleven at Kirkland. At Lea, Catholics were not entitled to the freedom of the school but could enter as fee-payers.[76]

Apart from the residential qualification, there was often an educational requirement. Since the main purpose of the grammar schools was to teach Latin and Greek, a prerequisite was the ability to read,with a book from the New Testament generally being stipulated. Although this was the ideal, in practice, provision was frequently made for those unable to do so, as at Rivington, Blackburn and Manchester.

That a number of schools continued to insist upon an educational qualification can be seen from a number of examples in the eighteenth century. An order of the governors of Wigan Grammar School of 2nd. October 1711 stated that 'the usher shall not

hereafter take upon him to teach and instruct any scholar or schollars but that are learning in the Testament and books above'.[77] Roger Kay, the re-founder of Bury Grammar School, laid down in the Book of Statutes, dated 9 July 1726, 'That no boys shall be taken into the school until they should be able to read well'.[78] At Croston, a minute of the governors' meeting of 1 August 1711, stated 'The Master shall not receive any child into the school but such as can read English'.[79] This was, seemingly, an attempt to raise the status of the school. On 19 December 1740, this rule was declared void, since it was contrary to the foundation statutes of the school. The new regulations for Liverpool in 1748 directed 'that nobody be admitted a Scholar of the said School till he is able to read in the Psalter'.[80] Likewise, a minute of the meeting of 30 September 1755 at Blackburn Grammar School ordered that 'The Usher shall take in such boys as can read in the Testament agreeable to the master or usher after having examined them '[81] In 1770, the headmaster, Rev. Thomas Wilson complained that 'the lower part of the school hath of late been much crowded by petty boys'. The response of the governors was to rule that no boy could be instructed in reading by the usher unless he paid 5/- entrance fee.This would also be instrumental in restricting the number of poor pupils. As a final example, in 1798, the governors at Ormskirk, reasserted the entry requirement that all pupils should be able to read.[82]

One other admission criterion in grammar school foundations was preferential treatment for those related to the founder. This aspect, in relation to John Crosse's will at Liverpool has already been mentioned. An indenture of lease and release stated that 'Roger Kay had long intended a charitable benefaction for a free grammar school in the town of Bury for the youth of that town and parish for ever and for his own relations'. The founder's relations were, also, to have preference for exhibitions, to be followed by 'poor boys whose parents should not be able to maintain them at university', though it was Kay's wish that 'merit should always have the preference'.[83]

On occasions, seeking to stick to the founder's conditions of entry could lead to problems, as John Hadwen, the curate and schoolmaster of Aughton, discovered. In a letter of 7 February 1727, he pointed out that he had attended the school for five years, until there were no more boys in the neighbourhood. When there were 'now a few children.....just weaned from their cradles', he had given notice that he would re-open the school. However, only one or two came and he had sat by himself for four or five days a week. 'When I reflected on this desolate condition and found my time and attendance thus miserably lost, I told them [the parishioners] that I would stand by the sense and meaning of Robert Burton's will and insist on it to be a grammar school and unless they would bring me a sufficient number of boys rightly qualified I would wait no longer'. He came to the conclusion that 'the will of

the founder excludes the ABC and spelling school in specifying it by those distinguishing forms to be a grammar school'.[84]

### (x) Grammar Schools and the Education of the Poor

The question of the extent to which the grammar schools of Lancashire catered for the education of the poor will now be considered. Two points need to be kept in mind. First of all, there is the question of the meaning of 'the poor'. There seems to be no doubt that the destitute were not included since education in grammar schools was considered as inappropriate for them and there is some evidence, to be examined later, which suggests that this group was not catered for, even by the charity schools. Rather 'the Poor' must be considered in relation to its eighteenth century connotation as something approximating to 'the respectable working classes' of the following century. Secondly, there is the question of attempting to equate occupations and, consequently, social position in the eighteenth century to their modern counterparts. Allied to this is the problem of a term embracing a wide social field. For example, the father of one boy was entered on the register of Manchester Grammar School as an inn-keeper. In fact, the 'inn-keeper' owned a hotel and considerable property in Buxton, as well as the baths there.

There is evidence from the foundation statutes of Manchester Grammar School that it was envisaged that poor scholars would be

attending the school. It was ordered that each scholar, on being admitted to the school and having had his name entered in the register should pay 1d. 'and not above', which was to be paid to the two poor scholars whose job it was to keep the register and see to the cleaning of the school. Poor scholars were also exempted from the rule that food and drink were not to be brought into the school. It apears that at least two poor scholars were allowed into the school. Poor scholars were also spared other incidental payments as the masters were forbidden to receive any other 'rewards taken therefore as cock-penny, victor-penny, potation-penny or any other whatsoever'.[85]

Manchester Grammar School is also advantageous in that the school register, which began regular entries in the early 1730s has survived. For many of the pupils, it includes parental occupation, places of abode and information relating to university entrance. Over the period 1735 to 1799, the following social classes were represented; 8 Nobility; 236 gentry; 132 upper professional; 177 lower professional; 98 mercantile; 616 lower mercantile; 90 clerical; 391 manufacturing; 305 artisan; 147 unskilled labourer; 18 military; 127 farmers and 18 unknown.[86] The proportion of what might be termed 'the Poor', in the context of the eighteenth century, make up about one-fifth of the total (452 out of 2,357 pupils). Over the five year periods, the number of sons of artisans entering the school ranged from 12 (1740-44) to 40 (1780-84). After 1784, the numbers declined to 33 (1785-89), 22 (1790-94) and 17

(1795-99). Earlier in the century, the numbers had tended to fluctuate around the twenty mark. With the exception of the period 1760-69, sons of unskilled workers were fewer in numbers than the sons of artisans entering the school. These ranged from 3 (1795-99) to 23 in 1760-64 but the usual entry was 10 or 11. What this evidence does reinforce is the view that boys of all social classes were brought up together, with the exception of the very poor. There is , for example, no boy described as a pauper in the sample. It is possible to consider in general terms the relationship between Manchester Grammar School and Chetham's Hospital School, in the eighteenth century, since there has survived for the latter school a number of apprenticeship indentures. These recorded both the occupations of the apprentices' fathers and, also, the occupation to which they were being apprenticed.[87] The following occupations were common to the fathers of pupils at both schools; innkeeper, weaver, joiner, tailor, shoemaker, dyer, silkmaker, smith, brewer, porter, calender, pinmaker, packer, watchmaker, plasterer, tobacconist, and baker. Husbandman, cordwainer and warehouseman were not represented in the grammar school sample. Similarly, the following occupations, to which the boys of Chetham's School were apprenticed, were also represented in the grammar school; weaver; threadmaker, tailor, jeweller, saddler, glazier, baker, checkmaker, dyer, joiner, clockmaker, cabinetmaker, threadmaker, barber, reedmaker and fustian cutter. What this evidence suggests is that the 'Poor' had access to both the grammar

school and the charity school in Manchester. However, the gentry, professional and mercantile classes were restricted, or more accurately, restricted themselves, to the grammar school.

There is evidence for the presence of poor scholars at Bolton in the sixteenth century. In 1585, the trustees, replying to the Court of Duchy Chamber, stated that 'there is above six score pupils daily instructed.......... and many of them very poor'. Additional evidence comes in a letter from James Lever to his brother, Robert, dated 10 December 1681, in which he described the school orders, which included '20s yearly allowed to some poor scholars for brushing dust off the books, sweeping and keeping all things clean'.[88]

One of the incidental expenses for pupils at grammar school was related to the provision of books. In the Account Book 1680-1775 for Clitheroe are a number of references to the governors making allowances for poor scholars.[89] In 1700, a second hand grammar was bought for a poor boy at a cost of 6d. Incidentally, this reference confirms that books would be provided for general school use, when funds allowed. Besides the second hand grammar, a lexicon (7/-), a Greek Testament (1/8), a Virgil (1/4), two dictionaries (14/-) and Earnhaedt's Roman History (5/-) were bought at the same time. About 1710, the governors bought the late usher's collection of books for the use of the school. These included Latin texts and Greek and Hebrew grammars. In the acounts for 1724-5, there is an entry 'A Virgil and Greek Testament for Radcliffe a poor scholar cost 5/8'.

The following year, a Juvenal was bought for the same scholar at a cost of 4/6. In 1727, Radcliffe was elected as master of Brindle School and was given a Sallust and a Lexicon. Earlier in the year, he had received a copy of the Iliad and Tully's Select Orations, at a cost to the school of 7/-. At the same time, a poor scholar, Salthouse, had received the same two books. Another poor scholar, Wilson, received a book costing 7/1 in 1728 and Bailey's Exercises in the following year, as well as a dictionary in 1732. Another poor pupil, Kenyon, received a grammar and 15/- a year to ring the school bell. In 1732, Thomas Brigs received A Duty of Man, Clerk's Introductions and Cornelius Nepos. Expenditure for books for poor boys amounted to 14/1 in 1734-5 and £1:6:0 in 1736. At Clitheroe School, it is apparent that poor scholars, probably of good ability, were supported with regard to the cost of books. The practice of paying for books for poor scholars continued with receipts for books being available from 1740 to 1762,[90] In 1740 expenditure amounted to 9/2; 1743 - 19/1; 1746 - £1:16:10; 1747 - £1:11:11; 1749 - 19/7; 1750 - 18/7; 1751 - 14/11; 1752 - 10/10; 1753 - 15/8; 1754 - 11/2 and 1762 - 13/9.[91] As late as 1794, books were being provided for free scholars.

Bretherton, Preston, Bury, Kirkham and Rivington are other examples of schools which provided books for free scholars. The money available for this purpose at Bretherton originated in a legacy of £5 given by William Rose in 1721. Although the interest was absorbed into the general fund, 5/- was usually allowed for buying

books until 1783. For a short period, this increased to 10/- but had declined to 7/6 a year at the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit.[92] In 1698, James Sudell left 20s. a year for books for the boys at Preston Grammar School.[93]

Under the terms of the statutes of Bury, the trustees were required to pay to the master £4 on Visitation Day (6th. May, or the next day if this was a Sunday) to be used by the master to buy books for 'such poor boys as should be most deserving'. 20/- was the maximum to be spent on books for pupils in the usher's class.[94]

Dr. Grimbaldson, in his will of 1725, left £50, with the interest to supply classical books for poor scholars at Kirkham. By 1821,the income from the land bought with this legacy amounted to £7 a year. At the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit, it was reported that there was little demand on this charity as the number of classical pupils was low and the parents of such pupils, in any case, could afford to pay for their own books. Grimbaldson left a similar bequest for books for pupils under the second master. Usually, these books were bibles, testaments, catechisms, Enfield's Speaker and Robinson's Spelling Book with, occasionally, dictionaries, grammars and accidences.[95]

The governors' account book for Rivington further confirms the practice of providing books for needy pupils. In 1690, 1/10 was spent on a grammar and an English example for a boy named Nightingale. In 1701, 3/- was spent on school books. The following year, a Testament was bought for Oliver Mather for 1/- and the next

year, James Abbot received a Latin Testament. 9/- was spent on three Bibles for scholars in 1708 and in 1709 1/8 was paid for Testaments for the parish children.[96]

Further evidence for the presence of poor scholars in the grammar schools comes from the number of schools with exhibitions to support them at university but these were not necessarily taken up by the poor. In addition to his bequest to the grammar school at Blackrod, John Holme left an annuity of £5 for an exhibition at Pembroke College. It seems that those who benefited were not the locals but outsiders.[97] There were no exhibitioners between 1724 and 1776 and up to 1753, the £5 was absorbed into the general expenses of the school. From 1754 to 1799, it was accounted for separately but there were only two exhibitions. These were in 1776 and 1778, with both exhibitioners receiving £20 a year.[98] The exhibitions were an attraction to pupils at neighbouring Rivington Grammar School. In 1778, the exhibitioner was the son of the Rev. Norcross, who had, apparently, transfered to gain this award. Less successful was John Fisher who left Rivington 'for Blackrod School for the Exhibition' but failing to gain it went 'later to trade'.[99] Six scholarships, tenable at Brasenose and valued at £3:6:8, were established by letters patent of 1572 at Middleton. In 1575, Alexander Nowell provided the income from the manor of Upbury and the rectory of Gillingham, among a number of bequests, to maintain thirteen poor scholars at the college. Prior to these bequests, from at least 1569, he had supported scholars from Middleton and

other Lancashire schools, mainly Clitheroe, Whalley and Burnley. In addition to the foundation scholarships, he continued to support individual scholars up to 1580.

The background of two of the early scholars has been identified. On 12th. October 1572, Richard Wild of a yeoman family received 15s 8d. It has been suggested that the family, remotely related to the Nowells, was in comparatively poor circumstances. By way of contrast, Edmund Schofield, of a prosperous yeoman family, received a payment of 20/- in 1575 and, later, one of 10/-.[100] William Massey, described as a poor scholar, entered Brasenose in 1567 from Manchester Grammar School. Two years later he received 20/- from Nowell's bequest.[101] Thus, the situation appears to be that the scholarships were available for the poor scholar and were, in some circumstances, taken up by them but they were equally open to all scholars proceeding to Brasenose College.

Other schools with scholarships included Rochdale, Urswick and Bury. Samuel Radcliffe, Principal of Brasenose College, left a bequest in 1648 for two scholarships for pupils from Rochdale, Middleton or Steeple Ashton (Oxfordshire), where he had endowed a school.[102] Urwick's scholarship originated in the will of William Marshall, the school's founder, but the three scholarships available were also to be shared with students from Cumberland, Hertfordshire and Essex.[103] At Bury, the scholarships were established by Roger Kay in 1726 and had an annual value of £20 to

support two exhibitioners at either St.John's College, Cambridge or Brasenose College. To decide upon the candidates, each was required to 'present an epistle in Latin to everyone of the trustees present'. As with the freedom, the founder's relations were to have preference, followed 'by poor boys whose parents should not be able to maintain them at the university'.[104]

Towards the end of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century, a number of schools were either founded with specific instructions for the education of poor children, or existing schools received augmentation grants to allow them to teach such pupils. The former category has been generally considered in relation to the freedom of the schools. Rochdale is an example of a school in the latter category. An indenture of Lease and Release, dated 31 October/1 November 1682, stated that Elizabeth Dickson, before her marriage, had been the widow of Dr.Chadwick, Rector of Darfield in Yorkshire, and that it had been his wish to provide £3 a year to the master of Rochdale Grammar School to teach nine poor boys. Accordingly, she had conveyed land for this purpose. In January 1696, Jeremy Hargreaves had left the interest on £20 to the school trustees to allow poor men's sons to be taught to write 'who should not be well able to pay for the same'. Sixteen years later, James Holt instructed his trustees to raise £100 to 'educate and teach (or cause to be) so many poor boys not exceeding six in number....... whose parents should be unable to educate the said boys themselves.'[105]

At Hawkshead, Rev. Thomas Sandys left £800 for the school in 1717 to maintain poor children with lodging, food, clothes and books. Special attention was to be given to orphans and those who lived at a great distance from the school. A non-classical education was evidently envisaged for these scholars, who were to be taught to write and cast accounts, as well as read such books as the Bible and The Whole Duty of Man. Additional bequests included £20 from George Satherthwaite's will of 1731 towards the charity boys at the grammar school and William Dennison's gift, in his lifetime, of £400 for a similar purpose.[106]

In 1726, Thomas Nuttall gave £3 a year for teaching eight poor boys to read at Oldham, with books to be bought out of any surplus.[107] James Walker, in 1755, left £14 a year for the master of Oldham Grammar School to instruct a number of poor pupils in reading and to buy books and catechisms. In 1826, the Charity Commissioneers were unable to find any account of this bequest.[108]

Another grammar school, which received augmentation grants to enable poor children to be taught, was Prescot. In 1762, William Lorton left £12 a year to allow them to be taught reading, writing, accounts 'or other learning'. Wyke's gift of £100, received in 1793, also stressed 'maths and particularly mechanics' for the poor.[109]

## (xi) Grammar Schools and the Education of the Poor at the time of the Charity Commissioners Reports'

The position with regard to the freedom of the grammar schools in Lancashire in the 1820s is summarised in Table 3.12[110] The most numerous category limited the freedom to a particular parish. Closely allied to this group were the seven schools which catered for a wider catchment area in that they accepted pupils from named neighbouring parishes or townships. Bispham, as an example, included Norbreck, while Halsall included Downholland and Bolton-le-Sands included Kellett and Slyne. Twelve schools allowed unlimited freedom, together with Wigan which was 'not limited in practice'. The final grouping is made up of schools which made no provision at all for free schooling of any kind. Chorley, Cockerham, Broughton (Kirkby Ireleth), Stand, Lydyate, Lowick and Burnley were included in this category, together with Lancaster, which, by resolution of the Corporation in 1823, ordered quarterage to be paid by all pupils.

Although the majority of the schools were described as 'free', only a small number of them did provide an entirely free education. In a number of cases, cockpence was payable but, by now, the 'pence' had grown appreciably in some schools. At Preston Grammar School, cockpence varied from 5/- to 2 guineas; at Cartmel from 1/- to 1 guinea and at Penwortham from 3d to 2/-. At Hawkshead, cockpence

needed to be paid only by those who could afford it, while at Clitheroe, it was described as 'a voluntary contribution'.

Another considerable expense for the poor scholar was entrance money. At Rivington, this varied from 2/- to 6/- for the pupils under the master and from 6d. to 1/- for those under the usher. Several years later, 1 guinea was payable by pupils from outside the local area who came as boarders.[111] 5/- was the entrance fee at Bury; 2/6 at Crosby and 1/- was the charge at both Bolton and Liverpool.

The Charity Commissioners expressed concern in relation to the level of entry fees keeping poor scholars out of the grammar schools. At Cartmel, the evidence of William Bradley, a blacksmith, was heard. He had sent his five year old son 'about ten years ago [i.e. about 1810] to Mr. Taylor, the headmaster, to learn to read. He had taken 5/- with him as entrance for the usher but the child had come home at noon and said Mr. Taylor had told him not to come again and that 'he was not fit'. Bradley went on to state that the same thing had happened when he had sent his older son at the age of nine or ten. This time, however, he had not sent any entrance money. In this particular instance, the Charity Commissioners seeemed to be looking for evidence in relation to the exclusion of poor children from the school, since they quizzed both the master and usher in relation to this matter. Both denied that this was the intention. The implication of the questions put by the Charity Commissioners was, apparently, that the son of a blacksmith,

despite his ability to pay the entrance fee, was considered unsuitable to enter Cartmel Grammar School.

The Charity Commissioners were, also, suspicious about the actual imposition of an entrance fee. In his evidence, Mr. Field, a governor, did not feel that the poor were excluded by this charge. Another governor, Thomas Nachel, gave evidence that, when he had been at the school, he had paid quarterage for reading and writing but there had been no entrance fee, although cockpence had been paid. Further evidence confirmed that the entrance fee had been introduced since the headmaster's appointment in 1790.[112]

An additional cost was fire money which ranged from 7/6 at Ormskirk to 2/6 at Bury, with Bolton charging 5/-. A charge , noted only at Bury, was 6d for window money. Bury also, charged what amounted to a system of fees by demanding payments of 5/- at Christmas, Shrove Tuesday and midsummer. At Liverpool, 1/- was paid at Christmas and Shrove Tuesday.

What appears to have happened in the grammar schools of Lancashire is that, due to a variety of reasons, in the course of time, the ability to provide a free education had been weakened. Initially, nearly all the schools had done this for all or the stipulated pupils. However, by the early nineteenth century, forty of the schools had imposed charges for combinations of entrance, fire, candle and window money; cockpence and such curricular areas as Latin, reading, writing, accounts and maths. Only, Dalton, Kirkby

Ireleth, Bleasdale, Ormskirk, Clitheroe, Presall, Kirkham and Warmpton were providing a free education.

**(xii) Merchant Taylors' School and its Freedom**

An interesting case study in relation to the question of the freedom of the school is provided by Merchant Taylors' School at Great Crosby.[113] During the 1790s, three ushers had been employed at the school at a salary of £20, which was the amount laid down in Harrison's will. When Thomas Rebanks left the school in 1800, after a stay of fifteen months, Rev. Matthew Chester wrote to the Company that he had 'made every enquiry for another usher but the salary being so small and every necessary of life at such exorbitant prices' he had found it dificult to meet with one. The problem was that 'a person at this time cannot get board in Crosby under £30 or £35 per annum'. After doing without an usher for several years, he wrote to the Company on 25 January 1804. He pointed out that he had 40-50 scholars 'which are more than I can attend to'. Accordingly, he did 'humbly beg' that the Company would 'either add a little more to the master's and usher's salaries , or if this cannot conveniently be done, to give me leave to charge a small quarter's pence upon all writers and accountants, which is done at all other free grammar schools, so that I may in some measure be enabled to hire an assistant'.

The Company acknowledged that the freedom applied only to grammar and the rules of learning and that he could charge every quarter 5/- for writing and 7/6 for writing and arithmetic. At first, the fees were paid by the locals, with those who were not able to afford them exempt, until John Lurtin, a local farmer, objected. Chester's reaction was to initiate a lawsuit against him, while Lurtin, in turn, wrote to the Lord of the Manor, William Blundell, to seek support.[114] He began by complaining that the present master had deprived the parish of the 'privilege' of the free school by charging the inhabitants quarterage, despite the custom of two hundred years. He went on to point out that he had refused to pay the demand for £2 and that Chester had taken legal action against him and 'no doubt he will take the same measure with the rest who have refused to pay him'. On 20 February 1811, a petition was sent to the Merchant Taylors' Company 'Your Petitioners humbly pray that you will be pleased to peruse and consider the Will and parchments relating to the Foundation of the said School and give such direction to your Petitioners and the said Master of the said School for their future conduct as you may think just and reasonable'. In its reply to the headmaster of 2 April 1811, the Company stated that Mr. Chester was at liberty 'to charge what he thinks fit for teaching writing or arithmetic or any other branch of science or learning not specified in Mr. Harrison's will'. Although Chester won the case, the local retaliated by taking away their boys and the school population declined from about fifty in

1811 to thirty-eight in 1821. A Company Visitation , the following year, found about 18 boys, 'chiefly the sons of humble and indigent labourers''[15] They were 'of a class to whom such a branch of learning [i.e. Latin] would be useless'. The Visitation Report concluded by 'expressing their hope that some plan will be marked out by the wisdom of your Court for settling the petty disputes and jealousies which prevail in the said chapelry relative to the right of education claimed by the poor'. In 1828, the Charity Commissioners commented on the local resentment at the charging of fees.

(xiii) Boarders

A development within the grammar schools which has been seen as weakening their charitable function was the introduction of boarders. Originally, boarding had been merely a practical reponse to the problem of pupils who lived too far from a school to allow them to travel daily to their lessons. Since the pupils boarded in the locality, there was no particular social or economic importance attached to them, as far as the school was concerned, except that, as 'foreigners', they might be required to pay school fees. Later, problems could arise if the boarders were taken into the headmaster's house and received, either real or imaginary, preferential treatment. In some cases, the presence of boarders

TABLE 3.13

Boarding in Lancashire Grammar Schools

| School | Tompson | Earliest Boarders |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Bolton-le-Sands | 1800+ | 1690s |
| Bretherton | 1700-49 | ?1691 |
| Burnley | 1700-49 | c1596 |
| Bury | 1800+ | c1738 |
| Cartmel | 1800+ | 1790s |
| Chorley | 1800+ | 1800+ |
| Clitheroe | 1750-99 | 1750-99 |
| Crosby | | c1654 |
| Croston | before 1700 | ? |
| Halton | 1800+ | ? |
| Hawkshead | 1800+ | 1717 |
| Kirkham | | c1675 |
| Lancaster | | before 1700 |
| Leigh | 1800+ | 1800+ |
| Liverpool | 1800+ | ? |
| Manchester | 1700-49 | 1727 |
| Middleton | 1800+ | before 1536 |
| Oldham | | 1669 |
| Penwortham | 1800+ | 1800+ |
| Prescot | 1800+ | 1800+ |
| Preston | 1800+ | 1750-99 |
| Rivington | 1800+ | 1575 |
| Standish | 1800+ | 1800+ |
| Stand | | 1790s |
| Upholland | 1800+ | 1780s |
| Warrington | 1800+ | 1800+ |
| Wigan | 1800+ | 1800+ |
| Winwick | | 1669 |
| Whalley | | before 1800 |
| Widnes | | before 1758 |

tended to act against the interests of the foundationers, who might be kept quite separate from them. Boarders could be introduced into schools, unless expressly forbidden by the statutes, without the need for the approval of the trustees, though, in a number of cases, at Manchester and Crosby, for instance, the trustees were instrumental in providing accommodation for them. The facility to board pupils was sometimes used as an incentive to attract a master who might otherwise have shown little interest in the school, due to the indifferent salary being offered.

Table 3.13 identifies the earliest known boarders in the grammar schools of Lancashire, together with the information derived from Tompson's survey.[116] Tompson's work, in this area, reveals a number of inaccuracies. For instance, Bretherton, Crosby, Kirkham, Lancaster, Oldham, Stand, Winwick and Whalley, with evidence of boarders, have been omitted from his list. On the other hand, he has included Liverpool for which there appears to be no direct evidence for boarders. In 1802, the Corporation, through the Select Finance Committee, made an order that the headmaster should be allowed to take not more than fifteen boarders. This was to enable him to attract staff, which had proved difficult, hitherto, due to the low salaries being offered. In the following year, the headmaster died and the school was discontinued.[117] There is no evidence for boarders at Croston, although the school rules of 1661 did allow ten quarterly fee-payers to be taken into the school.[118]

The earliest known boarders at Middleton were Alexander, Robert and Lawrence Nowell, who were at the school between 1520 and 1536 and whose family home was at Read, about twenty miles away, Another boarder at the school, in the early seventeenth century, was John Bradshaw of Marple, who left a bequest towards the school in 1659. Unfortunately for the school, it was lost at the Restoration.[119] Neither the school, nor the adjacent house for the master provided boarding facilities and the pupils were boarded out in the locality.[120] Carlisle noted that Rev. James Archer, the headmaster at the time of his survey, appointed in 1778, had 'seldom fewer than Forty to Fifty Pupils under his care, who are boarded and lodged in the village'. The number of boarders seems very high and there is some evidence that the majority of those who came from outside the parish did not board, since they left their horses and donkeys to graze beside the school until the end of the day. There are two possible explanations for the optimism of Archer's return. In the first place, it is possible that the juxtaposed answers were run together, resulting in a different interpretation, by Carlisle. Secondly, Archer could well have been seeking to portray himself in a more favourable light, particularly, as in the last years of his mastership, there was considerable local dissatisfaction with the standards in his school.[121]

At Rivington, the pupils were originally boarded in the locality, rather than in the school. It was the duty of the school governors

to 'search, spy and learn how every scholar behaveth himself in the house where he lyeth, towards the women and the servants'. It was also ordered that 'if there be any number of scholars together in one house at board, every one in course shall read often.....a chapter of some piece of the Scripture'. Even if there was only one boarder, it was his duty to 'read some what of the Scriptures or other godly book to the rest of the family where he is lodged''[122] The first register (1575-6) indicates pupils coming from a wide area of the county including Speke, Dewhurst, Stonyhurst, Duxbury and Clitheroe. During the eighteenth century, some pupils came from a considerable distance. In 1745, two brothers came from Jamaica, before leaving for Preston in the following year. Generally, however, pupils came from within the county but what was significant was that scholars came from towns such as Preston, Bolton, Manchester, Whalley, Blackburn, Liverpool, Prescot, Ormskirk and Wigan which had their own grammar schools. During the 1790s, while the usher was taking in local pupils, the master kept between twenty and thirty pupils, with the majority of them boarding. By 1802, however, the master had thirty-three pupils, all of whom were local and boarders do not seem to have been accepted again in the school until later in the century. It seems that this was a deliberate policy by the governors to cater for local needs. Similarly, Hawkshead had boarders but, again, they were lodged locally with a respectable family ' in and near the village' at a cost of 22 guineas a year.[123] The most famous boarder was William

Wordsworth, who stayed in the home of Ann Tynon in the hamlet of Colthouse.

At Bretherton, a school order of 10 April 1691 stated that 'all children sent to the said school from neighbouring or other towns pay the master wages quarterly or otherwise to his own use and also that all boarders do the same'.[124]

An autobiographical account of boarding in a Lancashire grammar school was written by James Gregor Grant under the title Great Crosby Grammar School in 1808. He was boarded with a 'worthy couple', Lawrence and Peggy Jackson, who supplemented the husband's income as an auctioneer with the profit from their boarders. There is evidence of boarders prior to 1808. In about 1654, the Merchant Taylors' Company agreed to spend £50 on the master's house to allow him to receive boarders. During the mastership of Rev. Anthony Halsall, the son and heir of George Mallory of Mobberly, Cheshire, was a boarder before going on to Trinity College. Evidence for boarders under Halsall, also. comes from an entry in the diary of Dr. Richard Pococke, who wrote on 1 July 1750 'Walked three miles to Mr. Halsers at Grosby, a clergyman who has about forty West Indian boarders with him'. There is, thus, intermittent evidence for boarders at Merchant Taylors' school over more than one hundred and fifty years.[125]

Although the freedom of Manchester Grammar School was unlimited and would probably have resulted in boarders attending the school, the first provision for boarders was in 1727 when, after a costly legal

action, the trustees decided to offer the master a house for boarders. Henry Brooke was appointed master and began to attract pupils from further afield. During the 1730s, pupils still tended to come from relatively locally, for instance, from Wigan, Leigh, Stockport and Chester. Although this aspect continued,the appointment of William Purnell in 1749 appears to have coincided with attracting pupils from a wider area. Pupils came from Gloucestershire, Kent, Caernarvon, Sussex, Lichfield, Ipswich, Ireland, West Indies, Pennsylvania and Savannah (USA) and in 1791, the son of the governor of Rhode Island. An indication of the academic importance of boarders is provided by the statistic that they made up 153 of the 183 university entrants between 1749 and 1784. For example, the six boarders who entered university in 1750 came from Mottram, Caernarvon, Beverley, Halifax, Overcotton (Staffs.) and Pottersbury (Northants). Two of their fathers were clergymen; two were gentlemen; one was a farmer and the other a linen draper, thus confirming their social, as well as their academic status. Thomas de Quincy, a boarder in 1800, has described life in the school. However, with regard to boarding, he only referred to the drabness of his rooms in the master's house and the way in which discipline was maintained 'by the self-restaint and example of the older boys, these being, for the most part boarders in the master's house'. Eighteen months later, he ran away from the school. In his return to Carlisle, the master stated that he received two parlour boarders who paid 120 to 140

guineas a year for lodging and tuition. There were also boarders who paid 50 guineas a year up to the age of fifteen and then 60 guineas thereafter for lodging and tuition in writing, mathematics, writing and arithmetic. In addition to the headmaster, the Second Master took boarders at 40 guineas for the under 14 year olds and 45 guineas for the older pupils. There were, also, 'upwards of Twenty boarders' in the house of the First Assistant Master.[126]
According to Carlisle's survey, boarders were to be found in the early nineteenth century, in addition to Manchester, at Cartmel, Chorley, Clitheroe, Prescot, Preston, Whalley, Wigan and Winwick.
Cartmel, apparently, attracted pupils 'from every part of the Kingdom and even now from the West Indies'.[127] At the time of the Charity Commissioners' survey, there were 34 free boys and 14 'ex-parishioners'. In his evidence, Mr. Taylor stated that he had never had more boarders than at present. The boarders and free scholars were taught together read the same books '& I make no distinction', he continued.[128]
Chorley, due to its inadequate endowment had never been a free school. By the early 1800s, it described itself as a commercial school with facilities for boarders at 25 guineas a year for those under twelve and 30 guineas for the older pupils.[129] Since fees had, apparently, always been paid, such a development would have had no implications for the poor scholars.
Boarders appear to have played a considerable role in the history

of Clitheroe Grammar School, since, as the Charity Commissioners noted, 'there were formerly boarders in the house of the headmaster and usher, and in those of other persons in the town'. Between 1814, the date of the appointment of the master, and 1825, there had been a decline in the number of boarders for whom the charge was 50 guineas, exclusive of incidental expenses. At the latter date, there was only one boarder in the headmaster's house and he was, also, the only pupil of the headmaster, since the other twenty scholars were all under the tuition of the usher. In his evidence to the Charity Commissioners, Rev.Robert Heath attributed the decline of the boarding side of the school to his own ill-health but the more probable cause had had its origins in 1816. At that date, a complaint was made to the governors that Mr. Heath had given preferential treatment to the boarders in his house, as compared with the other boarders in the upper school. Four of the governors had investigated the matter and, in a letter to Heath, stated that 'it appeared that partiality on his part towards some of the scholars, being his own boarders, with disadvantage to scholars who boarded elsewhere, had become a just cause of complaint'. The governors then went on to warn him to avoid a repetition of such conduct.[130]

At Prescot, in the 1820s, it seems that the fee-payers, both local and 'outsiders', together with the two boarders were taught in the master's house, thus, isolating them from the free scholars.

Boarding fees in 1817 were 35 guineas a year, compared with the 4 guineas paid yearly by the fee-payers.[131]

At Whalley, although Rev. Richard Noble was willing to take boarders at £30 a year, there were none in 1825.[132] The poor state of Preston Grammar School was blamed by the Charity Commissioners on the decline of the boarding side, with none being admitted after 1819.[133] Similarly, at Wigan, although the headmaster could take in boarders at 50 guineas, there is no evidence in relation to the extent of the boarding. In about 1820, boarding was discontinued, although there was potential for about twenty boarders.[134]

Between Carlisle's inquiry and the visit of the Charity Commissioners, a great decline had taken place in the number of boarders in Winwick Grammar School. According to Carlisle's information, the present master and his predecessor had, at least, fifty boarders. This was confirmed, in general terms, by the Charity Commissioners, who noted that 'formerly,........there was a school here of some note, though consisting chiefly of boarders'. The reason for the high proportion of boarders was related to the limited local demand for a classical education. There appears, however, to be a discrepancy in relation to the extent of the boarding accommodation available. According to Carlisle, 'The House is well calculated for the reception of boarders'. However, the Charity Commissioners merely noted that the house, built about 1618, 'is capable of accommodating several boarders'. A possible explanation is that boarders were lodged both in the master's house

and locally. In March 1828, there were no boarders, since the master was residing over twenty miles away and only came to Winwick to perform Divine Service in one of the local chapels. Even in the absence of boarders, the school did not benefit the poor. From 1822 to 1828, there were no more than five pupils in the school, which was a reflection of the local demand for a classical education. [135]
Indirect evidence for boarding at Winwick is available for the seventeenth century. In 1669, James Lathom, the son of a London goldsmith, entered Gonville and Caius College as a sizar at the age of fifteen from Winwick. William Gorst, of Preston, spent a year at the school before entering the same college in 1781. Such evidence, allied to the high reputation that Winwick enjoyed in relation to university entrance, does suggest that from at least the 1660s until about 1822, the school did cater for boarding pupils.[136]
In addition to the schools which submitted returns to Carlisle, a number of other Lancashire Grammar Schools had provision for boarders. In 1748, the master of Bury, Rev. John Lister, wrote to his sister, 'We have got a new young boarder, Master Hulton. He is about 9 years old, an heir and the last of the family. His estate is about £1,500 a year: he has been a little indulged, but has a pretty behaviour and likes very well with us'.[137] The school orders, adopted on 6 May 1735, also confirm the presence of boarders, lodged not only with the master, as young Master Hulton was, but in the locality. Rule 4 read 'That if any Inn or Alehouse keeper whatsoever shall permit any scholar who is a Boarder

belonging to the said school to tipple or drink in their respective houses..... the Trustees shall........use all possible endeavours to get the said public house suppressed'. Concern with the welfare of the pupil was, also, evident in Rule 5 which ordered the master and usher to visit, at least once a week, the houses where any scholars were boarded 'and strictly to examine into their respective behaviours'. Lister was, evidently, not too concerned with building up a large boarding side to the school. In a letter written in 1738, he observed that 'I have generally seven or eight Boarders in my House - a greater number I have found tiresome'.[138] On 4 December 1750, an advertisement in the Manchester Magazine advertised 'a large commodious house' where young lads were boarded for £10 a year. Parents were, also, assured thst the boys' behaviour would be carefully watched both in and out of school. The Charity Commissioners found nine boarders in the master's house 'who are instructed in the same manner and proceed in the same course as the other boys'. The master, as stipulated in the will of the founder, was free to make his own charges,[139]

Boarders were referred to in the Statutes of about 1675 at Kirkham. The master was required to admonish both the child and landlord 'if any householder should suffer any abusive carriage in them that should table in the house'. If the 'evil should not be removed', the master would refuse to accept for at least a year, any tabler coming from that house. As at Rivington, the tablers were required to read the Scriptures every Sunday and holiday morning and

evening, 'when most of the family would be present'. There were no boarders in the school itself. By the 1820s, Kirkham had very much become a school serving only the local area with neither outside pupils or boarders.[140]

Boarders were an important element of the school at Bolton-le-Sands with provision both in the master's house and in the town. By the 1820s, they were restricted to boarding in the master's house.[141]

Another school, where there was evidence of boarders, was Oldham. Dr.Clegg, a well known Presbyterian Minister, wrote in his diary 'About 1669, I was removed to a school at Oldham..... The Master was Mr. Lawton.....I was boarded with John and Mary Whitacre who kept an inn where several other young gentlemen were boarded'. It also seems most likely that there were boarders earlier in the century. During the mastership of Rev. Thomas Hunt, the first master in the endowed school, described by Whittaker as 'a schoolmaster of good eminence', sons of the local gentry, together with some of noble birth, were at the school. Among these were George Radcliffe of Overthorpe in Yorkshire. Evidence for the subsequent period is lacking.[142]

In 1789, land was leased at Pilkington to allow a boarding school to be built. This was used until about 1817, when the master, who was also the Dissenting Minister, took the boarders into his own house. Eight boarders were found in the school by the Charity Commissioners.[143]

Two other schools with boarders in the 1820s were Standish and Warrington. The few boarders at Standish were taught with the other pupils, as were the two boarders at Warrington. In the latter school, the boarders were connected with the family of the headmaster. There had been no boarders since 1820, the date of the new regulations for the school. Apparently, the master could not be bothered with the inconvenience of boarders. 'I have not latterly advertised for Boarders being satisfied from what I have heard that, under the new regulations, parents would not send their children to board to mix with the town boys and I felt not such a desire for Boarders on account of the increased income from the school'.[144]

Thus, the situation with regard to boarders appears to be that originally boarding was a practical response to the problem of travelling daily between home and school for a number of pupils. Apart from Manchester, Merchant Taylors' and, perhaps Winwick, there seems to have been no deliberate attempts to build up the boarding side of the school, with the intention of either increasing the masters' income or raising the status of the school. In general, the Charity Commissioners were satisfied that the presence of boarders in the schools was not detrimental to the interests of the other scholars. On the other hand, as in the example of Preston, they felt that the absence of boarders was instrumental in lowering the status of the school.

### (xiv) The Grammar Schools and the Education of Girls

An aspect that is particularly relevant to the charitable function of the grammar schools is the extent to which they catered for the education of girls. The Taunton Commission found that endowments originally intended for both sexes had been appropriated by boys' schools and the question has been raised as to whether this process took place in the eighteenth century.[145] This statement does beg the question as to the grounds for ever supposing that the founders did, in fact, intend girls to benefit from a grammar school education.

Although the standard text books have generally pointed to the absence of girls in grammar schools, the situation is not clear cut. In 1581, Richard Mulcaster in The Training Up of Children pointed out that although boys and girls were often educated together in the elementary schools, he found it necessary to argue against them being taught together in the grammar schools. That there was a possibility of girls being taught at Harrow led to their specific exclusion by 1589. The statutes of 1623 for Merchant Taylors' School at Great Crosby stated 'you are to present male children only to be taught freely in the school'.[146] On first reading, this seems to imply that the school was for boys only but it might also be interpreted as allowing girls to be taught as fee-payers. At Banbury (Oxfordshire), the statutes allowed girls up to the age of nine to be taught in the vernacular.

During the seventeenth century, a number of grammar schools, such as those at Waitby and Smardale (Westmorland), Haydon Bridge (Northumberland) and Kingsbury (Warwickshire) were founded to educate both boys and girls. Such evidence has led an author to conclude recently that 'it was not so much that schools were barred to girls as that education at schools was not demanded by their parents'.[147] In the eighteenth century in Staffordshire, four of the twenty grammar schools identified, taught girls.[148]

With regard to the grammar schools of Lancashire, the foundation documents shed little further light as to whether or not girls were to be educated on the endowments. Oldham, in a deed of 1606, referred specifically to 'boys', while the 1567 statutes of Blackburn mentioned 'boys and young persons'. At Manchester, an indenture of 1515 referred to 'youth and boys' but later on states that the master 'should..... instruct in grammar all boys and children'. The more neutral term 'children' is also mentioned at Ormskirk, both in relation to Inquisitions of 1610 and 1612 and in the rules of 1798. The foundation deeds of Wigan spoke of 'youths', while both Upholland and Warrington preferred the term 'scholars'. From such evidence, the most that can be said is that there were no positive references to the education of girls.

There is, however, specific evidence for the education of girls at Rivington, where the Charter of Foundation made reference to 'children and youth' and the statutes to 'scholars'. 'Somewhat

surprising' was the inclusion of a girl, Alice Shaw, in the 1615 school list.[149] Two more girls entered the school during that year. Between 1617 and 1678, there were no references to any girls but twelve girls were noted in 1678 and thirteen in 1681. Five girls entered the school in 1683; four in 1684; seven in 1688; eleven in 1689; seven in 1695; two in 1696; three in 1698 and five in 1700. Between 1688 and 1700, 43 out of 156 pupils entering the school were girls.

Between 1701 and 1720, the general level of entry into the school was lower than it had been in the previous twenty years and this was reflected in the number of girls. The highest entry was in 1702 when five girls were entered on the register but one girl, Elizabeth Nightingale, was listed twice. Between 1710 and 1717, only two girls (in 1714) came to the school. In 1724, seven of the new entry of sixteen pupils were girls. By January 1728, there were only three girls in the school, all under the usher, while five new girls came the following year. By 1734, all had, presumably, left the school, since none of the eighteen pupils under the usher were girls. In 1743, three of the usher's twenty-three pupils were girls. In 1744, the three girls left.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, the proportion of girls in the school rose. In 1751, nine of the twenty-seven newcomers were girls, while, in 1757, they made up fourteen of the usher's forty pupils. This had declined to seven out of thirty-four in 1765. In 1773 sixteen of the forty-four pupils entered on

the register were girls and twelve out of thirty-four in 1780. A significant development in 1789 was that a girl, Hannah Andrews, who had entered the school with her brother, was in the upper school with the master. Girls also benefited from the general expansion in the 1790s and their number grew from fourteen in the usher's class in 1790 to the forty-four taught by the usher and writing master in 1799.

In 1827, the Charity Commissioners found that there were ten girls out of a class of thirty under the headmaster. They frequently stayed until they were fourteen and many of them had received classical instruction. In his evidence, the headmaster, Rev. Joseph Whitaker, pointed out that the girls 'are the daughters of respectable families in the neighbourhood who, from the short distance, can conveniently attend'.[150] However, the Charity Commissioners did not approve of the admission of girls which 'though it has been the practice for a very long period, seems inconsistent with the character of a grammar school'.[151] They had no doubt that grammar schools were to be restricted to boys.

From the evidence of Rivington Grammar School, three features relate to the education of girls. First of all, before the nineteenth century, with one exception, their education was limited to that provided by the usher and would have been restricted to an elementary education with, perhaps, the rudiments of Latin. Secondly, they tended to remain in the school for a short period, probably for not more than three years. Thirdly, although there

were boarders at the school, all the girls, as far as can be ascertained, came from the locality.

What is interesting about Rivington is that, unlike the four schools identified in Staffordshire which provided for girls, there was no doubt about its grammar school status. It continued to attract boarders and send pupils to university and there is no indication, in the presence of girls, of a lowering of the status of the school. A final question, to which there is, as yet no answer, due to the lack of comparable evidence, is the extent to which Rivington was unique.

There are a number of other references to girls being educated in the grammar schools of Lancashire. Despite the statute of Great Crosby school, there were girls there in 1651. John Stevens, the newly apppointed master, arrived at Crosby and, finding things not at all to his satisfaction, wrote to the Merchant Taylors' Company in early October, the letter being received on the 14th. He found the school very run down and, in particular, 'The natives, for I know not how more fitly to call them, came open-mouthed railing against me because I would not suffer their girls...... to be taught in the school'. In its reply of 26 March 1652, the Company supported Stevens' view that the school was for boys only.[152]

At the time of the Charity Commissioners visit to Rochdale, it was noted that 'Girls as well as boys are occasionally admitted'.[153] It is not known if girls were educated in the eighteenth century, or earlier.

In his will of 10 April 1729, Rev. Roger Kay re-endowed Bury Grammar School. In a memorandum dated 29 April 1729 and signed by the founder, he directed that ten poor girls from the parish should be sent to the school under the care of the usher who was 'to make them perfect in reading their Bible, to teach them to write well and to be good accountants to fit them for good trades or be good servants'.The girls were not to pay any entrance money, except 6d every Michaelmas. In a subsequent memorandum, 'it was agreed that the master and usher should be left at their liberty either to receive the ten poor girls, or to agree with the master of the children of the court-house to take them for his scholars, they paying him for his pains'. From the evidence to the Charity Commissioners, it appeared that girls had never been taught in the school but the master and usher had paid a mistress £7 a year to educate them until 1818. From that date, the salary of the mistress had been paid by the treasurer of the school's funds. Although the girls had not been educated in the school, they had benefited by sharing in the school's endowment.[154]

At a meeting of the governors of Blackburn Grammar School held on 23 June 1731, it was ordered that 'Noe girls shall be taught in the chamber over the school'. The upper chamber, known as the governors' room, had been used by the writing master, but, until the eighteenth century, there had been no formal links between the writing and grammar schools. Garstang, the school historian, wrote 'There can have been only one design in this, for girls were

admitted to the Grammar School until quite a comparatively recent date'.[155] This is the only reference to girls in the school and, despite the view of Garstang, there is no supportive evidence.

Girls were, also, to be found at Kirkham Grammar School. At a Court of Assistants, held at the Drapers' Hall on 4 August 1701, it was stated 'that great complaints had been made at the Court of the many inconveniences that the free school at Kirkham had for some time lain under, by reason of the former masters or ushers suffering girls to be taught amongst the boys in the said school, which if not timely hindered, might be of very ill consequence and dishonour and contrary to the intent and meaning of the foundation thereof'. It was then ordered that 'no female sex should have any conversations or be taught or partake of any manner of learning whatsoever in the said school any former custom to the contrary notwithstanding'.[156] Three years earlier, an entry in the diocesan correction book noted that James Blevin, a Papist, had enticed Ellen Cardwell from Kirkham School and although she was a Protestant, they had been married 'as is supposed by a popish priest'.[157]

In the Returns to the Articles of Enquiry, Preparatory to Visitation in 1778 for Oldham Grammar School, it was stated that the master teaches thirty boys and fifteen girls.[158] Girls were also to be found at Broughton (near Lancaster).[159]

Carlisle noted the presence of girls at Middleton. Although the usher had introduced 'Dr.Bell's Plan' into the lower school and

catered for boys and girls at 2d a week, he commented that 'Girls have been received into both Schools'. This suggests that girls had received a classical education, however, this was qualified by the observation that a 'Commercial Education' had been preferred and, consequently, 'more attended to'.[160]

Four further schools where there is evidence of girls were Burnley, Leyland, Penwortham and Newchurch. In his account of Burnley Grammar School, Wilkinson stated, in relation to the early nineteenth century that the assistant master taught sixty boys and girls in English, writing, accounts and Practical Maths. Since he was writing some forty-five years after the Commissioners, it is probable that he was relating to either his own knowledge or that of eye-witneses. Although the printed report of the Charity Commissioners did not specifically refer to girls, the manuscripts do support Wilkinson.[161] At Leyland, the master 'instructs in reading all the children of the parish whose parents choose to send them'.[162] At the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit to Penwortham, there were about one hundred and forty boys and girls in the school. By now, it was functioning as a monitorial school, run on the National System, with only five of the pupils learning the rudiments of Latin.[163] The master of Newchurch 'takes all the children of that part of Rossendale..... upon the terms directed by the statutes' reported the Charity Commissioners.[164]

Evidence is also to be found for the presence of girls in at least fourteen further schools with claims to grammar status. The Charity

Commissioners found that boys and girls were admitted to the school at Blackrod. Once the children were able to read with facility, they passed on to the master's class and since there were twenty-eight with the master, it is not unlikely that there were a number of girls among them.[165] Likewise, the school at Ashton-in-Makerfield was open to both sexes who were 'taught English, Latin and Greek if required'.[166] Girls had been admitted to Bispham 'formerly a classical school of some repute' prior to 1822 to be taught by the Assistant for a small fee.[167] Girls were also to be found in the nearby school of Bretherton.[168] At Warton, John Dawson left the interest on £30 to the usher in 1767 for teaching poor boys and girls in writing and accounts.[169] The freedom of the school at Bispham (Amounderness) was extended to girls who were taught the 3Rs.[170] Similarly, girls were entitled to share in the endowments of Urswick and Dalton-in-Furness. [171] Girls were also to be found in the schools at Cartmel, Kirkby Ireleth, Broughton, Lea, the combined grammar and free school at Goosnargh and Lancaster. At Cartmel, the girls were restricted to the usher's department, while Kirkby Ireleth took the 'daughters of the locals'.[172]

Girls were also to be found in the grammar school at Preston in the eighteenth century. In his evidence before the Charity Commissioners, Rev. Robert Harris stated that when he was appointed 'in 1788 or 1789', he had found girls in the school admitted by his

predecessor, Mr. Fleetwod. However, he went on, 'I soon put an end to that custom'.[173]

As a final example, the rules of Lancaster Grammar School for 1809 made provision for the writing school, which, although a separate unit, was increasingly being seen as part of the headmaster's responsibility. Accordingly, it was ruled that the Writing Master 'shall have liberty to teach Girls English Grammatically, Writing and Arithmetic and for them ......he shall teach such quarterage and Entrance as is reasonable and usual'. [174]

Thus, by about 1820, there is evidence that girls were either to be found in, or had attended, at least twenty-seven schools of grammar status in Lancashire. Although their curriculum was mainly the 3Rs, a very small minority had actually received a classical education. However, with the exception of Rivington, detailed evidence is lacking. Nor is it known whether the presence of girls in the school was a feature which dated from their foundation, or whether it was generally a response to the evolving nature of the schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. What this evidence does suggest is that educational opportunities for girls by means of the endowed grammar schools was much greater than educational historians have hitherto suspected, if the evidence from Lancashire is applicable to the country at large.

## (xv) Conclusion

In conclusion, by the time of the Charity Commissioners' survey of Lancashire, the grammar schools were carrying out the twin curricular functions of providing both a classical and an elementary education. This, also, reflected the dual social nature of their intake, catering as they did for the 'middle classes' and, in the majority of cases, 'the Poor'.

With regard to whether or not the schools charged fees, eight categories can be recognised. The first comprises one school (Blackburn) which taught the classics only and for these no charge was made. Twelve schools with a free education in the classics and other subjects make up the second category. Eighteen schools, the largest group, taught the classics freely but imposed charges for other subjects such as writing and accounts. In the remaining categories, the elementary subjects were predominant. Ten schools taught elementary subjects free of charge with Latin if it was required. Reading only was taught without charge at six schools, with payments for other subjects. Four schools make up the sixth category which taught elementary subjects free of charge. Only one school, Marton, gave a free elementary education but charged for Latin if the subject was required. In the final group were those schools which were entirely fee-paying. In some cases, the fees were at a level which allowed poor scholars into the school.

As a generalisation, an elementary education would be more relevant to the poor. However, the picture is complicated by the fact that, in most cases, such an education was provided by the usher within the grammar school. Poor scholars would, in consequence, be found both in the usher's department of classical schools and in those grammar schools, which were, by now, providing predominantly an elementary education. They were, also, to be found in the fee-paying schools, such as Clifton, Clayton and Lydyate, where provision had been made for them. They would also be catered for in those schools, such as Dalton, Penwortham, Hoghton, North Meols and Croston, that had adopted the monitorial system.

Apart from Winwick and Cartmel, where the poor were excluded by the inappropriateness of the curriculum and those schools charging high fees the poor had, in effect, access to grammar schools. There were, however, a number of restrictions. Schools, such as Middleton, Chorley and Lancaster, were beginning to stress a commercial education, aimed at the emerging middle classes. Similarly, the private Acts of Parliament passed for the schools at Bolton and Wigan allowed, among other aspects, modern subjects to be introduced, perhaps with the same clientele in view.

Two examples are to be found of attempts to exclude the poor from the grammar schools. At Rochdale, despite the provisions made in the wills of Jeremy Hargreaves (1696) and James Holt (1712) for the instruction of poor boys, the master felt himself bound to teach only 'true piety and the Latin tongue'. Since no boys had ever

applied without wishing to be taught other subjects, the master considered himself authorised to set his own charges.[175] In 1813, John Read of Knightsbridge had left £520 to the master of the 'charity' school at Whalley to provide a free elementary education for as many poor children as the trustees should think fit. In spite of this income which amounted to £20 a year, the master imposed quarterage on all pupils.[176]

One other point to be mentioned is that although the class-related system of education was not yet as closely defined as it was to become in the later Victorian period, with the rise of charity schools, especially in the larger towns of Liverpool, Manchester, Warrington, Wigan, Blackburn, Rochdale and Lancaster, alternative educational facilities were available for the poor. This was accentuated in the late eighteeenth and early nineteenth centuries by the expansion of the Sunday Schools and the setting up of monitorial schools. Although in rural areas, the grammar schools would continue to provide for local educational needs, in towns, they would no longer be required to serve the full social range, such has had been characteristic of earlier periods.

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110. This section is based upon The Digest of Returns for the County Palatine of Lancashire - Grammar Schools (1843), pp.45-60.

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113. i)Luft, op.cit., pp.125-36 ii) C.C.R. Vol.20, p.147.

114. DDB/12/57 (L.R.O.)

115. In his reply, Chester reported that he had 39 pupils 29 'who did not pay' and the remainder fee-payers.

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121. i) Ibid., p.21. ii) Carlisle, op.cit., p.707.

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143. C.C.R. Vol.16, p.239.

144. Ch. 2 Box 137.

145. J.M.Sanderson,Review Article, Classics or Charity, *Journ. Educ. Admin. and Hist.*, Vol. V, No.1, p.60

146. Luft,*op.cit.*, p.32.

147. R.O'Day, *Education and Society 1500-1800* (London, 1982) p.185.

148. Gomez, *Dissert.*, p.238.

149. This section is based on DDX/94/98 (L.R.O.) and Kay, *op.cit.*, p.72.

150. Ch.2 Box 129.

151. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.207.

152. Quoted in Luft, *op.cit.*, p.270.

153. C.C.R. Vol. 19, p.270.

154. C.C.R. Vol.19, pp.216-26.

155. Garstang, *op.cit.*, p.59.

156. C.C.R. Vol.11, p.241.

157. EDV/1/67 (C.R.O.)

158. EDV/7/1/168 (C.R.O.)

159. EDV/7/1/289 (C.R.O.)

160. Carlisle, *op.cit.*, pp.707-8.

161. i) T.T.Wilkinson, The Grammar School Burnley, *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. & Ches.*, Vol.X, N.S. (1879) p.26. ii) Ch.2 Box 138. iii)C.C.R. Vol.15, p.69.

162. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.166.

163. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.205.

164. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.94.

165. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.188.

166. C.C.R. Vol.20, p.205.

167. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.141.

168. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.150.

169. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.309.

170. C.C.R. vol.11, p.223.

171. C.C.R. Vol.3, pp. 203; p.228.

172. Ch.2 Box 130; 132.

173. Ch.2 Box. 136.

174. Murray, *op.cit.*, p.87.

175. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.269.

176. C.C.R. Vol.15, pp.52-3.

# CHAPTER FOUR

# THE CHARITY SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN LANCASHIRE

## (i) The Education of the Poor

Traditionally, the emphasis of educational historians, in their accounts of developments in the eighteenth century, has tended to move away from the grammar schools to be replaced by an interest in the 'charity schools'. There were three main reasons for this development. Firstly, it has been uncritically accepted that the philanthropic urges of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were redirected towards the provision of non-classical schools. Secondly, the 'Charity School Movement' has been viewed as the initial attempt to set up a national system of popular education and, thus, it provided the foundation for the educational expansion of the nineteenth century.[1] Thirdly, it has been generally assumed that the grammar schools in the eighteenth century were moribund and, in consequence, were hardly worthy of study.

These introductory comments should be seen, however, in the context of the relative lack of research into educational

developments in the eighteenth century.[2] In general texts, there has, also, been a neglect of education before the second half of the eightenth century. For example, Barnard began his survey in 1760. Simon in 1780 and Wardle also in 1780.[3]

In the eighteenth century, there existed no theory of popular education but rather throughout the period 'a desultory debate' as to whether or not the children of the Poor should be educated to a minimal level, which meant, in practice, to read. Those who supported the education of such children and those who opposed it interestingly shared common social and economic motives for their actions in their desire to ensure that the principle of subordination was accepted by the mass of the people. Society was viewed as a divinely ordained structure in which everyone knew his or her place. Education would serve as a means both of social control and of ensuring the stability of that society. Those opposing education for the Poor felt that it would erode these social distictions and destroy society so that the obvious action was to deny the Poor access to schooling. But for both groups, rank, duty and station were key concepts.

Those who supported the education of the Poor also shared a combination of charitable, religious and economic motives. Although a variety of attitudes may be imputed as underlying the charitable action, there is no doubt that in the course of the eighteenth century, hundreds of thousands of pounds were poured nationally into the provision of educational facilities for the poorer members

of society. It must, also, be noted that education was only one expression of the charitable benefits directed towards alleviating the lot of the Poor and that it is highly probable that there was a real sense of pity and responsibility for the plight of poor children, as well as the aged and infirm.

In addition to the philanthropic motives of those who provided financial support for the education of the poor, there were the religious motives. It was felt that schools where children would be taught the doctrines of the Established Church would provide a bulwark against any resurgence of Catholicism. As the Archdeacon of Huntingdon stated in 1706, children who had learned the catechism, psalms and prayers 'would never stoop to beads and Latin charms, nor bow their necks to the dark slavery of Rome'.[4] The setting up of schools also served to unite Anglicans and Nonconformists in their fight against irreligion. An additional social benefit was that there would be a decrease in crime and 'the nation shall be cleared of so many miscreants'.[5]

It is probable, however, that the most important factor was the extent of pauperism in the early eighteenth century. Gregory King's statement that in 1688 half the population was a charge on the community was probably a wild exaggeration but the evidence does suggest that there was a very large class of poor, who were dependent, to a greater or lesser level. Although poverty was not a new phenomenon, two aspects called for action. The scale of pauperism was causing concern, especially in relation to the

financial burden that it imposed upon the middling ranks of society. Secondly, it was felt that the 'monstrous increase in Deism, Profaneness and Vice' was undermining the very basis of society.[6] There was also concern expressed in relation to the moral welfare of children, especially in London. In fact, schemes to rescue slum children by means of workhouses and working schools predated the 'Charity School Movement'. Such a school was that of Thomas Firmin in London, who published Some Proposals for the Employment of the Poor in 1681. He set up a 'spinning school in the nature of a workshop', where the children learned a skill and earned a few pence each week.[7] In 1697, John Locke produced a report for the Board of Trade urging all parishes to set up working schools for children aged 3 to 14, in which the discipline of the workshop, combined with attendance at church for most of the Sabbath would contribute to their social, moral, religious and, through the provision of bread, their physical well-being. Religious instruction and social conditioning went on side by side, with religion, if anything, in the inferior position. Indeed, towards the end of the 1780s, Hannah More could write 'My object has not been to teach them dogmas and opinions but to form the lower classes in habits of industry and virtue'.[8]

These themes continued to be dominant throughout the century. The 1789 report on the Blue Coat School at Liverpool for subscribers and potential subscribers informed them that 'The Design of this Charity is to preserve them from the Evils to which untaught and

undisciplined Poverty must necessarily expose them'. It went on to point out that 'Although attempts to reclaim the vicious, already become Nuisances to Society, are, doubtless, important and deserving of Encouragement; yet to anticipate the Evil by implanting in tender Minds the Principles of Religion and Virtue, by cultivating Habits of Sobriety and Industry; and thereby rendering them useful to the Public, as well as happy in themselves, is certainly an Act of the most exalted Benevolence'. However, in this school 'no less than Two Hundred and Eighty Children who might otherwise have become Pests of Society and perhaps have augmented the List of unhappy Criminals are annually maintained; - rescued from Vice, Ribaldry and Profaness'. In addition, 'A Door too is opened to them of Health, Industry, Competency and Honesty; their feeble hands from Childhood being taught and inured to labour: - And Numbers are sent annually into the World, duly qualified to earn an honest Livelihood, as appears from their being sought by Tradesmen, as Apprentices to their Callings'.[9]

Advocates of contemporary economic theory, with its emphases on limited food supplies and wages, together with a need to ensure that labour was provided at the lowest possible cost, saw little advantage in an educated workforce, except perhaps in terms of political stability. Bernard de Mandeville, in his Essay on Charity and Charity Schools (1723), pointed out that an educated workforce would become too proud to work on servile tasks and, at the same

time, would demand higher wages. This theme continued throughout the century. In A New and Complete History of the Town of Kingston upon Hull, Hadley posed the question as to what educated ploughman would be content to remain at the plough all day long.[10] Such views were contrary to those of Mrs. Cappe, who, in 1781, considered that opposition to the education of the Poor no longer existed. This theme, nevertheless, continued into the nineteenth century. For instance, Davies Giddy, in a House of Commons debate on education in 1807, echoed the views of one hundred years previously in opposing Samuel Whitbread's bill when he stated ' Giving education to the labouring classes of the poor........would teach them to desise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other labouring employments'.[11]

The Church, as the greatest landowner, and, in consequence, employer of labour acquiesced in such a policy . 'There must be drudges of labour 'hewers of wood and drawers of water the Scriptures call them' as well as Counsellors to direct and Rulers to preside' declared the Bishop of Norwich.[12]

Despite such opposition, educational provision continued to expand during the eighteenth century but with two safeguards. Firstly, the curriculum was to be minimal and was to be grounded in religion. Secondly, the schools were to be kept firmly under scrutiny by people from the classes providing the education. In this way, it could be kept safe and would serve to prevent the lower classes from rising above their station in life.

(ii) The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

Credit for the development of the Charity Schools in the eighteenth century has been ascribed by M.G.Jones in The Charity School Movement to the work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), which sought to motivate, coordinate and, generally, expand public interest in schools whose establishment promised a number of social and religious benefits for society at large.

The S.P.C.K. was set up in April 1699, after a series of informal meetings, by five persons of 'Honour and Quality', who were noted for their piety and public spirit.[13] Thomas Bray, the only cleryman among the founders, was the prime mover. He saw the setting up of catechetical schools as having two main purposes. Firstly, they would help to combat immorality and vice through teaching the principles of the Christian religion and, secondly, they would form 'little garrisons against Popery'.[14] The efforts of the founders obviously struck a deep chord and they received immediate support from archbishops, bishops and laymen representing a range of religious views.

The S.P.C.K. was to work through local control exercised by the clergy but it did not manage or finance schools, although in areas of extreme poverty it acknowledged that it might be necessary to provide some initial support. On 2 November 1699, a General Board

Minute undertook to expand their work by communicating 'with one or more of the clergy in each county; and with one clergyman in each great town and city of England in order to erect Societies of the same nature with this throughout the kingdom'.[15] Basically, its aim was to set up a national network of schools providing a curriculum based either solely or primarily upon religious instruction. In particular, it sought to encourage the setting up of subscription schools which would allow groups of people to provide schools collectively, where otherwise it would not be possible relying solely upon individual contributions.

### (iii) The Charity School Movement

By 1723, the S.P.C.K. was claiming 1,329 schools and 23,421 pupils. Incidentally, the same figures were quoted in 1799, which Miss Jones saw as indicative of 'the continuity of the movement', although she admitted their general lack of accuracy.[16] She also pointed out that these figures were a general under-estimation, since there needed to be added to the official figures, schools which declined or left no record, as well as the Methodist and Nonconformist schools which were of no concern to the Anglican S.P.C.K. Further support for the extent and continuity of the charity school movement was provided, in Miss Jones' view, by the statement of James Hanway that the nation 'abounds in charity schools'; Adam Smith's comparison between Scottish parish schools

and English charity schools; episcopal visitations of enquiry; the Parliamentary Returns of 1816 and the reports of the Charity Commissioners.

The extent of the charity school movement and the role of the S.P.C.K. have more recently been challenged by Joan Simon in 'Was there a Charity School Movement ? The Leicestershire Evidence, in Education in Leicestershire 1540-1940'.[17]. She began by questioning whether or not 'the charity school movement directed by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge from 1700 carried all before it and quite changed the course of educational development', especially in view of the unreliability of its list of schools. She was also critical of the Society's lack of information regarding developments outside of London and of the way in which all schools linked to the Society were viewed as charity schools whether they were 'English or elementary, or free, or non-classical, or catechetical or charity schools'. She might also have added grammar schools to her list, since there were examples in both Staffordshire and Lancashire of these schools in union with the S.P.C.K.

In Simon's view, there was need to distinguish between the traditional free school, the charity school as a response to urban poverty and the catechetical school financed by High Churchmen and the S.P.C.K., since there was a clear difference of 'intention and provision' between the different types of school, although Jones had seen their establishment as part of a single movement. The term

'charity school' ought, therefore, to refer to 'institutions which were designed to rescue from idleness and irreligion the unemployed poor aged from seven to twelve and set them on the path to a useful working life'.[18] Although the provision of apprenticeships, clothing and books could not be insisted upon as an integral apect of the definition, these features were also of major importance. However, what Mrs. Simon was most critical of was the change of emphasis brought about by the S.P.C.K. This had the effect of diverting interest from attempts to solve an urgent social problem and replacing it by, what were in her view, irrelevant catechetical schools.

After closely examining the lists and claims of the S.P.C.K., Simon concluded that 'there was no charity school movement in Leicestershire in the sense that has usually been understood'.[19] It was pointed out that concern for educating the poor both pre- and post-dated the period during which the S.P.C.K. was active and that the clergy did not cease to develop catechetical schools after the withdrawal of the Society. The Leicestershire evidence also contradicts Jones' view of the large scale of philanthropy in relation to education after 1750, in that the period 1730 to 1760, or even 1780 was marked by a decline in bequests. Similarly, the expansion of education in the early nineteenth century, ascribed by Miss Jones, to the existence of a national system of voluntary schools, was found by Mrs. Simon to be due to Sunday Schools, and especially those of Dissenters, rather than the charity schools.

In the light of these two studies, it is now proposed to consider whether or not there was a 'charity school movement' in Lancashire. The first area to be considered will be the role of the S.P.C.K.

(iv) **The S.P.C.K. and Lancashire**

In November 1699, a General Board Minute signified the intention of the Society to start to develop links with clergy in every county. On 30 May 1700, a Minute of the General Board noted that Mr. Joshua Horton of Lancashire had given 'his hearty endeavours to promote the design' in a letter received on 17 May.[20] Horton was the first corresponding member of the S.P.C.K. in Lancashire but, in view of the Minute of 2 November of the previous year, it is surprising to find that Horton, who had become a J.P. for Salford in 1698, was not a clergyman.

It appears that the Society was experiencing problems in building up its network in Lancashire for in August 1700, it noted that its agent, Mr. Bridges, had written to London to ask for 'Recommendations from the Society into that County'. As a consequence, the Secretary had been instructed to request names from the Bishop of Chester.[21] Events moved quite quickly, as on 22 August the Rev. Zachary Taylor, curate of Wigan, was recommended as a corresponding member. On 12 September, he was reported as accepting the role.[22] He appears to have been a very zealous correspondent. In September, he was advising the Society of

arrangements for a 'monthly lecture to supress prophaness and immorality'. A month later, he informed the Society that he was in the process of disposing broadsheets in the public houses of the neighbouring towns. He also reported sending an address to the 'Popish gentry', together with a covering letter and later reported receiving more books to send to 'Popish Recusants'.[23] In November, he informed the Society that 'he deigns to put into practice the methods the Society suggested for teaching servants to read at night'.[24] Taylor was in communication with the Society again the following January. By now, the usher (presumably of Wigan Grammar School) had almost agreed 'to teach servants to read at nights'. He also suggested that Mr. Herbert's Church Porch, with his amendments should be learned by the children in school and printed by the S.P.C.K.[25] Taylor apparently soon moved on, for in May 1701, he was reporting on his attempts to get the libraries at Cartmel and Kendal made into lending libraries.[26]

The other major, early involvement between the S.P.C.K. and Lancashire covered the setting up of a charity school at Liverpool. Taylor had apparently been seeking to set up a school there for in November 1700 he was writing to Chamberlayne, the Secretary of the S.P.C.K. that he 'wonders much at Mr. Stythe and Mr. Atherton's silence'. [27] Presumably, they had failed to show sufficient interest in Taylor's plans. Mr. Atherton felt that he had to justify this apparent lack of interest and he explained to the Society that due to a transport debt, a lawsuit, the building of a new church and

'the deadness of trade' he was unable to provide a charity school. However, he hoped that he and Mr. Stythe (or Styth) would be able to raise £6 a year to pay a dame who would teach poor children and that this would act as a spur to the charity of others.[28]

The S.P.C.K. was very keen to see a charity school set up and, on 31 March 1701, resolved that the Bishop of Chester should be consulted regarding this matter.[29] It appears that the Bishop was either in London already, or he was about to visit the capital, because he was present at a meeting held a fortnight later. He reported that he would be visiting his diocese soon after Easter and having discussed the matter with the local ministers, he would then report back to the Society.[30] On 18 July 1701, Dr. Stratford reported to the Society that he had recommended to the clergy the setting up of charity schools in the larger towns but that there was little hope of further progress at Liverpool 'by reason of the charges the inhabitants are involved in, of building a Church and a House for their Minister'.[31] In 1711, Mr. Stythe wrote to the Society pointing out that the school 'meets with good encouragement' and accordingly he ordered five dozen small catechisms and three dozen tracts relating to the Sacraments for use in the school.[32]

The foundation date of the Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital is usually given as 1708.[33] However, the school only became operational in 1710, as is indicated by the letter of Rev. Robert Stythe of 11 May 1711, in which he stated that the charity school had 'opened the

the previous year'.[34] It appears that Stythe, Rector of St. Peter's, had approached the Corporation of Liverpool in December 1708 'intreating them to ......give a convenient piece of ground for building a school'.[35] On 6 January 1709, a piece of waste ground was granted for the school. £60 to £70 was raised by subscription in the course of the year and a school was built at a cost of £35. On 13 January 1710, a meeting of the subscribers elected Stythe as Treasurer. A master was appointed at the same time at a salary of £20 a year. The school was also identified in the 1709 Accounts of the S.P.C.K. in the list of additional schools.

Although Stythe appears to have been the leading figure, the driving force behind the founding of the school was undoubtedly Bryan Blundell, who was to be both an extremely generous benefactor and a tireless servant of the school, serving as Treasurer from 1714 to 1755. In his own account he wrote

'Mr. Robert Styth, one of the Rectors at that time and myself, were very intimate. I was then master of a ship in foreign trade. We agreed to use our best endeavours to found a charity school and applied to the Mayor and some of the more respectable inhabitants, who joined in the business and subscribed some twenty, some thirty, some forty shillings a year, to the amount of £60 or £70 per annum. We then built a little school house at a cost of £35, and appointed a master, at £20 per annum, which was paid for out of the money collected at the Sacraments and took fifty poor children into the school.......I went to sea on my employment telling Mr. Styth that I hoped to be giving him something every voyage for the school'.[36]

In 1713, Mr. Stythe died and since his successor, Rev. Richmond, was unable to continue the work due to ill-health, Blundell, being moved by the extreme poverty of many of the parents, took over control of the school. Since the existing school was inappropriate, in view of its size, for the role that Blundell envisaged for it with one hundred and fifty pupils lodged there, a new school was opened in 1718, though it was not completed until 1725.[37] Built at a cost of £2,288, Blundell made an initial donation of £750 'being a tenth part of what it pleased God to bless me with'. It was indicative of Blundell's enthusiasm and financial commitment that the school had been built on such a scale when, on his appointment in 1714, its stock had amounted to only £200. This new building allowed the number of pupils to be increased to sixty in 1726. School numbers increased to 100 in 1748; 260 in 1783; 280 in 1789 and 320 in 1796 and 1797. Due to rising costs and a deficit of over £700 in 1800, it was resolved that not more than three hundred pupils should be accepted into the school. On 26 December 1800, the number on the school roll had declined to 256.[38]

Blundell continued his close links with the S.P.C.K. and in 1723 Henry Newman, the Secretary, wrote to Blundell regarding his employment of children in spinning cotton and asking Blundell's permission for the S.P.C.K. to publicise and recommend his method.[39] In 1735 and 1744, Blundell wrote to the S.P.C.K. describing the industrial tasks carried out in his school.[40]

The fourth of the corresponding members in Lancashire was Rev. Samuel Shaw, Rector of Warrington and Headmaster of the grammar school. In September 1701, the Society was informed by Shaw that 'he maintains an usher at his own cost to teach poor children to read and write and their catechism and that he himself catechises weekly in the school'. He also reported that he had given free copies of a pamphlet _Advice to Young People relating both to Faith and Practice_ to his parishioners and scholars.[41] A further letter from Shaw to the Society in 1710 thanked the S.P.C.K. for a packet and circular letter and, again, it was reported that an usher was being maintained at his expense to teach English to poor children.[42] This letter, incidentally, provides evidence that the charity school was part of Warrington Grammar School. Three years later, Shaw was again in contact with the Society to report that 'a private school is ........ erected in that town for 24 cloathed and taught besides those poor children which are instructed in the grammar school.' [43] The following year also saw a further letter to the Society from Shaw. It seems that there had been some sort of dispute between him and those who had set up the 'Blew Coat' school for the purpose of his letter was to revise the account of that school and to correct it. This was 'because it might be thought that magnifying Mr. Leigh's kindness beyond the compass of his charity is on purpose to expose him'.[44]

The Warrington Blue Coat School owed its origin to the 1677 bequest of John Allen of Westminster who provided a legacy of £180 to be

used for apprentices. This was allied to gifts of land from Thomas and Margaret Sherwin (1692) and Ann Edgeworth (1705) in 1711 to form an educational trust. Its purpose was 'to rescue such poor Children from Ignorance and Vitious courses of living and to make them fit for Apprenticeships, to bring them under good Discipline first by putting them to the Charity School, there to learn the Knowledge & Practice of the Christian Religion as profest in the Church of England ....... to behave themselves decently, and in those Circumstances to put them to Apprenticeships is certainly the best way to make them good servants to God and their Masters'. A house to serve as a school had been conveyed by deed in 1709. Twenty four pupils were taken into the school. Twelve were completely clothed, while the other twelve were supplied with caps and bands. In 1782, when the school moved to new buildings, there were only six scholars but eighteen boys and six girls 'were elected by lot from the town'.[45]

On 25 November 1703, a letter from Mr. Peploe of Preston was read to the S.P.C.K. Committee Meeeting giving an account of the school established in the town for 30 poor boys upon £400 raised by subscription.[46] The Secretary was asked to reply with thanks.

The school at Preston was endowed by a draper, Roger Sudell, a son of a former mayor. In his will, dated 22 January 1702, he left a stable with a hay loft above it in Minspit Weend and directed that his executors should convert this into a schoolhouse with all convenient speed 'at the discretion of the then Vicar of Preston to

the intent that young children of the poorer sort might be early brought up in religion and the fear of God'. The endowment amounted to £10, to be paid to the master twice yearly. He also directed that his executors and the Vicar, for the time being, should 'appoint a sober and religious person for a catechist of the communion of the church of England to catechise and teach in the said school ..... gratis; the true fear and worship of God and to teach them to read English that they might be better enabled to attain to holiness'. In addition to the £10 salary for the master, £2 was also to be provided for buying books.[47] Sudell was buried on 21 December 1704.

Rev. Samuel Peploe, the Vicar entrusted with Sudell's charity school, was a keen Anglican and strongly reflected the 'anti-Popery' aspect of the S.P.C.K.'s activities. Like the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, he saw charity schools as the bulwarks of Protestantism and a defence against Catholicism. In a letter to the S.P.C.K. in 1713, he pointed out that 'he had endeavoured to Promote the Education of Youth as the likeliest course to fare against the seductions of those men'.[48] The 'men' to whom he was referring were the 'Papists' who met 'in five or six houses' in Preston.

The Preston school had been set up before Sudell's death, and as is indicated in Peploe's leter of 25 November 1703, owed its origin to subscriptions. A subscription list was in operation in 1703 and donations were given under the text of the following; - 'Evident to common observation that growth of vice, debauchery, irreligion is

greatly owing to the gross ignorance of the Principles of Christianity especially among the Poorer sort of People those whose names are undersigned being touched with zeal for the honour of Allmighty God, the salvation of souls and the Promotion of Christian Knowledge do hereby promise to pay yearly ...........[49]

The probable explanation is that the initial zeal of Peploe led to a desire to set up a charity school in Preston but since the endowment of the school was dependent upon the death of Roger Sudell, the local people anticipated his gift by their own subscriptions. On 25 March 1704, there were twenty-one boys in the school, thirteen of whom were described as 'Mr. Sudell's scholars'.[50]

Despite the enthusiasm of the S.P.C.K., its initial impact in Lancashire between 1699 and 1706 was very limited. In the 1704 Accounts, it was reported at Preston '30 boys taught to read, write, the catechism etc. for which there is £400 settled'. At Manchester '40 poor children are taught to read, write and the catechism - the master has 1d per week for each child and his school rent paid'.[51]

Since the Manchester entry referred to Chetham's Hospital School established in the seventeenth century, the only school that the S.P.C.K. could claim as a response to its initiative was at Preston. However, as has been pointed out, there were other developments as a result of the activities of the S.P.C.K.. These

included the evening classes at Wigan, the dame school in Liverpool and the 'charity department' of Warrington Grammar School.

Within three years of the founding of a boys charity school at Preston, a girls school was set up. [52] In a document dated Whitsuntide 1706, it stated 'Whereas there has of late been some provision made for the education of poor boys in the town ......... and considering that the number of poor girls is as great, or greater than that of the boys and there being no provision made for their education, we whose names are underwritten being very desirous to see that the poor girls should be taught to read, knit and sew but above all to be taught their duty to God, do hereby promise to give the yearly sums undermentioned'. From midsummer 1706 to the last entry in mid 1713, fifteen subscribers gave from 5/- to £1 a year.[53] Apparently, the S.P.C.K. had been notified that the school was to be set up for in 1706 it noted that 'Here is a school agreed to be set up for teaching 16 girls'. In the 1708 Accounts, it was observed that the girls school was supported by 'contributions of some pious charitable persons in the town'.[54] In the 1709 Accounts, the girls' curriculum was given as 'Reading, Writing, Knitting, Sewing and Spinning of Jersey'.[55]

The girls' school was kept in a house erected by Peploe during the time that he was the Vicar of Preston and before 1726 when he became the Bishop of Chester. Its building had been financed by collections in the parish church. [56] Even after his elevation to the bishopric, Peploe continued his interest in education in

Preston and in the parish register there is an account of the girls school dated 2 September 1728 which notes that the school is 'standing on part of the vicarage lands adjoining a field called the Whittakers on the North Side of the town of Preston'. The twenty-five girls were taught the principles of religion, reading, knitting and sewing.[57]

In the S.P.C.K. Account for 1709, there is an entry for Fulwood school 'built last summer but one' where all the children, boys and girls, were taught gratis to read and write and the catechism.[58] Again, Peploe was the moving spirit behind the setting up of this school. He had prevailed upon the Corporation of Preston to provide the building plot for the school. John Hatch, a carpenter, had left £80 for the school in his will of 1704 and Peploe had added £10 of his own. There was a further bequest of £10, which increased its endowment to the £100 mentioned by the Notitia Cestriensis.[59] Under the terms of Hatch's will, a schoolmaster was to teach poor children to spell and write English, thus providing an education that Hatch had himself not enjoyed, since he signed his will with a mark.[60]

Dr.Wroe, the corresponding member of the S.P.C.K. for Manchester had written to the Society in March 1709, regarding his intention to set up a charity school in Manchester.[61] In the S.P.C.K. Account for 1709, mention is made of Chetham's school, together with a school which was educating forty more children.[62] It seems that the

existence of this school in 1709 was merely wishful thinking on the part of both Wroe and the Society, for in 1712, Wroe was again writing to the Society . He hoped, in 'some short time to advise the Society of the erection of a charity school in his parish towards which he already had a Bank of £600'.[63] Two years later, there was no mention of a charity school when Wroe wrote that he was now engaged in 'improving the Sums allowed for binding out the child apprentices in order to send them to sea' rather than apprenticing them to 'mean trades' since they had found 'the latter not turning to so good account'.[64] However, this 'school' continued to exist in the S.P.C.K. Accounts until 1725. Apparently, it was not for nothing that he was known as 'Silver-tongued Wroe'! In 1715, he was able to report the setting up of two small charity schools at Radcliffe Bridge for twelve poor boys and at Newton (Manchester) for ten poor boys to read, write and say the catechism.[65] These two schools had been supported by Mr. Gaskell who had provided £4 a year for each school during his lifetime. Under the terms of his will (1716), the schools were to be continued to be supported for only two years after his death. As the Notitia Cestriensis noted in 1718, the time had almost expired.[66] Reference to the Notitia Cestriensis sheds no further light on the charity school in Manchester identified by Wroe. Schools described include the grammar school, Chetham's Hospital School, an English school at Birch which was not free, a bequest for a school at Blakeley amounting to £5 a year but which had not been built by

1718, two English schools at Chorlton which were neither free nor endowed, a school at Gorton with fees of 1d a week and two schools at Newton. The first school referred to in the latter place was erected about 1689 as a result of the will of Mrs. Chetham, while the second can be identified with the school identified by Vroe with the limited support from Mr. Gaskell's bequest. From the lack of supportive evidence, it does seem that the second charity school, identified by Vroe, was never set up.

In 1717. Vroe was again in touch with the S.P.C.K. After complaining that 'the spirit of charity is gone out in those parts', he notified it of three charity schools at Littleborough, Castleton and Rossendale.[67] It might be conjectured that Vroe was seeking to reassure the Society of his interest, his dedication to its cause and the effects of his own initiatives. In fact, Littleborough School had been endowed by Theophilus Halliwell in 1688 and by Richard Halliwell in 1699. Likewise, although Vroe referred to James Holt's endowment at Castleton of £6 a year, it was intended to benefit six boys at Rochdale Grammar School.[68] In 1717, his wife left £120 for 'Teaching six poor girls to read, knit and sew and buy them clothes'. but she had already set up the school 'where a gentleman is at the charge of teaching and cloathing six poor girls'. The school at Rossendale was endowed in 1701 by James Kirshaw.[69]

Dr. Fenton was the Lancashire correspondent for the area around Lancaster. In 1711, he notified the Society of the schools

locally.[70] These were Wyersdale, a seventeenth century endowment; Lancaster, the grammar school; Bolton-le-Sands, another seventeenth century endowment; Overkellet, founded in 1697; Warton, endowed in 1594; Fulwood built in 1707 and Stalmine. Of these schools, Overkellett, Fulwood and Stalmine apeared in the S.P.C.K. lists, with the four grammar schools being seemingly ignored. Overkellett and Fulwod have been considered already. Stalmine school was founded by Robert Carter, a yeoman, who, in his will, dated 31 January 1711, left land in Pilling Lower End to 'maintain a free school .... for the good of poor children'.[71] In addition, he left a house to be used as a schoolroom.

The school at Aughton, mentioned in an additional list in 1717, was endowed in 1697. Dr. Fenton reported that it had been 'erected for all poor children without distinction which is endowed with £30 annually by the will of Mr. Robert Burton'. [72]

Dr. Fenton had apparently sought to interest others in providing an education for the poor for, in 1711, he had written to the Society that 'he took some children and sent them to read which has provoked others to join with him'.[73] He hoped that eventually all the poor in the parish would be taught but nothing seems to have come of this initiative and it was not until 1770 that a boys' charity school was opened in Lancaster.

In 1718, the charity school at Bolton was notified to the S.P.C.K. by the Vicar, Rev. Peter Haddon, who wrote 'We are now setting up a charity school in Great Bolton for 30 boys at least ...... and

desire you to let me know at what age they are generally taken in, what or whose catechism is generally used - what prayers for masters and scholars - what directions and instructions for faith and manners in little books are most approved'.[74] This letter does indicate that it was Haddon's wish to set up a charity school directly based on the S.P.C.K. model. The school owed its origin to Thomas Marsden who had given Mr. Haddon and three other trustees £150 towards the setting up of a charity school. [75] As many poor children as possible had to be educated on the endowment, besides being clothed. During the eighteenth century, six children were on the foundation at any one time. Originally, it was held in a cottage near the parish church but a school was built shortly before 1750.

The final school in Lancashire to be notified to the S.P.C.K. was Whalley, added to its lists in 1719. The information was received in a communication from the Vicar, James Matthews, who notified the Society that Edward VI had given a salary for the school but there had, until then, been no school building. This, however, had just been completed, having been financed by subscriptions and would be run on charity lines.[76]

By 1720, the S.P.C.K. was claiming nineteen schools in Lancashire educating two hundred and fifty-five boys and thirty-nine girls. The figures for 1725 were almost identical, except that eight places had been lost by the girls and gained by the boys. Taking these figures and accepting them for the moment, on the basis that

## TABLE 4.1

### Charity Schools in 1724

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| London | 197 | Shropshire | 19 |
| Lincolnshire | 90 | LANCASHIRE | 19 |
| Gloucestershire | 57 | Derbyshire | 18 |
| Kent | 56 | Nottinghamshire | 17 |
| Berkshire | 55 | Staffordshire | 14 |
| Yorkshire | 48 | Cheshire | 13 |
| Northants. | 46 | Northumberland | 10 |
| Devon | 38 | Durham | 8 |
| Hampshire | 38 | Cumberland | 6 |
| Leicestershire | 37 | Rutland | 6 |
| Suffolk | 36 | Westmorland | 1 |
| Warwickshire | 36 | | |

(based on Ch. Com. Reports)

the figures would balance out at a county level, a comparison is made between Lancashire and a sample of other counties. [Table 4.1] The Table confirms the strength of the links with the S.P.C.K. in the southern half of England, as compared with the northern. The nineteen schools of Lancashire were exceeded by those of twenty-six counties, with Yorkshire as the sole northern representative in this group. In particular, the dominance of London in relation to the setting up of charity schools is confirmed, both in relation to the number of schools and the provision of places, especially for girls. Lincolnshire was the other major area and though it would require a detailed examination to see whether or not this was primarily a response to the S.P.C.K., this does seem to have been the case. The initiative within the county derived from support for the Society at diocesan level from William Wake, before he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1716, and then from Edmund Gibson until 1723. As an indication of the enthusiasm in this county, and as a comparison with Lancashire, over two hundred schools had been set up by 1714 in the diocese of Lincoln and two hundred and sixty- eight by 1723.[77] By way of contrast, the number of charity schools in Lancashire exceeded those of only nine counties, though, in at two instances, Nottingham and Northumberland, more school places were provided than in Lancashire.

The role of the S.P.C.K. was more limited than the setting up of nineteen schools seems to indicate. Of these schools, only the ones

at Bolton, Castleton, Fulwood, the two schools at Preston, Rossendale, Todmorden, the charity school at Warrington and the 'charity department' of the grammar school, together with the Blue Coat Hospital at Liverpol were founded during the S.P.C.K.'s direct involvement in education. The other schools, including Whalley which was re-modelled on S.P.C.K. lines, had either been founded prior to 1699, or did not have a permanent existence.

What seems to have been a key factor in the setting up of charity schools was the keeness and influence of the local correspondent. Samuel Peploe, for instance, was instrumental in setting up three charity schools, while both Samuel Shaw and James Mathews were able to use their positions to extend the charitable function of the local grammar school. The curate at Wigan, Zachary Taylor, was frustrated in his attempts to set up a charity school at Liverpool, due to circumstances beyond his control, but he did serve as a catalyst and the school was eventually founded. He was also instrumental in developing other educational ventures.

Other correspondents obviously desired to help the S.P.C.K. to achieve its aims but lacked financial backing, or failed to arouse the interest of others. This was the situation regarding Dr. Fenton, while Dr. Vroe promised much but achieved very little.

Although the S.P.C.K. withdrew from its educational work in 1724 in order to concentrate on foreign missions, it did not cut itself entirely off from educational matters. In 1735, the Society was writing to Bryan Blundell regarding the nature of the children's

work in the Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital.[78] The continuation of the publishing side of the S.P.C.K. also meant that the Society received news from the schools which ordered books. For example, Mr. Haddon of Warrington was writing to the S.P.C.K. in 1729, 1736 and 1741 in order to pay his bills but he also availed himself of the opportunity to give news of the current position with regard to the charity school.[79]

**(v) Trends in Philanthropy**

The question of the extent of the 'charity school movement' in Lancashire can now be examined. This can be studied in relation to two aspects. The first relates to the trends in philanthropy during the eighteenth century and the second is concerned with the pattern of schooling which evolved over the period.

Although Miss Jones stated categorically that the eighteenth century was 'par excellence the age of philanthropy', such an assertion appears to be merely a subjective assessment. Evidence, such as that collected by Jordan for the period 1480-1660, is lacking. As the levels of charitable donations fluctuated widely, it is problematic as to whether or not the overall total for educational purposes exceeded the levels of donations in either the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. There is also the question of inflation to be taken into account. Without further detailed

investigation, it is not known if the period 1700 to 1730 exceeded that of any comparable period, as has been asserted. This topic will be considered in detail in Chapter 6.

Although the obvious way of gauging the extent of philanthropy applied to education, and especially in relation to the provision of non-classical schools, is by analysing charitable bequests over the stated period, a number of points need to be kept in mind. The setting up of schools tended to lag behind the charitable impulse that gave rise to them. On occasions, wills were drawn up a number of years before the death of the testator so that the schools had to wait for a permanent endowment, as happened at Overkellett. In order to accumulate sufficient capital to build a schoolhouse and/or provide an endowment, it was sometimes stipulated in the will of the founder that the interest on the bequest was to be allowed to accumulate over a stated period to build up the capital available for the school. For example, Richard Pooley's bequest for Wray School in 1685 stipulated that his endowment of £200 should only be laid out in land four years after his death.[80] Other bequests were given on the basis that an equivalent sum should be raised locally, such as at Unsworth under the terms of the will of James Lancaster. On other occasions, land was not conveyed for a number of years due to legal reasons and in consequence, the school was deprived of its endowment. This was the situation at Blakeley. Another reason why schools failed to benefit immediately from the terms of the founder's will was the practice for the testator to

## TABLE 4.2

### Endowed Non-classical Schools

### in

### Lancashire 1698-1800

| | |
|---|---|
| 1698-1710 | 7 |
| 1710-1720 | 11 |
| 1720-1730 | 11 |
| 1730-1740 | 10 |
| 1740-1750 | 7 |
| 1750-1760 | 10 |
| 1760-1770 | 7 |
| 1770-1780 | 5 |
| 1780-1790 | 4 |
| 1790-1800 | 7 |

Total =79 [24 not dated]

make provision for his wife, and on one occasion at Ribchester, his mother, and it was only upon their deaths that the bequests were allotted for their intended educational purposes. In other instances, endowments were lost or not applied for educational purposes. By way of recompense, there were examples of bequests which were not intended for educational purposes being applied to schools. At Warrington, the bequest of Viliam Allen, under the terms of his will of 1677 for apprenticing boys, was applied to the charity school there in 1711. Bearing in mind these limitations, an attempt has been made to assess the charitable provision for Lancashire in the eighteenth century.

**(vi) Endowed Non-Classical Schools in the Eighteenth Century**

According to the Returns to the Commissioners of Inquiry into Charities 1818-1843 quoted by Jones, a total of one hundred and three non-classical schools were either endowed or re-endowed in Lancashire between 1698 and 1800. (Table 4.2) This figure has to be compared with the twenty-two schools founded prior to 1698.Of the seventy-nine identified foundations, twenty-nine can be dated to the period when it can be assumed that the influence of the S.P.C.K. would have been prevalent, that is in the period upto 1730. By 1740, approximately half of the schools had been endowed. What is significant is that the county reveals no major peaks and troughs, apart from a slight increase in the levels of foundations

**TABLE 4.3**

**Endowed Non-Classical Schools in Lancashire [1700-1799]**

1700-09
1702 Preston
1702 Overkellett
1703 Formby
1705 Whitechapel
1707 Fulwood
1707 Newton with Scales
1708 Melling

1710-19
1710 Worsley
1710 Pilling
1713 Todmorden
1714 Bolton
1716 Balderstone
1717 Eccles
1717 Netherwyersdale
1717 Poulton
1717 Thornton
1718 Bilsborrow

1720-29
1720 Lytham
1723 Manchester
1723 Sretford
1734 Quernmore
1724 Whitworth
1725 Breightmet
1725 Fazackerley
1726 Totdngton
1726 Great Harwood
1726 Milnrow
1727 Howick
1727 Butterworth

1730-39
1731 Ashton/U/Lyne
1731 Caton
1732 Poulton Bare
1732 Burscough
1732 Skelmersdale
1734 Skerton
1736 Little Lever
1737 Heywood
1737 Unsworth
1737 Spotland

1740-49
1742 Hale
1742 Westhoughton
1743 Billington
1743 Read [1]
1746 Colne
1746 Turton
1747 Halton
1749 Haslingden

1750-59
1752 Newton
1752 Kearsley
1753 Ellel
1756 Garstang
1758 Great Crosby
1758 Euxton
1758 Middleton
1759 Melling
1759 Rochdale
1759 Whittington

1760-69
1760 Kirkham
1761 Edenfield
1763 Blackburn
1764 Audenshaw
1787 Southworth with Croft
1766 Newton
1766 Claife

1770-79
1770 Leyland
1770 Osmotherley [2]
1772 Blawith
1774 Hoole
1777 Manchester
1777 Torver

1780-89
1781 Bardsea
1782 Leyland
1785 Heaton Moor
1786 Hollinwood

1790-99
1791 Hambleton
1793 Liverpool
1793 Longton
1794 Eagley Bridge
1794 Turton
1794 Standish
1799 Scotforth.

1 Only set up in 1798 as a result of the bequest of 1743.
2 Subscription Schools

from 1710 to 1740. Lancashire, indeed, conforms to the national picture in that the decades of greatest activity were, in order, 1710-1720 and 1720-1730. However, the decade between 1730 and 1740 departs from the national picture in that Lancashire, with ten endowments, had the second highest number in the country and was exceeded only by the sixteen of Yorkshire. In fact, the two counties accounted for almost a quarter of the national foundations during that decade. Interestingly, this evidence contradicts the views of both Jones and Simon, who have pointed to the declining enthusiasm for charity schools after the withdrawal of the S.P.C.K. It can be argued from these general figures that the interest in founding non-classical schools continued throughout the eighteenth century.

Since the general figures, quoted by Jones, do not indicate the individual schools and their foundation dates, these have been listed in Table 4.3. This Table also seeks to overcome the inherent inaccuracy in the figures quoted by Jones. For instance, there is the problem of deciding whether a school, such as Pilling, founded in 1710, should be put into the category 1698-1710 or 1710-1720.

A total of eighty-two schools have been identified, as compared with seventy-nine. There are, in addition, a number of discrepancies, although these are relatively minor for a number of ten year periods.[81] Almost all the schools can be identified as being in existence prior to their endowing and the dating from a specific year is merely legalistic. At Overkellet, for instance,

Thomas Wilson had died in 1702 but for a number of years previously had given £11 a year to the school.[82] Thus, this school appears as an eighteenth century endowment, when, in fact, it owed its origin to seventeenth century philanthropy, pre-dating the formation of the S.P.C.K.

This list of schools (Table 4.3), identified from the Charity Commissioners' reports, forms a minimum and to these must be added schools founded in the eighteenth century and making some provision for the teaching of Latin, although they were predominantly concerned with a non-classical education. In many cases, it must be noted, evidence for their classical status is extremely limited. In addition, there were the schools omitted from the Charity Commissioners' lists. A number of schools also received augmentation grants in the course of the century. These cannot be ignored in any consideration of the extent of the 'charity school movement'. Finally, between 1698 and 1800 a number of subscription schools were founded.[83]

Schools, established in the eighteenth century, which made provision for Latin and, occasionally, Greek in their foundations were Bleasdale, Newchurch-in-Rosendale, Presall, Hoghton, Dixon Green, Newburgh, Great Eccleston, Marton, Finisthwaite, Warmpton, Townbank, Clayton, Tunstall, Burtonwood, Lowick, Lowton, Lydyate, Kirkland, Broughton, Lea and Aspull.[84] Specific reference to poor children occurred at Finisthwaite, Dixon Green, Kirkland, Newburgh, Great Eccleston, Burtonwod and Lowton. In all cases, the role of

Latin was very limited and, in every case, subsidiary to the 3Rs. Since these schools were all expressions of eighteenth century philanthropy, it would be legitimate to include these as part of the charity school movement.

Among the schools omitted from the Charity Commissioners' lists were the girls'charity school at Preston and the charity schools at Wigan, Lancaster and Liverpool. In addition, there were schools at Altcar, Rowson and Pemberton that were not included.

### (vii) Augmentation and Non-specific Bequests

School endowments form only one part of the picture and attention must be drawn to augmentation grants. Thirty-five were identified from the Digest of Schools and Charities as having been given in the eighteenth century. The two most important decades were 1720-29 and 1770-79, with six and seven endowments respectively. Multiple contributions by individuals tend, however, to obscure the general picture. Thus, Mr. Cook left provision in his will in 1770 for educational endowments to augment the schools' income at Cuerden, Euxton and Whittle-le-Woods. Mary Smalley, in addition to endowing a girls' charity school at Standish, also left bequests to schools at Billingham and Eagley Bridge, as well as £270 towards the building of Standish Grammar School; £100 towards a girls' school of industry at Blackburn; £50 for Heskin Grammar School and £100 towards two schools in Turton.[65] Again, it seems that the thirty-

five augmentations is very much an underestimation but it does indicate that the zeal for education as expressed through philanthropy did continue throughout the eighteenth century.[86]
Although such bequests were usually complementary to the original endowment, on occasions, they were more substantial. At Ribby-with-Wrea, the original endowment of James Thistleton in 1694 had amounted to £180 but, in 1716, Nicholas Sharples left 'upwards of £850' to the school 'towards the building or finishing of a schoolhouse for the educating of boys and girls in case the same at the time of my decease shall not be built.' [87] In 1722, Thistleton's school was closed down and replaced by that of Sharples but the endowments continued to be controlled by separate trustees until 1755. Sharples' bequest had allowed school books, materials for writing and accounts and 'garments to distinguish those children in benefit from the endowment' to be purchased as well as allowing parents 'to maintain and continue their children more constantly and longer to the school than their own abilities or circumstances may or might otherwise allow of'.[88]
There was a minimum of twenty-one bequests for education which were not attached to specific endowed schools during the eighteenth century. In many cases, the dividing line between these endowments and augmentations was a very narrow one. At Broughton, the bequest was towards 'the curate teaching school' but more frequently was applied for 'causing poor children to be taught to read and say the catechism' (Ashton-under-Lyne), 'teaching poor children to read

the Bible' (Bolton) or 'paying school wages for 10 poor children' (Pendleton). In each case, the income of the teacher was supplemented. Other bequests which tended to benefit the pupils rather than the teacher included the provision of clothing at Rochdale and books at Chipping.

Despite the statement of Mrs. Simon 'that subscriptions were raised is not an essential mark of the charity school either', this aspect cannot be ignored in any examination of the charity school movement in Lancashire.

Although subscription lists often showed substantial individual gifts, they also allowed philanthropy directed towards educational ends to extend much lower down the social scale. For instance, at Preston, the girls' charity school owed its origin to a number of subscribers, fifteen in all, who donated individual amounts varying between 5s and £1 a year between 1706 and 1713.[89] In addition, there were the collections in the parish church which paid for the school to be built, as well as individual bequests of £200 in 1720 and £100 in 1723. There were also a number of smaller bequests, together with a half share in the legacy of £100 given by Peploe.

The most significant of the subscription schools was the Blue Coat Hospital at Liverpool. In contrast to the normal pattern of subscription which involved the opening of a list for a specific purpose, for example the building of a school, and then closing it when this objective was achieved, subscriptions continued yearly throughout the eighteenth century. They played a very important

financial role, especially in the early years of the school. In 1709, fifty-seven subscribers provided £50.10.0 out of the total school income of £63. Individual subscriptions ranged from 10s to £2. In 1720, subscriptions fell to £22. Although the total had risen to £36 in 1745, there were now only seven subscribers. This seems to have galvanised the Trustees into action and, as a result, two categories of subscriber were set up. The first group was made up of merchants, employers and the general professional classes. In 1749 their donations amounted to £152. The second group approached were the commanders of ships who subscribed £50.8.0. In 1764, total subscriptions amounted to £318 and although these had declined to £255 in 1780, they climbed steadily to £369 in 1783 and to £459 in 1788. In 1800, £629 was subscribed and in 1813 £1,014, which amounted to one-third of the total school expenditure.[90]

Within the Manchester Deanery, by 1720, schools had been set up, as a result of subscriptions at Walmsley, Little Hulton, Gorton and Farnworth. Other schools built as a result of subscriptions included Worsley, Osmotherley, Saddleworth, Plumpton, Blawith, Hollingwood, Bardsea, Windle and Pemberton. At Broughton, Edward Taylor left £100 towards a grammar school on condition that £60 was raised by subscription within one year of his death.[91]

The picture that has emerged is one in which the 'charity school movement', both in terms of setting up schools and in relation to the underlying philanthropy continued throughout the eighteenth century. These included schools designed to rescue the urban poor, endowed rural and urban schools, as well as the catechetical schools which were mainly to be found in the more sparcely populated areas of Northern Lancashire. Such schools, however, form only one part of the picture, and consideration must also be given to the augmentation bequests, general educational bequests and subscriptions, all of which played a part in expanding educational provision within the county in the course of the century.

**(viii) The Notitia Cestriensis and the 1778 Visitation Returns**

Other important sources for tracing the development of schools in the eighteeenth century are the various Visitation Returns to the Bishop of Chester. Although they were not solely concerned with education, they do provide additional information about schools in the period under review. Two Visitation Returns of special interest are the Notitia Cestriensis of Bishop Gastrell and The Articles of Enquiry Preparatory to Visitation 1778. The Notitia Cestriensis relate to approximately 1718 with additional notes on developments up to about 1725 and, thus, they cover the period when the S.P.C.K. was active in education. In order to evaluate the extent to which

## TABLE 4.4

### Schools Identified in Lancashire by the Notitia Cestriensis

| Deanery | Grammar | Endowed | Subscr. | Other | Total | None |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manchester | 8 | 15[1] | 4 | 7 | 34 | 11 |
| Warrington | 8 | 24 | 1 | 5 | 38 | 6 |
| Leyland | 4 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 5 |
| Blackburn | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 13 | 10 |
| Amounderness | 4 | 27 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 11 |
| Furness | 2 | 12[2] | 0 | 6[3] | 20 | 5 |
| Lonsdale[4] | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| Kendal[4] | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 3 |
| | 31 | 99 | 7 | 22 | 159 | 54 |

1. Excludes Blakeley, endowed but no school.
2. Includes four endowments for school/chapel.
3. All with curates teaching in the chapel.
4. Only includes Lancashire section of the Deanery.

schooling had developed during the century, the 1778 Visitation Returns were analysed. [92]

In the Manchester Deanery, a total of thirty-four schools were listed by the Notitia Cestriensis, which can be compared with the forty-three chapels and churches. (Table 4.4). The most clearly identifiable group was made up of eight grammar schools (Bolton, Blackrod, Rivington, Bury, Manchester, Middleton, Oldham and Rochdale). The remaining twenty-six schools form much more heterogeneous categories. Within these may be distinguished endowed schools, subscription schools, private schools and the situation at Blakeley, where Robert Litchford had provided an endowment of £5 a year towards the school in 1710 but it had not been built in 1718.

Within the endowed schools group, three sub-groups can be recognised, namely schools providing a free education including clothing and books; those which gave a number of free places and those which charged fees, even though they did have the benefit of an endowment.

Chetham's School, Manchester and Marsden's School in Bolton can be assigned to the traditional 'charity school' category in that they sought to help to eliminate the problem of urban ignorance and they also provided clothing for their pupils.

Nine schools fall into the second category. Rumworth provided a free education for all those who lived within the township, utilising its endowment of £9 a year, £7 of which was derived from

the 1623 bequest of Ralph Crompton. Other pupils paid fees. At Turton, six poor boys were taught at the expense of Mr. Chetham during his lifetime, as the Notitia commented that there was no settled endowment. In 1717, Gervase Chetham, the brother of the benefactor, left the interest on £100 to provide clothing for five poor boys. The situation is unclear at Didsbury, where the school estates in 1722 were worth £7 a year. It seems probable that the schools in Newton included both free and fee-paying pupils. One was endowed about 1689 by Elizabeth Chetham to provide religious education for the poor until they could read the Bible and the other school, supported by Mr. Gaskell during his lifetime, was endowed in his will of 1716. The school at Stetchford, described as 'private' in 1718, was endowed in 1723 by Ann Hinde and allowed five boys and five girls to be educated. Provision was made for ten free scholars at Litleborough in the bequest of Theophilus Halliwell in 1688. This endowment of £5 a year was added to in 1699, when Richard Halliwell left £6 a year towards the school. Although a school had been built at Todmorden by Mr. Clegg, the Vicar of Kirkham, who had also left £100 for the school, this bequest was not available in 1718, since he had stipulated that it was to be increased to £150 by local endeavour and this had, not yet, been done. However, in 1725, the school was being taught by the curate and provision had been made for four free boys. Radcliffe had been endowed with £4 a year, given by Mr. Gaskell to

educate twenty children but this was to continue for only three years after his death. In 1718, this time limit had almost expired. At least four schools were receiving bequests but, due to their inadequacy, no pupils were receiving the benefit of a free education. At Little Hulton, the income of £4 a year included a bequest of £2.15s, while the sole endowment of Flixton appeared to be 10s a year. Although the endowments of £9 a year at Ringley and the £7.10s derived from the gallery rents at Eccles were slightly more substantial, neither school offered any free education.

Other schools owed their origin,in some respect to subscriptions. These included Walmsley, built around 1716, Little Hulton, Farnworth and Gorton, which charged 1d a week.

At Ashton-under-Lyne and Holcombe, school houses had been provided by the Earl of Warrington and the Earl of Albemarle respectively. In the latter case, its use as a school was spasmodic and there was no master in 1718. At Ashton, a replacement schoolhouse was built by the inhabitants in 1721.

In addition to these schools, there were three private venture schools. At Birch, there was an English School, while at Gorton, there were two English Schools, which were 'neither free nor endowed'.

Despite the picture drawn so far, a quarter of the parishes, eleven in all, had no school provision. These were Bradshaw, Horwich, Westhoughton, Ellenbrook, Denton, Salford, Ashworth, Ainsworth, Shaw, Milnrow and Holcomb. It is of further interest that in only

three cases is there evidence of a teacher in the seventeenth century. These were at Denton in 1646, Salford until 1671 and at Milnrow in 1684.[93]

Although direct links with the S.P.C.K. can only be made for the schools at Todmorden and Bolton, twelve schools in all, amounting to nearly a half of the non-grammar schools in the deanery, were either erected or received an endowment in the period 1710-1723. It does seem in the Manchester Deanery that, whatever the cause, there was an upsurge of interest in education, at the time when the S.P.C.K. was at its most active.

Educational provision within the Warrington Deanery was superior to that of the Manchester Deanery in that the forty-one parishes and chapelries supported thirty-eight schools, including eight classified as grammar schools. There were, also, only six parishes lacking a school. At Garston and Atherton, there is no evidence of any schools in the seventeenth century but there had been a bequest in 1672 for a school at Billinge, which had not been settled in 1718. In the three other parishes, there was evidence for schools prior to the eighteenth century. At Sankey, there had been a schoolmaster between 1666 and 1699 and at Aughton from 1664 to 1698. Evidence is to be found for a master at Sefton in 1630 and in 1684.

Of the twenty-four schools with endowments, at least eight provided a free education. Included in this category are the three charity schools at Liverpool, Warrington and Ormskirk. It was the intention

of Rev. Thomas Crane that, as soon as the endowment for Newburgh School reached £30 a year, a free education should be provided. By 1720, the value of Crane's bequest, initially £16 a year, had increased to £32. Haigh, West Derby, Hindley and Much Woolton were free for local children but the extent to which they catered for foreigners is unknown. Altcar was the only school that was not free. This school had been built by the inhabitants but the only two endowments were capital bequests amounting in all to £62.

Seemingly, the impact ofthe S.P.C.K. was more limited in the Warrington, as compared with the Manchester, Deanery. This, it could be argued, was due to the greater provision of schooling in the period prior to 1700. As a consequence, the gaps to be filled were more limited. The charity schools at Warrington and Liverpool conformed to the traditional urban pattern and, as noted earlier, were included in the S.P.C.K. lists. The other school to be described as a charity school was at Ormskirk.

Other bequests were at Formby, where Richard Marsh of London had left £300 towards a master, together with a further £100 towards an usher in 1703. At Melling, two bequests worth £4 a year were received in 1708 and 1709 and, about the same time, a school was built. In 1713, a school was built at Hollinsfare by the inhabitants but it did not have the benefit of an endowment. Thus, no more than seven schools in this deanery benefited during the period of the S.P.C.K.'s involvement in education.

Only fourteen schools were identified in the Leyland Deanery, four of which were grammar schools. At the same time, no more than five parishes, namely Beconsall, Hoole, Euxton, Heapy and Coppull, lacked a school. The only parishes for which there is evidence for a school in the seventeenth century were Euxton and Hoole. At Euxton, there was a master between 1616 and 1636. At Hoole, there had been an educational bequest for a school, linked to the chapel, in 1627 but this had been lost before 1720 and it was not until 1770 that the school received a further bequest.[94]

Probably, nine of the ten endowed schools provided a free education to at least some of their pupils. The only school to be free to all was Bispham. At Brindle and Croston, the freedom was restricted to local children. A free education was given at Tarleton and Bretherton, after the payment of an entrance fee, although the number benefiting was restricted to fourteen at the former school. The endowment at Tarleton amounted to no more than £2.10s a year. Only the children of those who had contributed to the school at Rufford, which had been established in 1712, were entitled to a free education. The school at Withnell was more commonly referred to as Hoghton. This school erected about 1720, had been endowed by a deed of 1709, under the terms of which Sir Charles Hoghton gave £400 towards the school. The Vicar, however, was unable to state, in his return, how the school had been endowed. Although the Charity Commissioners were unable to state 'whether any sums of money were raised under it, or invested in land or other security',

£26 a year had been paid for a considerable number of years to the schoolmaster who had provided a free education for the children of Withnell, Hoghton and Wheelton.[95] Mawdesley, occupying a 'poor thatched cottage' only received £1.3.6 a year.

Eleven of the fourteen schools had received educational bequests prior to 1700 and only three schools received endowments during the period of S.P.C.K. involvement. These were Tarleton in 1706, Withnell in 1709 and Rufford in 1712. Again, due to the relatively good provision of schools prior to 1700, the impact of the S.P.C.K. tended to be rather limited.

The situation in the Blackburn Deanery was much more unsatisfactory in that twenty-five parishes or chapelries supported only thirteen schools, four of which were grammar schools. The endowed schools were characterised by the smallness of their endowments with Tockholes receiving £1; Downham £5, this being the interest on the £100 bequest of Ralph Ashton; Colne £2, supplemented in 1713 by £13 a year and in 1716 by the interest on £20. Walton received the interest on £120, while the highest endowment at Newchurch in Rosssendale amounted to no more than £10.10.0.

In addition to these endowed schools, there was an unendowed school at Accrington, built in 1716; a school at Great Harwood ' not endowed and there is no teaching in it' and a private school at Newchurch-in-Pendle. A school had been built by subscription in Padiham in about 1680 but it had not beeen endowed.

The possible impact of the S.P.C.K. was very limited in that only three schools were noted as receiving bequests between 1700 and 1725. At Colne, the benefit was restricted to four pupils, while Downham was free to children 'whose parents are farmers and do not rent above £10 a year'. At Newchurch-in-Rosendale, the benefit was available to all the local children. The subscription school at Accrington was also set up in the period under review.

By way of contrast, the deanery of Amounderness, with its more fertile farmland, supported thirty-one schools with eleven parishes or chapelries lacking such provision. Although four schools were described as grammar schools, doubts must be cast on the status of Garstang, Bilsborrow and Broughton schools. Of the twenty-seven schools that had been endowed, those at Chipping, Newton with Scales, Ribby with Wrea and the two schools at Preston conformed to the typical charity school.

The period 1700 to 1720 was marked by bequests to, at least, eighteen schools. Some of these were very substantial. At Newton with Scales,John Hornby left a total of £1,105 for a school to be established, where a master would teach the boys the principles of the Protestant religion and that 'some woman' would be appointed to teach the girls sewing, knitting and housewifery. A number of children, ten of whom were to be boys, were to be clothed and maintained.The value of the endowment in 1722 was £100 a year, out of which the master received £20.[36] At Ribby with Wrea, William

Sharple's bequest of 1716 was worth at least £850. At Preston, capital bequests to augment the incomes of the charity schools amounted to £330. This part of Lancashire also benefited from the bequests of Robert Carter to support schools at Pilling and Presall and James Baines who, in 1717, left £15 a year to Thornton School; £20 a year to Staining School and £10 a year to Marton School. At Great Eccleston, Wiliam Fyld left about £250 in 1719 to allow poor children to be taught.

In addition to these endowments, there were a number of smaller bequests including Bilsborrow (£14 a year in 1718); Goosnargh (£20 in 1719); Whitechapel (the interest on £40 in 1705 and on £60 in 1713); Fulwood (£80 capital in 1707); Admarsh (house plus land to master in 1702); Cross Hill (interest on £30 in 1721); Upper Rawcliff (£30 in 1708 towards the maintenance of a poor schoolmaster); Great Eccleston and Inskip (£5 a year in 1721) and Carleton (£1 a year in 1716). This evidence would seem to confirm the strength of philanthropy directed towards provision of schooling for the poor in the Amounderness area of Lancashire. There were also the links developed with the S.P.C.K. by Rev. Samuel Peploe and Dr. Fenton. Again, however, only a small number of these schools were included on the S.P.C.K. lists.

An interesting feature of the Furness and Cartmel area is the extent to which schooling depended on the curate teaching in the chapel. Fourteen schools in all were identified, including three grammar schools, three endowed schools, two subscription schools,

two private schools and four schools where the usher was to teach in the chapel. Six chapels were also identified, which did not have the benefit of an endowment for education, where the curate ran a school. Thus, in these areas, half of the schools were directly linked to the local chapel. Since this aspect is limited to this one deanery, the development of the catechetical schools, as identified by Mrs. Simon, appeared as a practical response to the problem of the inadequate or non-existent endowment, rather than as a conspiracy by the S.P.C.K. 'to reverse the priorities'. Further evidence in support of this view may be gained from the fact that all four of the endowments for curate-schoolmasters pre-dated the setting up of the S.P.C.K.

Finally, four endowed schools were to be found within the Lancashire area of the Lonsdale Deanery and five, including the grammar schools at Bolton-le-Sands and Warton in the Kendal Deanery. In general, the figures reflect the sparseness of the population in these areas. The overall lack of schooling is also reflected in the number of parishes with no schools at all.

What is confirmed by the Notitia Cestriensis is that approximately three-quarters of the parishes of Lancashire had at least one school by about 1720, with the majority of the remaining parishes having access to schools in adjacent areas.

**(ix) The 1778 Visitation Returns**

## TABLE 4.5

### Schools Identified in the 1778 Visitation Returns in Lancashire

| Deanery | Gram. | Subsc. | Free | Charity | Endowed | Other | Total | None |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manchester | 9 | 8[1] | 4[2] | 8 | 11[3] | 3[4] | 43 | 12 |
| Warrington | 9 | 0 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 31 | 10 |
| Blackburn | 2 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 11 | 11 |
| Leyland | 3 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 16 | 3 |
| Amoundeness | 3 | 2 | 14 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 28 | 12[5] |
| | 26 | 11 | 41 | 18 | 23 | 10 | 129 | 40 |

1. Includes two schools at Delph and Lydiate built by subscription but supported by small endowments.
2. Limited numbers of free scholars in three schools.
3. Including Blakeley in dispute.
4. Minimum number.
5. Includes six blank returns.

The most surprising aspect, initially resulting from the analysis of the Articles of Enquiry Preparatory to Visitation 1778 to the Bishop of Chester, is that the number of schools in Lancashire had apparently remained constant between 1718 and 1778, allowing for the omission of Furness Deanery, which sent in its returns in the following year. (Table 4.5) The deaneries of Manchester, Warrington, Leyland, Blackburn and Amounderness, identified one hundred and thirty schools in the Notitia and one hundred and twenty-nine in the 1778 Returns. In view of the argument advanced for the development and expansion of school provision through philanthropy, this apparent lack of progress calls for further investigation, although the number of parishes with no school had fallen from fifty-four to forty-eight.

Although the 1778 Visitation Returns are a valuable source of information on individual schools, they are less accurate in clarifying the overall picture. Returns tend, first of all, to vary in detail and accuracy. For example, the Returns for the Manchester Deanery do not refer to either Manchester Grammar or Chetham's School as part of the educational provision. Likewise, Marsden's Charity School at Bolton was overlooked in 1778. On other occasions, the Returns tend to be very general. At Bolton, there is a reference to 'other petty schools' and at Manchester 'There are many free or charity schools'. In some places, the clergymen making the returns appeared to have little first hand knowledge of the schools in their parishes. The Incumbent of Shaw reported that

there was no free school but 'several in the parish but as I am ignorant of how they are endowed or maintained'. One parish, Little Hulton within the Manchester Deanery, was identified as not having sent in a Return but there were a number of other parishes which failed to do so but without being identified. In the Warrington Deanery, the schools that were omitted included Astley, Newburgh, Haigh, Scarisbrick, Much Woolton and Warrington Grammar School. Another aspect which tended to lead to the number of schools being overestimated was that, on several occasions, two parishes made reference to the same school. Oldham, Unsworth, Rochdale, Leigh, Heskin and Crosby schools fell into this category. It is with these limitations in mind that the Returns will now be considered.

Manchester Deanery appears to be the only one to have gained significantly over the period between the Notitia and the 1778 Returns. In 1718, twenty-seven schools were identified as either being endowed or supported by subscriptions, together with three unendowed and four private schools. (Table 4.4) By 1778, this number of endowed or subscription schools had grown to forty in 1778. (Table 4.5) Schools had been gained in a number of places. At Heywood, schools had been established in 1737 and 1776. In Manchester, charity schools had been founded in St.Anne's and St.John's parishes, as well as the subscription school of St. Paul's, founded in 1776. A subscription school 'recently built' replaced the 'old school in ruins' at Newton. A small charity school had been founded in Salford and Hinde's charity school in

Stetchford replaced the former private school. At Milnrow, two free schools in the 1778 Returns contrasted with the lack of provision in 1718. The charity school at Rochdale dated from 1769. In addition to these, subscription schools had been set up in Cockey and Whitworth. The schools at Ardwick, Unsworth and Prestwich were in receipt of small endowments, while those for Ashton-under-Lyne and Westhoughton were even more limited.

Over the same period, the parish of Dean appears to have lost three schools at Over Hulton, Little Hulton and Farnworth. In 1718, the schools at Over Hulton and Farnworth were not endowed, while the subscription school at Little Hulton received only £4 a year. Likewise, Turton, where the school had been maintained by Humphrey Chetham, with £6 a year for six poor children, during his lifetime, reported in 1778 that it possessed neither a free or charity school. However, in 1746, Turton had received a bequest from Mr. Chetham, which provided £9.15.0 a year, as well as a gift of £105 about 1770.[97] It is posssible to interpret the Return as indicating that although there was no free or charity school, which was what the Bishop's question asked, there was a school which did not conform to those categories. Similarly, Todmorden also indicated that it lacked a school but, again, one had been established here by Rev. Richard Clegg in 1713.[98] By 1778, the English School at Birch and the subscription school at Walmsley, built about 1716, had been lost.

Overall, in the Manchester Deanery, despite the problems

associated with the Returns, the picture that emerges is that the number of endowed schools had increased by about one half. Although the number of parishes lacking a school had increased slightly from eleven to twelve, the overall picture is one of progress since the proportion of such parishes had declined from a quarter to a fifth between 1718 and 1778. Within the deanery, the evidence does seem to support the continuation of the philanthropic interest underlying the charity school movement.

Such was not the case in the Warrington Deanery, where the number of endowed schools identified in 1778 had fallen to thirty as compared with thirty-three in the Notitia. Twenty-eight schools were common to both returns, with the charity school at Wigan and the girls' school at Great Crosby being, apparently, the only new foundations. Although three schools were lost, at Aughton, Kirkby and Rainford, the overall picture has been obscured by two factors. The first, which has been mentioned already, is that at least six schools, known to have been in existence in the eighteenth century, were not included in the 1778 Returns, although five of them were, in fact, referred to in the Notitia. The second aspect is that a number of schools endowed between the two dates were not returned. These included Skelmersdale, Burscough and Fazackerly. This evidence suggests that the charity school movement did not make as much progress in the Warrington, as compared with the Manchester Deanery between 1718 and 1778. However, there was expansion of

educational provision, as expressed in terms of a number of new foundations and the high level of financial support for the charity school in Liverpool.

By 1778, Leyland Deanery could point to a slight increase in the number of schools. At Hoole, a school worth £15 a year had been founded to replace the seventeenth century endowment, which had been lost, for a certificate in 1725 stated that there was 'No free school or any other school within the parish'. A subscription school had been built at Euxton about 1750, while a school where quarterage was paid, had been founded at Becconsall. Although there were no returns for Withnell and Brindle, there is no evidence that any schools had gone out of existence during the century in this deanery.

The impact of the charity school movement on Blackburn Deanery was very limited and in the period under review was restricted to a girls' charity school at Blackburn and a small endowed school at Lango. Another aspect associated with this deanery was the inadequate nature of the endowments, when they were provided. Apart from the grammar schools at Blackburn and Clitheroe, the highest endowment identified by the 1778 Returns was £20 a year at Newchurch-in-Rossendale.

Although the 1778 Returns do not appear to bear this out, the net result of the charity school movement in Amounderness was one of general progress. At least seven parishes had gained schools by 1778 and the apparent decline from thirty-one to twenty-five

endowed schools is explained by the number of parishes failing to send in returns. Copp school appears to be the only one with a question mark aginst it. This school had been endowed in 1714 and the endowment had been ratified in the will of William Fyld, who left £250 to teach poor children in 1719. In 1778, the Return for the parish stated that there was no free or charity school there. There had been a dispute over the residential qualification of the trustees, which had only been pronounced on by a decree of the High Court of Chancery in May 1780. The Charity Commissioners also commented on the number of disputes 'which have been extremely prejudicial to the school' since the decree of 1780. It seems highly probable that the disputes had occurred for a long time prior to the court action and had exercised an adverse effect upon the running of the school during the 1770s.[99]

## (x) Classification of Schools

By 1778, the classification of schools was becoming more clearly defined in that distinctions were made being made between charity, free, endowed and subscription schools. In the Notitia, there was only one reference to a charity school, whereas the 1778 Visitation Returns noted eighteen in all. Their three most common features were that they were usually located in an urban area, although they could also be found in rural districts, as in the cases of Ribby-

with- Wrea and Newton-with-Scales; they provided clothing and they prepared their pupils for employment.

Within the Manchester Deanery, it was remarked that these schools taught the pupils 'useful arts as may employ them for common employ'. In addition to Chetham's School, there were charity schools in St. Anne's and St.John's parishes. At the former school, the pupils attended work three times a week, while in the latter school, they were taught 'different kinds of work'. There was also a collegiate charity school that was not mentioned in the Visitation Returns.[100] There were other charity schools at Salford, Stretford, Rochdale and Heyward. Within the Warrington Deanery, charity schools were described at Warrington, Liverpool, Wigan, Ormskirk, Winwick and Culceth. The other charity schools in Lancashire were the girls' schools at Preston, Blackburn and Kirkham, together with the boys' school at Preston. Several schools have been omitted from the Returns. For example, the entry for Ribby with Wrea was completely blank.

Reference was made to clothing pupils at six schools (Heywood, St. John's Manchester, Salford, Stretford, Liverpool and Culceth) but there is evidence for similar provision in all the 'charity schools', except St. Anne's Manchester and Winwick.

One other aspect of interest is that the foundation of charity schools continued up to the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, with four schools being set up in the ten years prior to 1778. Rochdale had been founded in 1769; Heywood about 1776; Wigan

had been 'set on foot these last few years' and at St.John's in Manchester, the school was supported by the 'alms of the communicants'.

The term 'free school' was applied to those which provided an education, basically free of payment. Included in this category were grammar schools and schools such as Unsworth with ten foundationers. Also often included in many free schools was a number of fee payers. The term 'free school' could occasionally be a misnomer. Eccles, for instance, was described as a free school endowed with £5 a year. Of the eighty scholars, twenty were free, the remainder paying for instruction in reading, writing and accounts. It was rather a fee paying school with a number of free places. This was a situation forced on the school by the smallness of its endowment.

The term 'endowed school' was not, in fact, used in the Visitation Returns. However, in several cases, the amount of the endowment was included without any other description of the school. At Holcombe, there was £3 from Mr. Nuttall 'long since dead'; a small endowment (Flixton); '£5 a year' (Heywood) and '£100 will of Mr. Pacey' (Lango). The implication appears to be that there was a class of school, in receipt of very small endowments, which played an insignificant role in the school in terms of the number of pupils or the curricular implications. There was, nevertheless, a great deal of overlap between schools which were basically free with some

feepayers and those with a limited number of free pupils and the remainder paying fees.

A separate class of school, which had either been set up or supported by voluntary contributions or subscriptions, was recognised, as at Bury, Westhoughton, St. Paul's Manchester and Wigan.

Of the ninety-three non-classical schools identified in Lancashire in 1778, forty-one stipulated the provison of free schooling. Twenty-three schools were in receipts of endowments which allowed some poor pupils to receive a free education. Eighteen schools were described as charity schools and eleven had either been set up or supported by voluntary contributions or subscriptions. These figures can be compared with the twenty-six grammar schools.

(xi) Conclusion

In conclusion, the extent of the 'charity school movement' in Lancashire depends very much on definition. If the term 'charity school' is restricted to those which had direct links with the S.P.C.K., then the picture that has emerged is one of limited development. If, however, it is viewed in the context of a general continuation of a charitable concern for the education of the poor, expressed not only in the founding of schools but, also, in the provision of both places within existing schools and extras such as books and clothing, then it can be argued that the charity school

movement did continue throughout the eighteenth century. Also, it must be noted that the setting up of subscription and charity schools, such as those at Wigan and Liverpool, which were not endowed, was part of the same movement. The catechetical schools, which have been subjected to criticism, appear as a practical response to the challenge presented by the lack of school buildings and the inadequacy of the endowments in a number of sparsely peopled areas in North Lancashire.

In 1824, Jane Chorley left £2,000 to support a schoolmistress in a charity school in Prescot. She was to teach poor girls reading, knitting and plain sewing, especially cutting out and repairing their own clothes and men's and boys' shirts and stockings. The girls were to be taught the Church of England catechism. All the books in the school were to be recommended and sold by the S.P.C.K. and 'no other'.If the mistress did read any other books, then she was to be dismissed. Such a foundation reflects the continuation of the charity school impulse into the nineteenth century.[101]

## References: Chapter Four


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4. 'The Charity Schools for Poor Children recommended in a Sermon', 16 May 1706. Quoted by Jones, op.cit., p.35.

5. B. de Mandeville, The Fable of the Bees or Private Vices Public Benefits, Vol.1 (Edinburgh,1772), p.199.

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8. R.Brimley Johnson, Letters of Hannah More (London, 1925) p.183.

9. 377 Blu/12 (Liverpol Record Office: Picton Library).

10. Quoted in Neuburg, op.cit., p.4

11. Hansard, Vol.lx (1809), p.798.

12. Sermon preached at the Charity Schools Anniversary Meeting in London, 1 May 1755. Quoted in Jones, op.cit., p.75.

13. R.Unwin, 'The Established Church and the Schooling of the Poor: The Role of the S.P.C.K. 1699-1720', 14-32, in V.A.McClelland, The Churches and Education (History of Education Society, 1984).

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17. ed. B.Simon, Educ. in Leic. 1540-1940, pp.55-100.

18. *Ibid.*, p.62.

19. *Ibid.*, p.89.

20. See General Board Minute for 30 May 1700. (S.P.C.K.)

21. *Ibid.*, 8 Aug.1700. (S.P.C.K.)

22. Ab. Letter Bk: Corres. Received ,( Ab. Letter Bk.) Vol.1, Nos. 159/176 [ 6 Sept. and 4 Oct. 1700] (S.P.C.K.)

23. *Ibid.*, Nos.176/200 [ 4 Oct. and 29 Oct.1700]. (S.P.C.K.)

24. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.1, No.203 [8 Nov. 1701]. (S.P.C.K.)

25. *Ibid.*, No. 238 [24 Jan.1701]

26. *Ibid.*, No.300 [19 May 1701]

27. *Ibid.*, No.203 [8 Nov. 1700] Styth and Atherton were clergymen.

28. *Ibid.*, No. 256 [15 Nov. 1700]

29. General Board Minute for 31 March 1701.

30. *Ibid.*, [14 April 1701]

31. Ab. Letter Bk., No. 324 [18 July 1701].

32. *Ibid.*, Vol.2, No.2595. [25 May 1711].

33. See J.R. Hughes, Liverpool Blue Coat School, *Trans Hist. Soc. Lancs. & Ches.*, Vol. XI (1860), p.168.

34. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.2, No.2595. (S.P.C.K.)

35. Deed of 24 Aug. 1722 quoted in (i) Account of the Rise etc. of the Blue Coat Hospital School (1813) [377 BLU/12] (Pict. Lib.) and (ii) Hughes, *op.cit.*, p.165.

36. *Ibid.*, pp.167-8.

37. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.9, No.6006 (S.P.C.K.)

38. Paragraph is based upon BLU/12 and Hughes, *op.cit.*pp.173-6.

39. CS 2/13 Letter sent by Soc. Vol.2 No. 13 [5 Sept. 1723]

40. CN 2/1: Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.18, No.13,150 and Vol.25, No.79.

41. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.1, No.345 [25 Aug.1701].

42. Ibid., Vol.2, No.2403.

43. Ibid., Vol.4, No.3533.

44. Ibid., Vol.5, No.4235 [25 Nov. 1714]

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46. Minute 17 [21 Nov. 1703] in (ed. Rev. E.McClure), A Chapter in English Church History being the Minutes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge 1698-1704 (London, 1888) p.248.

47. Suddell's Will i) PR 1490 (L.R.O.) ii) C.C.R. Vol.11 p.323.

48. Ab. Letter Bk.. Vol.4 No.3872 [29 Jan.1713].

49. PR 1490/3 (L.R.O.)

50. PR 1490/5 (L.R.O.)

51. Annual Account (S.P.C.K. 1704).

52. The two charity schools continued as separate establishments until December 1817, when a decision was made to admit the pupils of both schools into the National School.

53. PR 1490/1 (L.R.O.)

54. Accounts (1706 and 1708).

55. Account (1709).

56. C.C.R. Vol.11, p.324.

57. Entry in Parish Register. Also referred to in C.C.R. Vol.11, p.324.

58. Account (1709).

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60. Will 1705A [3386] (L.R.O.)

61. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.1, No.1581 [11 March 1709].

62. Account (1709).

63. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.4, No.3229.

64. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.5, No.4178.

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66. i) EDA/3/3/145 (C.R.O.) ii) Raines, Not. Cest.Chet.Soc., Vol.19 (1849), p.160.

67. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.8, No.5364 [21 Sept. 1717]

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69. Account (1718).

70. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.2, No.2518 [9 March 1711]

71. Will 1711 WRW'A' (L.R.O.)

72. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.7, No.4968 [2 November 1716]

73. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.3, No.2778 [3 September 1711]

74. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.8, No.5669 [6 August 1718]

75. C.C.R. Vol. 19, pp.175-7.

76. Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.9, No.5785.

77. See Jones, op.cit., pp.64-5.

78. CN2/1. Rough draft of letter to be sent [18 November 1735].

79. He was the son of Peter Haddon, the Vicar of Bolton. See Ab. Letter Bk., Vol.15, No.10617; Vol.18, No.13441; Vol.21, No.16024.

80. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.299.

81. The discrepancy appears to arise from the inclusion of two subscription schools together with the school at Read.

82. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.247.

83. The dates of the foundation of several subscription schools are not known with accuracy.

84. See also Table 2:3.

85. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.229.

86. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

87. i) C.C.R. Vol.11, pp.270-1. ii)DDD/1 (L.R.O.)

88. DDD/1 (L.R.O.)

89. PR 1490 (L.R.O)

90. The whole of this section is based upon 377 BLU/5 and /12 (Pict. Lib.)

91. C.C.R. Vol.3, p.219.

92. The Notitia Cestriensis are to be found in one volume in the Chester Record Office (EDA/3). They were published by the Chetham Society between 1849 and 1851. The 1778 Visitation Returns are now on micro-film. The originals classified EDV/7/1/84-182 are on micro-film 44/2; EDV/7/1/183-257 is on 44/3 and EDV/7/1/258-373 is on 44/4.

93. See Rogers, Teaching Profession, Appendix 1, pp.289-358.

94. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.162.

95. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.191.

96. C.C.R. Vol.11, pp.266-7.

97. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.221.

98. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.291.

99. C.C.R. Vol.11, p.355.

100. Collegiate Church Account Books 1762-1893. Item No.65. Quoted in Woods, Dissertation p.166.

101. C.C.R. Vol. 21, p.238.

# CHAPTER FIVE

# THE CURRICULUM OF THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS

## (i) Introduction

Although it can be argued that the primary driving force underlying the development of the grammar schools of Lancashire from the fifteenth to the latter part of the eighteenth centuries received its impetus from philanthropic motives, the essential feature of the grammar school was not that it was a charitable foundation but that it provided a specific curriculum. Both from a legal and practical viewpoint, a grammar school was a school in which Latin was the predominant subject but in which there might, also, be provision for Greek and, very occasionally, Hebrew. Education was virtually synonymous with the classics but increasingly from the early seventeenth century onwards, due to practical and societal pressures, other subjects, usually reading, writing and accounts were to be found. These were generally taught by the usher to younger pupils as a basis for higher instruction and also as ends in themselves.

A further aspect needs to be considered in relation to the endowed grammar schools. There can be no doubt that the role of religion in the grammar schools has been greatly underestimated, if not actually neglected, by the educational historian. Tompson, for example, in Classics or Charity ? makes no reference to this area. This is in direct contrast to the attitudes of the founders of these schools. At Rivington, the Charter of Foundation stated the aim to be ' a continual bringing up, teaching and learning of children'. The primary emphasis was on the 'bringing up' rather than the more academic aspects.

This emphasis upon the religious aspect of education continued to be stressed in the seventeenth century. In 1660, Charles Hoole was merely reflecting contemporary opinion when he wrote that 'teaching was but meer trifling unlesse withall we be compelled to instruct children in the grounds of true religion'. Likewise, Christopher Vase considered that it was essential to bring up children in the principles of the Christian religion and that this could best be done in 'Publick Schools'.'

Although grammar schools continued to be founded until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, criticism of the traditional curriculum was beginning to build up. Locke, for instance, in Some Thoughts Concerning Education, published in 1693, stated that although Latin was essential to the gentleman,it was not as important as knowledge of the world and some understanding of experimental science. The curriculum, he advocated, was one 'which

will be of most and frequentest use' and included an initial course in Latin, drawing, shorthand and French. This was to be followed by arithmetic, geometry, the laws of England and science. Finally, social accomplishments, such as horse-riding, dancing, craftwork and painting should be developed. To complete the educational programme, the Grand Tour was recommended. Greek was a notable omission from the course but this was thought by Locke to be appropriate for a scholar but not a gentleman.[2]

Due to the curricular limitations imposed by the schools' foundation statutes and their general conservatism , the influence of writers, such as Locke, tended to be very limited. In the course of the eighteenth century, however, a number of Locke's proposals were incorporated into some of the private venture schools or adopted by tutors to the gentry, rather than in the endowed grammar schools.

During the eighteenth century, further criticisms were levelled at the grammar school curriculum. One that was to continue well into the nineteenth century was based, not on the fact that Latin was taught, but that it was taught badly. John Clarke, of Hull Grammar School, an enthusiastic advocate of the ideas of Locke, looked critically at the traditional weaknesses of excessive stress upon memory, drill and repetition, together, in his view, with the overemphasis on Greek. As alternatives, he proposed more translation from Latin to English rather than the writing of verse; textbooks that could be more easily understood than Lily's Latin

Grammar; a lessening of the importance of Greek and the avoidance of memory work. Clarke's most scathing comment on contemporary teaching methods was that they seem to have 'been contrived in opposition to all the rules of good method'.[3]

Supporting Clarke's attack on the stultifying influence of Lily's Latin Grammar was John Holmes, master of Gresham's School. He attempted to remedy this situation by writing A New Grammar of the Latin Tongue in about 1733. As a tribute to its quality as a textbook, it went through eleven editions by 1777.

Other schoolmasters, such as James Barclay of Dalkeith, took up a different stance, arguing the obvious fact, but one that was either ignored or overlooked in the eighteenth century, that pupils differed in their abilities and even those who had no aptitude for the Classics could still become useful members of society. Underlying this attack was the assumption that alternative subjects to the Classics ought to be provided.[4]

Probably, a far greater influence on the grammar schools resulted from the relatively successful practice of the private schools and 'academies' which, in turn, stimulated demand for such utilitarian subjects as English, Modern Languages, commercial subjects, surveying and navigation.

**ii) The Developing Curriculum**

The changing curricular emphases were reflected to some extent in

## Table 5.1

### Curricular Provision in Grammar School Foundations

| | Grammar | Grammar & English | Unknown |
|---|---|---|---|
| Before 1600 | 155 | 12 | 10 |
| 1601-1699 | 65 | 42 | 14 |
| 1700-1799 | 4 | 29 | 3 |
| | (224) | (83) | (27) |

Total Number of Schools: 334

Based on Tompson, Classics or Charity ? pp. 52; 54; 56.

## Table 5.2

### Curricular provision in the Grammar Schools of Lancashire

| | Grammar | Grammar & English | Unknown |
|---|---|---|---|
| Before 1600 | 24 (28) | 2 (1) | 2 (0) |
| 1600-1699 | 14 (10) | 6 (3) | 9 (4) |
| 1700-1799 | 6 (2) | 12 (7) | 2 (0) |
| | 44 (40) | 20 (11) | 13 (4) |

Total Schools Identified: 77 ( 55 Schools Identified by Tompson, Classics or Charity ? pp. 52; 54; 56. Figures in Brackets).

the new grammar school foundations in the period under review, indicating that individual philanthropists were aware of changing educational needs. Basically, the change was from a strictly classical curriculum, with the emphasis upon Latin, which was characteristic of schools founded prior to the seventeenth century, to those schools founded in the eighteenth century in which the study of Latin was subsidiary to the teaching of reading, writing and accounts. During the seventeenth century, there was an intermediate phase of Latin and English being prescribed in the curriculum. Tompson, in his sample survey, found that only 12 out of 155 schools identified prior to 1600 made provision for Latin and English. During the seventeenth century, this category increased to 42 schools out of 107. By the end of the eighteenth century, the picture had changed completely in that 29 out of 33 schools stipulated Latin and a combination of reading, writing and accounts.[5] (Table 5.1).

Tompson has argued that this movement reflected regional differences since his three northern counties (Cumberland, Lancashire and Staffordshire) made up 61% of the total. This was explained in terms of 'a general vitality which is consistent in the north'.[6] However, this begs the question as to vitality in what respects. He, also, argues that it 'shows ..... the diversion of interest into non-classical or elementary education'. On the other hand, it could also be seen not as a 'diversion of interest' but

rather as a blurring between the 'grammar' and 'charity' schools within the underlying charitable impulse.

The evidence for the curricular provision is based upon a number of sources which include wills, charters, Letters Patent, deeds, indentures, subscriptions, Bishops' Returns and evidence to the Charity Commissioners. What is revealed is the 'intended' or 'official' curriculum and it is possible that the actual curriculum varied in a number of aspects. There is, also, the additional point to be kept in mind that the practical problems relating to the entry requirements demanded by schools could not always be fulfilled and there is evidence from the sixteenth century onwards that, frequently, an elementary education was provided by the usher in the lower school. In the majority of cases, no reference was made to this aspect. Thus, reading, for example, is frequently stipulated in eighteenth century foundations but not in sixteenth century schools. That is not to say that reading was not taught in the latter category only that no official provision was made for it.

From the evidence available for the Lancashire grammar schools, the picture that emerges with regard to the curriculum closely reflects the national picture. (Table 5.2) The discrepancies between Table 5.2 and that of Tompson arise basically from the problem of the exact definition of a grammar school. Both sets of figures suffer from the handicap that where the earliest reference to the school was in terms of 'free grammar school', the assumption, unless there

is evidence to the contrary, is that the curriculum was based solely upon the classics. As the curriculum with regard to individual subjects will be discussed in more detail later, it is sufficient to note that a number of grammar schools did, in fact, make provision for subjects of a more elementary nature, including writing and reading, while all the schools taught religion.

There is general agreement between the figures up to 1600. Tompson has, however, included in his category, a number of schools for which the evidence for their curriculum, and in some cases even their existence, is very limited. For example, there is a reference to a school at Bispham, founded in 1589. There is the problem of identifying this school since the schools at Bispham (Croston) and Bispham (Amounderness) were seventeenth century foundations. The only other school which is a possibility is Heskin but due to its control by Brasenose College, Oxford, it was not investigated by the Charity Commissioners and was seemingly overlooked by Tompson. Whalley and Winwick have also been omitted by Tompson. Other schools with weak claims to grammar school status in the sixteenth century include Cartmel and Kirkland, while the earliest reference to Ashton-in-Makerfield as a grammar school is in the following century, as is the case at Leigh. Penwortham and Blackburn are the two schools with subjects identified in addition to the classics. With regard to the latter school, Tompson has used the refoundation date of 1567 as his basis rather than the evidence provided by the chantry foundation. What the figures do support is

the fact that schools set up prior to the seventeenth century were overwhelmingly to provide a classical education.

Tompson's figures for the seventeenth century show inconsistencies. For instance, he identifies three schools as catering for English and Grammar (Table 2. p.54) but in the detailed appendix (pp.135-6), he ascribes Crosby, Kirkham, Oldham and Wyersdale to that category. What both sets of figures do confirm is that curricular provision for English and other subjects increased during this century.

Finally, during the eighteenth century, it had increasingly become the practice to make provision in the foundation of grammar schools for reading, writing and accounts, alongside Latin, which was no longer in the predominant position.

**(iii) The Curriculum of the Grammar School**

In the sixteenth century and earlier, the curricular emphasis was on 'grammar'. The standard phrases were 'to teach a grammar school' (Middleton, Farnworth, Blackrod) or 'instruct boys in grammar' (Lancaster, Manchester, Rivington, Blackburn (1567)). Other phrases suggested a wider learning. At Heskin, reference was made to 'grammar, learning and good literature'. Rochdale School referred to 'True piety and the Latin tongue', while at Halsall ' grammar, poetry and good Latin authors' were stipulated. It seems that such phrases were merely amplifying the curriculum rather than

introducing new subjects. The two schools which made definite additional curricular provision were Blackburn and Penwortham. At Blackburn, under the terms of the foundation deed of 1514, the requirement was for 'on regule sufficiently learned in Gramer and Playn Song if such can be gotten that shall kepe contenally a Free Grammar School and maynten and keep the sou syde of the quere'. If a regular priest with such qualifications could not be obtained, then a secular priest 'that is expte and can synge both Prickesonge and Playlonge and hath a syght in Discont shall teche a Free Songe School'.[7] The Chantry Priest was, thus, to keep either a grammar and song school or a song school. It was evidently the Earl of Derby's wish that preference should be given to setting up a joint school but appreciating the problem of attracting a sufficiently learned priest, then, a school, training boys to carry out church duties, would be a second best alternative. The 1514 foundation deed was superseded on the re-founding of the school in 1567 by royal charter, which made no direct reference to the curriculum of the school, apart from describing it as 'the free grammar school of Queen Elizabeth'. However, the Statutes for 1597 have survived. After discussing suitable authors to be studied in the classics, they go on to state 'The principles of arithmetick, geometrie and cosmographe with some Introducktion into the Sphere are p'fittable'. The extent to which these aspects of the curriculum were, in fact, developed is not known.[8]

At Penwortham, the master was required to teach both the basics and Latin. In an indenture of feoffment, the feoffees were required to apply the rents and profits of the endowment for 'a meet and able person being sufficiently learned in the science of grammar to keep a grammar school, who should teach as well all young children coming to him to be taught in the 'Absay, catechism, primer, accidence, pervely', as all other scholars which should be disposed to be taught in grammar'. Here, the need to provide an education, preliminary to the classics was acknowledged.[9] There is some doubt as to the foundation curriculum of Middleton. The school historians pointed out that neither of the two original chantry certificates, dated 1440 and 1444, actually referred to any school but the reports of the Chantry Commissioners of Henry VIII and Edward VI stated that the priest taught Latin Grammar and singing 'at the altar of St.Cuthbert'. According to the certificate of Henry VIII, as transcribed by Leach, there is no reference to singing ' the same prist...doth.... teache gramer accordinge to thentent of the saide foundacion', while the Commissioners of Edward VI noted that the foundation of Thomas Langley was 'also to kepe a Gramer Schole for pore children'. In this context, it is of interest that the Henrician Commissioners did comment on the teaching of grammar and 'plane songe ' at Blackburn. [10]

As has been stated earlier, although other schools made no legal provision for children to be taught to read and write, a number did make such provision. Rivington, Blackburn and Manchester catered

for such pupils. At Rivington, the introductory paragraph of Chapter IX of the school statutes read as follows

'First it is to be wished that none be admitted to the School but that can read; yet in great need the Usher shall teach such to read and learn the Short Cathechism in English as have not learned it: and the other that can read and say it shall enter first to the learning of English Grammar and Rules commonly called the King's Grammar; and in learning to read much time is not to be spent for the continual exercise of learning to read other things shall make it perfect'.[11]

The pupils were thus to be taught to read first of all and then they learned English grammar alongside the Latin equivalents.

At Blackburn, under the terms of the Statutes of 1597, it was the role of the grammarians to teach the petties.[12] The High Master of Manchester Grammar School was required to appoint one of the scholars 'to instruct and teach in the one end of the school all infants that shall come there to learn their ABC,primer and so forth till they begin grammar'.[13] In what may have been general practice in Lancashire, but for which any other evidence is lacking until the following century,at Blackburn, subjects additional to the Classics were to be taught outside school time. The Statutes stated that

'Upon dayes and tymes excepted from teachinge, the schollars may be caused by the Schoole Mr and the usher to larne to write, cypher, cast accounts, singe or such licke and allsoe upon holidayes and other convenient tymes'[14]

In the course of the seventeenth century, the number of schools with provision for subjects other than the Classics began to

increase. James Assheton, by deed of 1606, provided for the teaching of English, Latin and Greek 'and in good manners withall' at Oldham.[15] At Kirkby Ireleth, the curriculum prescribed was 'grammar ......' and 'for the education and bringing up of children in learning fit to be apprentices'.[16] The master at Kirkham was 'to be a person sufficiently learned in the science of grammar, meet and able to keep a grammar school, and who should be of the Protestant religion and should teach and instruct as well all such young children coming to him to be taught in the ABC, primer and accidence, as all other scholars disposed to be taught in grammar and such other Latin and other authors as formerly had been taught in the school'. Kirkham school was unique in Lancashire at this time in that there were three masters. Under the Statutes of about 1675, the task of the the third master was 'to enter the lower scholars into the Latin grammar or at least the teach the accidence and also to teach a number of pupils whose parents could not afford to pay the fees, writing and arithmetic'. If, however, his writing was not up to standard 'then the better writers of the upper masters or each in his term should assist him by writing copies for him'.[17]

The master of Halton School, under the terms of Burton's will (1697), was required to 'teach and instruct such youth in Literature, Rudiments of Grammar and School Learning'[18] John Hadwen, the curate, in his reply to the Bishop dated February 1727 stated

'By rudiments of grammar, I think with all due submission we can understand nothing else but the Parts and accidents of Speech and the common rules of grammar. School learning and Literature are of an higher significance and words of the same importance when applied to schoolboys, the one of them signifies as much as both together and both of of them no more than the one would have done and they signify such improvements as are made from the rudiments of grammar in the Classics and school exercise. The will does not speak here loosely and of a school in general but plainly excludes the ABC and a spelling school in specifying it by those distinguishing forms to be a grammar school'

Yet, Hadwen had previously taught a basic education, as witnesses stated 'they (the children) learned little more than their alphabets' as Hadwen, had, himself, admitted earlier in the letter quoted.[19] Thus, schools, which were not required legally to teach basic subjects were sometimes compelled to do so by force of circumstances.

Although Hadwen had felt himself to be in the right in insisting upon a strictly classical curriculum, another master found that he did not receive any support when he took up a similar stance. In 1651, John Stevens, at Crosby, upon his appointment, found the school very run down and in order to raise its status, he had proposed excluding girls and all those pupils unable to read. When he had suggested to the 'natives' that he would abide by the Founder's Rules and the Company's Orders, they had replied that 'they would pull up the school stairs which they say stand upon their ground and suffer me neither to have ingress egress or regress to the house but would pluck me out by my ears'. He went on 'I for my part will not continue more, the stipend double what it

is to teach an Absee'. The Company replied that they were not willing to support Stevens but urged him, until the status of the school could be improved, to allow English to be taught. Stevens' reply was to pack his bags and settle in Ireland.[20]

The master at Overwyersdale was expected to be especially versatile in that he was to be a graduate, not under 23 years of age, skilful in Latin and Greek, of sound religion, write a fair hand and skilful in arithmetic.[21] At Goosnargh, the master was required to teach 'in the rudiments of grammar and in such other arts, sciences and learning as were usually taught therein'.[22]

Other schools including Ormskirk, Bispham, Clifton, Upholland, Bury, Colne and Standish were founded as grammar schools but without any further references to their curriculum.

During the eighteenth century, a number of schools were founded as grammar schools. In the re-founded grammar school at Bury, the Rev. Roger Kay combined the characteristics of the 'grammar' and 'charity' school in that the upper master was to be skilled in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, while the usher was to teach the pupils in the lower forms writing and arithmetic in order to qualify them for a trade.[23]

Finisthwaite, Kirkland, Broughton, Bleasdale and Townbank, despite their inadequate endowments, were founded primarily as grammar schools but, in practice, all seem to have regarded Latin as subsidiary to the Three Rs.

A larger group of eighteenth century foundations also stipulated Latin in their curriculum but, more realistically than those schools previously mentioned, saw it as a subject that would be taken by a minority of pupils, if at all. In these cases, there is no doubt that the basis of their curriculum was a combination of English, reading, writing, arithmetic and religion. Schools in this category were Dixon's Green, Clayton, Hoghton (where Greek was also included), Marton, Lea, Warmpton, Lydate, Lowick, Burtonwood, Newchurch-in-Rossendale, Aspull, Lea and Lowton.

At Dixon's Green, under the terms of Indenture of Lease and Release, James Roscoe had donated the land and a building for a school, in which the children of the poor and other inhabitants 'might be taught to read and understand the English or Latin tongues or either of them'.[24] According to the Articles of Agreement at Lowick (dated 1757), the master was to 'instruct and teach the children of the landowners and inhabitants of the said chapelry at the said schoolhouse in Lowick aforesaid in English and in Lattin and writing and arithmetic'.[25]

Another aspect which tended to amend the curriculum of existing schools was the augmentation grant. James Butler left the interest on £40 in 1788 to the master of Kirkland Grammar School to educate not more than eight poor boys and girls.[26] In 1793 Mr. Lucas left £5 a year for the school at Newburgh. Under the terms of his will, twelve poor scholars were to be taught Church of England catechism, reading, writing and arithmetic. In the latter case, the pupils

were to learn adding, subtraction, money, coins, weights and measures.[27] At Prescot, both William Lorton and Mr. Wyke had left legacies for poor scholars to be instructed in the 3Rs in the grammar school, with the latter stressing 'maths and particularly mechanics'.[28] Jonathon Lucas, who had left a bequest for Newburgh, also provided a donation towards Burtonwood school. Under the terms of his endowment, the master had to be qualified to teach Latin and Greek, it 'being a grammar school' but he left his bequest for eight poor children to be taught reading, writing, accounts and religion.[29]

**(iv) Details of Grammar School Curriculum in the Sixteenth Century**

Ironically, in a number of cases, more is known about the curriculum of the grammar schools in the sixteenth, as compared with the eighteenth, century. This is due to the survival of detailed statutes for the schools at Rivington, Blackburn, Warrington, Manchester and Hawkshead. It is, however, the statutes for the first two schools named which provide most detail about the curriculum.

At Rivington, as previously stated, it was expected that all scholars would be able to read on entry to the school but provision was made to teach reading. When the pupils could read, they would, then, go on to learn the rules of English grammar. As the scholar

was learning to decline a noun and conjugate a verb, the usher was required daily to 'exercise him with diversity of words in every comparison, declension, gender, tense and conjugation, teaching him the English of every such Latin word'. To make the vocabulary more relevant, they were to begin with 'every part of a man and his apparel', 'the house and all the household stuff as in bedding, kitchen, buttery, meats, beasts, herbs, flowers, birds, fishes, with all parts of them; virtues, vices, merchandise and all occupations as weavers, tanners, carpenters, ploughers, wheelwrights, tailors, tilers and shoemakers'. Each word was to be written alongside its English equivalent. By constant repetition of the list, the pupils would remember their vocabulary. There were also to be competitions to see who was the best. After the pupils had learned the Latin words, practised the rules and declined different categories of words, they were then to go on to 'learn some short wise sentences out of Ludovico Vives or Cato' and be able to explain the gender, number, person, case, tense, and conjugation of each word. To help the pupils' memories and to see how hard the pupils were working, all this had to be written up in a note book.

Once the pupil was well exercised and knew his rules, he began to read the Dialogi Sacri Castalionis, Apothegmata Erasmi or 'some witty dialogue in Colloquia Erasmi or Petraches Dialogi'. It was hoped that understanding would arise with daily reading of the authors. Perfection, it was realised, would not develop at this

stage but the pupils would be beginning to appreciate the language and style of the best of the best Latin authors. To develop further the skills of the pupils, the usher was required to take English sentences and turn them into Latin, with the pupils repeating them and then doing a similar exercise. So that pupils were aware of what was expected of them, these sections of the Statutes were to be read openly in the school twice a year.

The pupils, now presumably under the master, could move onto the Adelphi of Terence, or the Selectae Epistolae Ciceronis as well as such verses as Psalmi Buchannini, Epistolae Ovidii and Ode Horatii, where the stress was to be on content and metre. To help the pupils write their own Latin verse, examples could be utilised from Erasmi Copiae Verborum et Rerum, et de conscribendis Epistolis provided that 'they be not so much tarried in as laid before them like a pattern to learn by and follow'.

It was now felt that the pupils were ready to take up Greek. They were to learn a variety of declensions of nouns and be able to conjugate verbs, as they had done in relation to Latin grammar. They were then to have read to them Tabula Cebetis, Oration of Isocrates and then Euripides. In addition, every week, they were required to write epistles or verses 'which they may more easily do if they use often to turn their Lectures into English and then into Latin again by other words to the same meaning, sometimes in verse and sometimes in prose: and after  turning Greek into Latin and Latin into Greek and changing one kind of verse into another and

verse into prose and prose into verse observing the property of the phrase, the purest Latin words and making the sentences full'. While the scholars were learning Greek for part of the day, the other part of the day was taken up with Cicero de Senectute et Amicitia, Tully's Offices and Tusculan's Questions. The master was now 'more diligently than ever before' to teach his pupils to observe the style of the author and especially 'how the Epitheta and adjectives be joined with their nouns after the manner of Textor's Epitheta and Officina'.

'That these long painful exercies may have some better show of learning', the pupils were now obliged to learn the rules of Rhetoric, based upon Tully's Ad Herennium and understand the parts of an Oration. In order to equip pupils with enough subject matter, they were required to note examples from other authors. The aim was to enable them to 'declaim probably on any question proposed after the example of Aphthonius, Quintilian or Seneca'.

On Saturdays and the eves of holidays, the usher was to teach his class the Short Catechism in English and also the Common Book. At the same time, the master was to read either Nowell's or Calvin's catechism in Latin and 'declaring it in English according to the doctrines taught in Calvin's Institutions'. The pupils were to learn the catechism off by heart and were to be examined on it at the start of the next day of schooling.[30]

To reinforce the curriculum, the pupils were required to speak Latin daily. The older pupils were also exercised by the master in 'devising and writing sundry epistles to sundry men of sundry matters'. The letters were to chide, exhort, comfort, counsel, pray and lament. The 'sundry men' included friends, foes and strangers. Included in the 'sundry matters' were weighty matters, merry matters such as shooting and hunting, matters of adversity, prosperity, war, peace, divinity and profaness, sciences and occupations. Some of the letters were to be long and others short.[31]

A very detailed picture has emerged of the curriculum of an Elizabethan Grammar School. The questions, which now arise but which remain unanswered due to the lack of detailed evidence, relate to the extent to which this curriculum was followed in practice, and for how long this remained the curriculum pattern for the school.

Much less general detail is provided by the Statutes for Blackburn Grammar School but the recommended texts are noted. The introductory books for Latin 'may bee' the grammar (presumably Lily's), Cato de Moribus; supitiis verulamis de moribus in mensa and Escopes Fables. Terence, Ovid, Vergil, Horace, Juvenal and Persius were the poets to be read. The histories recommended were Salust, Caesar's Commentaries and Tullius Livius' Decades. To study Cicero, the pupils were required to read his 'familiar' Epistles,

Officis, tuscalon questionis together with his Rhetoric and Orations. For letters, Macropidius was the recommended source and Apthonicus (Aphthonius ?) for themes.

For Greek, the books were Cambden's or Cleniades grammar, Basil's Epistles, Isocrates' Orations and the works of Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Pindorus, and Olenthiax, together with the Greek Testament. As is to be expected, there was a degree of overlap between the books mentioned for each school.

If any pupils were either 'willinge or fitt' to learn Hebrew, 'some Hebrew grammar ' or the Psalter was recommended.

As at Rivington, the exercises stipulated were English speaking, Latin variations, double translations, disputations, verses, letters, themes and declamations, both in Greek and Latin.[32]

Themes continued to play an important role in the classical curriculum of the grammar schools into the eighteenth century. A number of Latin speeches have survived for Standish Grammar School over the period 1775-7. Among the themes were 'Timeo Donaos dona ferentes': 'Ne Quid nimis': 'Sperne voluptates nocet empta dolore voluptas': 'Dulce est meminisse laborum': 'Doctus indocto multum praestat': 'Pulchritudini corporis anteferenda mentis probutas' and 'Nemo Malus Felix'. It seems that the same theme could be taken up by a number of pupils, since there are two copies of 'Principium Paradisi amissi latine redittum' by pupils named Heaton and Glover. However, their content did vary. Among this sample are rough copies, corrected versions and the finished speeches.[33]

Evidence for the books in use at Burnley Grammar School between 1596 and 1610 comes from the Steward's Household Accounts for Gawthorpe Hall. At this time, the three sons of the Rev. Lawrence Shuttleworth, Richard, Nicholas and Ughtred, were at the school. In 1596, two copies of Aesop's Fables (12d) and Pueriles Sententiae Corderii(5d) and a Latin Grammar were bought. A Terence was obtained for Richard in the next year for 10d. Two Epistles (5d) and Ovid's Metamorphosis(9d) were purchased in 1598.There is no other entry until 1605 when an Accidence 'for the boy Shuttleworth' was bought for 4d and the final entry in 1610 noted a primer.[34] At Warrington, a deed of 1526 laid down that a grammar of 'Wittington' should be used to teach scholars at the school.[35] The curriculum of Manchester Grammar School was based upon that of Banbury Grammar School in Oxfordshire, where the main text was the 'Stainbridge Grammar'. However, mindful of the fact that progress could take place, the statutes went on 'or after such school use manner as in time shall come to be ordained universally throughout all the province of Canterbury'.[36]

According to the Statutes of Hawkshead Grammar School (1 April 1588),the master was to have a good understanding of the Latin and Greek tongues and was required to 'teach all such good authors which do contain honest percepts of virtue and good literature for the better education of Youth'. Thus, a broad general education was laid down but without the details of the appropriate texts and approaches to be used.[37]

Reference to the books authorised by the Merchant Taylors'Company for the school at Great Crosby in 1630 provides a further interesting insight into what were considered suitable texts. These were four dictionaries,those of Ambrosio Calepino, the Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae of Thomas Cooper, published in 1565: the Thesaurus Ciceronianus of Nizolius, which lists all Cicero's vocabulary and expressions and was used as a basis for proses and orations and that of Rider. The texts chosen were those of Pliny, Seneca, Livy and Valerius Maximus. Lycosthenes' Apophthegmata and his Similitudines were a collection of quotes warning about the dangers of vice and extolling the advantages of good and would be used as a basis for Latin composition. Textor's Epitheta contained over forty thousand quotations on subjects that could be utilised in verse or prose compositions.[36]

(v) Greek in the Grammar School Curriculum

It is unlikely that Greek played a major role in the grammar schools and it has even been suggested that it was paid 'no more than lip service'.[39] This was due to the fact that Latin was the universal language and it was only taken up by the older pupils once Latin had been mastered. Although Colet had prescribed that the master at St. Paul's School should 'be learned in Greek', he had qualified this by adding 'if such may be got'. Despite the statutes of St. Paul's School becoming a generally accepted model, Greek only began to be identified in schools after about 1560, when, presumably, the effects of the Classical Humanist revival had percolated through to the grammar schools and when suitably qualified masters had become available.

Apart from Rivington, Blackburn and Hawkshead where the pupils were required by statute to 'continually use the Latin tongue or Greek tongue', there is no direct evidence for Greek being taught in the grammar schools of Lancashire in the sixteenth century.

In the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, evidence is provided by a number of sources including foundation documents, school statutes, personal accounts, books ordered for schools, the contents of school libraries, Carlisle's survey and the reports of the Charity Commissioners.

In 1606, James Ashheton of Chadderton granted one half acre of land in Oldham for the erection of 'one convenient free school' for 'the teaching of boys in the English, Latin and Greek tongues'.[40]

On the other hand, the significant foundation of John Harrison at Crosby made no mention of Greek, suggesting, perhaps, that this subject was not catered for initially at the school. Greek was, however, taught at Rainford. Adam Martindale had returned to this school at the age of fourteen in about 1637. The new master had 'a great affection for the Greek Tongue' and 'had attained to a marvellous exactness in pronouncing it in the university manner', Before leaving school in 1639, he paid tribute to the master 'who took a great deal of pains with me especially in Homer's Odysseus'.[41]

In the indentures of feoffment at Kirkham, dated 14 January 1658, the reference is to 'Latin and such other authors as formerly had been taught in the school'. However, the orders of about 1675 refer to Scripture readings and catechising in Greek. The upper master 'should not be bound to teach any........but such as should be fit to enter Virgil and to begin with learning Greek'.[42]

At Bretherton, what appear to be sample school orders, drawn up prior to 1660, required the master to be competent in Greek with Horace as the recommended text.[43]

In 1663, an entry in the Governors' Minute Book for Bolton School recorded 'to Mr. Marsden for a book called Encheiridion phrasieion for the use of the school 1s6d'. In 1687, 3s 2d was paid for a

Homer and in the school library list for 1735 were a number of Greek texts. Greek continued to be taught up to the nineteenth century. In about 1814, William Allen, the headmaster, introduced prizes worth £10 to be given to the boys who recited in English, Latin and Greek. In one year, seven boys recited in Greek.[44]

The statutes of Wigan Grammar School, drawn up in 1664 and remaining in force upto 1869, called for a master 'well skilled .....in the original languages'. Unusually, the usher was to be competent in Greek. Books recommended were the Greek Grammar and Testament, Isocrates' Ad Demonicum and Xenophon's Cyrus, together 'with such other authors as are usually taught in the best schools'.[45]

Evidence for Greek being taught at Ormskirk Grammar School is provided by an entry in the Governors' Minute Book in November 1676 when fees of 3s a quarter were imposed upon those learning Greek. In May 1678, the fees were ordered to be continued for a further year.[46]

Evidence for Greek being taught during the eighteenth century is based upon three sources, namely, school foundation documents, statutes and the 1778 Returns. Three schools, Hoghton, Bury and Warmpton made reference to Greek in their foundation deeds, together with the augmentation for Burtonwood under the terms of the will of Jonathon Lucas (1793). In these schools, the masters were required to teach Greek, in addition to English and Latin. Another reference to Greek occurs in the Statutes of Blackrod,

27 December 1737. Ten days before Christmas, the official breaking up date,' the Master shall cause those boys which shall be able to entertain the feoffees and such other Gentlemen as shall be pleased to repair to the school with Orations and Declamations Greek and Latin...'. Henry Sutcliffe, appointed to the school in 1800, was required to sign an agreement to 'teach Latin and Greek tongues'.[47] Further evidence for the teaching of Greek in the grammar schools of Lancashire is provided by the 1778 Returns. Unlike the Notitia Cestriensis which referred only infrequently to the subjects of the curriculum, the 1778 Returns mentioned often the subjects taught in the schools. Specific mention is made of Greek at Blackrod, Liverpool, Farnworth where Mr. Hooton 'speaks the Languages with propriety', Upholland, Clitheroe, Newchurch-in-Rossendale, Heskin, Penwortham, Standish, Chipping, Baines' foundations at Poulton, Marton and Thornton, Broughton, Wray, Bolton-le-Sands, Warton and Overkellett. In addition, a number of schools described only as 'free grammar schools' undoubtedly taught Greek, as these included such schools as Bolton, Rivington, Blackrod, Bury, Manchester, Middleton, Rochdale, Huyton, Wigan, Warrington, Hindley, Blackburn, Whalley and Leyland.[48]

Carlisle's survey provides further information with regard to the teaching of Greek. In reply to the question 'Which are the Latin

and Greek Grammars in use ?', twelve of the twenty-two schools in the sample gave an answer relating to the Greek texts that they employed. The most popular was the 'Eton Grammar' used in eight schools. Three used the 'Westminster Grammar', while Rivington used the grammar 'improved by Ward'.[49]

From the Charity Commissioners' survey, there is specific mention of Greek at only Manchester, Urswick and Wigan, although the latter two schools had only one and two scholars respectively. There is also evidence that Greek was taught at Newburgh for a period after 1804.[50]

At Blackburn, Bolton, Bolton-le-Sands, Hawkshead, Warrington, Ulverston and Ashton-in-Makerfield, the relatively large number of classical scholars mentioned suggests the presence of Greek. This is especially so where the Commisssioners used the term 'Classics'. Where Latin, only, was taught this tended to be indicated.

Evidence from the witnesses, who appeared before the Charity Commissioners, sheds further light on this aspect of the curriculum. At Blackrod, the Rev. William Sutcliffe stated 'I teach the English Grammmar and Latin Grammar and the Latin and Greek Classics'.[51] The master of Rivington Grammar School provided information related not only to Greek but also to the classical education of girls. He had about ten girls in his department and he also pointed out that boys were seldom admitted before the age of twelve 'but the girls somewhat earlier'. Although the girls seldom remained in the school after the age of fourteen, 'I have had some

who have attained considerable efficiency in the classics ........... I have had some read... the Greek Testament'. Although he had 'at present 2 or 3 learning Latin', there were none learning Greek.[52]

At Cartmel, although Greek was taught free of charge, the master, Wiliam Taylor, appointed in 1790, pointed out that he had only three Greek scholars since 'There are not many who wish to learn Greek'. However, one of the free scholars was learning Greek, which tended along with Latin, to be studied mainly by ex-parishioners rather than the local boys.[53]

A handbill dating from about 1820 advertised Greek on the curriculum of Bury School. In a letter to the Charity Commissioners, dated 6 August 1827, the headmaster, the Rev. Bentflower stated 'In the upper school, the boys regularly read the Greek Testament.'[54]

Fifteen boys in two classes were studying Greek at Hawkshead, while six Greek scholars were to be found at Ormskirk.[55] At Warrington, the 'Electa Minosa in Greek which latter is, at present the most read book in the school' indicates the level of teaching. At the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit, there were three boys reading this book.[56] As mentioned earlier, there were two Greek scholars at Wigan, where the master mentioned that 'I have occasionally had scholars who have advanced as far as Euripides'.[57]

### (vi) Hebrew in the Grammar Schools

The role of Hebrew was very limited in the grammar schools of Lancashire, where there is only incidental evidence of its presence on the curriculum. At Blackburn, the 1597 Statutes refer to Hebrew 'if any be willing and fit thereunto'. There is also a slight possibility that Hebrew was taught at Leigh, under the mastership of Ralph Pilling (1699-1726) who had in his possession a Hebrew Grammar. He was not, however, a graduate and had presumably learnt Hebrew at Manchester Grammar School, where he had been a pupil in 1698.[58] The only other reference appears to be in Kay's regulations for Bury that the master should be skilled in Hebrew. In an advertisement which appeared in 'The Courier' on 2 April 1818 for the mastership of the school, after stating the statutes of the founder, a footnote added 'The part of the above quotation from the Statutes of the Founder, requiring that the Master be well skilled in the Hebrew tongue will be dispensed with'.[59] There is no evidence that Hebrew had ever, in fact, been taught in the school.

## (vii) The Curriculum at the time of the Charity Commissioners' Inquiries

The evidence from the Charity Commisioners' enquiries enables the situation with regard to the curriculum of the grammar schools in the 1820s to be analysed. Two points stand out in particular. The first relates to the inter-school differences in the curriculum provided and the second is the intra-school differentiation of roles between the master and usher. Leaving out the six schools that were closed, due to a number of factors, four major categories can be distinguished on the basis of their curriculum. These were i) Classsical schools; ii) schools teaching the classics, together with a combination of reading, writing, accounts, mathematics, arithmetic, 'commercial education', English grammar, History, Geography, Modern Languages, book-keeping, geometry and navigation; iii) schools teaching the 3Rs, with a limited number of pupils learning Latin and iv) schools teaching only the 3Rs.

Within the schools, there was frequently a division of labour with the master teaching the classics and the usher the 3Rs. This was the situation at Bolton, Rivington, Preston, Warrington, Wigan, Blackrod and Bury. Including 'departments' within schools, the totals in the four categories were five, twenty-six, twenty-one and twenty-five respectively. The most striking feature was the extent to which the curriculum of the schools had developed as compared

with their foundation curriculum, although, as has been previously pointed out, in many cases, the original curriculum was wider in practice.

An interesting aspect is the extent to which Latin had disappeared from the curriculum of twenty of the schools.[60] These included a number of' traditional' grammar schools, for example Crosby and Prescot, although the majority were the inadequately endowed late seventeenth and eighteenth century foundations. The general reasons for the decline were summed up by the Visiors from the Merchant Taylors' Company, who came to Crosby to investigate their school in 1822. A paragraph in their report stated

The course of education pursued in the said school is that of teaching and instructing the children in the said school in the lower branches of learning such as spelling, reading, writing and accounts. That in some few instances Latin grammar is taught, but in general the children resorting to the said school are of a class to whom such a branch of education would be useless and who do not have time for classical study.[61]

In a number of examples, it was not only the lack of local demand for a classical education but the problem of attracting a sufficiently well qualified schoolmaster, due to the smallness of the endowment, that was the problem. At Goosnargh, neither of the masters was competent to teach Latin. The situation was similar at Clifton-with-Salwick, Tarleton, and Burtonwood. At Upholland, six or seven pupils were being instructed in the rudiments of Latin, although 'the master was represented as incapable of giving classical instruction.[62] By way of contrast, at Broughton and

Prescot, the masters were qualified to teach Latin but they had no pupils.

Apparently, the only school to maintain a fully classical curriculum was Blackburn. In 1791, an order had been made by the school governors that all scholars learning Latin were to be taught by the master, thus leaving the usher free to concentrate on the basic subjects. In 1819, however, the post of usher had been abolished and with it the elementary side of the school's curriculum.[63]

In four other schools, as previously noted, the classical department, under the master functioned as a separate school. In those schools where Latin continued to be the dominant subject, the other curricular areas were English grammar, reading, writing and accounts and all the schools, with the exception of Stand (Classics and English only) catered for these. Mathematics was specified at Bury, Manchester, Widnes, Lydyate, Burnley and Dalton-in-Furness. History was taught at Rivington and Lancaster and geography at Rivington, Lancaster, Wigan, Bolton and Cartmel. Two schools, Chorley and Middleton were providing a commercial education to meet the local need. The widest official curriculum was provided at Bolton with classics, grammar, writing, accounts, geography, navigation, maths, modern languages, and 'such literature and education as the governors think proper'.[64] At Lancaster, the master taught the classics, English, history and geography, while

the writing school master taught the 3Rs, book-keeping, geometry, navigation and 'common mensuration of Superficies'. Under the new scheme of 1812 for Wigan, provision was made for grammar and the classics, modern languages, writing, arithmetic, geography, maths. with 'such other branches of literature as should from time to time in their judgement ( the Trustees) be proper and necessary'.[65]

**(viii) The Changing Curriculum**

Curriculum change could be, and indeed was, brought about in a number of ways. The most obvious change was that which resulted from the perception of changing educational needs by those who founded the schools. This was exemplified in the emphasis which moved gradually from Latin as, in some cases, the sole subject on the curriculum, to one which included English, writing and accounts as well. This change took place over a considerable period of time and as a consequence, was a very slow process.

Change could also be initiated by the school's trustees through the statutes or rules. In some cases, these merely reinforced the foundation deeds, in others they were instrumental in bringing about change, which in turn, could either be innovatory or be a reversal to the status quo. Thus, the 1623 Articles for Parents and Friends which limited entrance to the school at Crosby to boys only; the 1791 regulation at Blackburn which restricted the

teaching of Latin to the upper master and the 1798 regulations at Ormskirk laying down entry criteria for the school had curricular implications. Such changes did, however, rely on the goodwill and co-operation of the masters. If these changes were felt to be of doubtful legality, and if he was of sufficiently strong character to resist the trustees, then all efforts at change could be blocked. Trustees could also be instrumental in bringing about change by allowing into the school, teachers of, for instance, mathematics, writing or singing. In some cases, these were paid for from school income, in others from pupils' fees.

Change, even of doubtful legality, could be brought about when the trustees, masters and the local people were in agreement. However, such a situation could lead to problems if one of the parties to the agreement changed its mind. Such an example occurred at Halton in the 1720s, when Hadwen ran a 'petty' school for a time before making his decision to stand by the will of the founder and insisting upon teaching only a 'grammar' school. A similar situation appears to have arisen in the 1780s at Winwick, before the school reverted to a 'traditional grammar' school.

When changes took place at a school with local trustees, the general assumption is, unless there is evidence to the contrary, that it took place with at least the tacit assent of the concerned parties. Masters in schools with official Visiters were in a more exposed situation with regard to initiating change. Examples of such Visiters were the Master or Wardens of Livery Companies, or

the Master and/or Fellows of an Oxford or Cambridge College. Under these circumstances, the grammar school master seeking to bring about change had to be very sure of his position, since the Visiters tended to adopt a highly legalistic approach. Additionally, they were usually oblivious of, or immune to, local circumstances. In 1811, for example, the Rev. Matthew Chester sought support from the Merchant Taylors' Company regarding his right to charge fees for all subjects not specified in the founder's will. In this case, the Company supported him, with deleterious results for the school.[66]

Curricular provision could also be widened through an Act of Parliament. Two schools, Bolton and Wigan, went through the complicated and expensive process of obtaining private Acts of Parliament, although, in both cases the curricular considerations were of secondary importance. At Bolton, property deeds had to be renewed on every appointment of new trustees and it was to overcome this awkward and time-consuming activity that the Act was passed in 1788 at a cost of £280. Despite the wide curriculum advocated, a problem arose in that such a programme demanded the imposition of fees to pay for the masters required. Under the terms of the Act of Parliament, however, the school was to remain free.[67] In 1791, the newly appointed master, John Lemprière advertised

'Young gentlemen are boarded and educated on a new, liberal and extensive plan. The Classics are read with attention and grammatical accuracy and their beauties pointed out with occasional dissertations. Due regard is paid to English Literature......The scholars are led to express themselves with clearness and to

acquire a ready and correct elocution. History, antient as well as modern, forms likewise a proportion of the exercises, and Geography is peculiarly attended to, as well as the elements of Euclid. As young gentlemen are not only prepared here for the University and for the learned professions, but also for trade and business, experienced masters in writing and arithmetic are engaged. French likewise becomes an object of daily and particular attention.'[68]

Such a curriculum was never developed and Lemprière resigned in December 1792, after flogging a pupil and not receiving full support from the governors.

Wigan Grammar School obtained its Act of Parliament 'It being afterwards presumed that the Foundation would be much improved and become of general benefit if certain persons were incorporated as governors'. Under the terms of the Act, which received the royal assent on 9 June 1812, the pupils were to be instructed 'not only in Grammar and Classical learning but also in Modern Languages, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography and Mathematics and in such and so many other branches of Literature and Education as shall from time to time in the judgment of the Governors be proper and necessary to render their Foundation of the most general use and benefit', with the proviso as long as 'the state of the Revenues of the School will admit'.[69]

**(ix) Non-classical Subjects in the Grammar School Curriculum**

In addition to the classical subjects taught in the grammar schools, non-classical subjects, as already indicated began to

develop. From the available evidence, it seems that writing masters began to be employed in the seventeenth century, either for short periods or at specific times during the week. At Rivington, the first reference was in 1638, when a scrivener was employed for 8s, presumably in the hour set aside by the Statutes ' to learn to fashion their letters in until they can do it something seemly'.[70] The Statutes did allow the writing master to be financed from surplus funds. More frequent references occur after 1660, and by 1678, it appears that the writing master was regularly employed. This cost was very small, varying from 3s to 14s per annum.[71] In 1733, a regular writing master, John Hampson, was appointed, whose fee for two months employment increased gradually from £2 to £4.16s. His successor, from 1746, was John Sergeant, whose salary was raised to £5.17s. At the end of the century, Mr. Gerard was added as a permanent master at a salary of £27.15s.[72]

The earliest reference to writing at Crosby dates from the 1620s. It seems that a number of pupils who could not read or write efficiently were taken into the school and handed over to the usher, Thomas Carter. On his appointment, Carter had been told his duties which included him having 'the whole charge and care of instructing the pupils to write and to receive the profits thereof'. The parents were, however, hostile to the masters and there were great problems in getting payment off them. In 1623, Carter wrote to the Merchant Taylors' Company telling them that he needed more authority than 'statutes upon vellum' in order to

'demand some recompense from the parents or friends of such children as desire to be taught the art of writing'.[73] The Company instructed its clerk to write to the townspeople stating that Carter was within his rights in demanding such payments and that in future, he would refuse to teach children whose parents would not pay. There is no indication as to whether this letter had any effect, but in light of later developments, it is highly unlikely. Some fifty years later, Rev. John Waring (1677-1711) was appointed headmaster at Crosby. One of the conditions of his appointment was that he 'should teach the scholars to read English and learn them to write'. It is possible that he employed a 'Scribener', John Jackson, who lived in Crosby and taught a writing school in the chapel. [74] By 1778, the master, the Rev. William Troutbeck, was teaching writing for, in the 1778 Returns, he noted 'I now teach them English Writing and Accounts free'.[75]

A writing master was also employed at Clitheroe Grammar School in 1699.[76]

References to the teaching of writing are also to be found in documents relating to subscriptions and licences. In 1726, William Johnson of Lancaster showed his licence to 'teach and instruct children in the art of grammar, writing, arithmetick and other lawfull and honest learning'. At Hawkshead, William Broxham was licensed to teach grammar, writing and arithmetic.[77] In 1751 Matthew Sedgwick was licensed at Clitheroe to teach 'The Art of Grammar, Writing, Arithmetick'.[78] What this evidence does suggest

is that the role of the writing master, which was originally extra to the school curriculum, was gradually taken over by the master of the grammar school, or, as more probably happened in the majority of cases, by the usher, rather than being taught by a specialist writing master.

It must be noted that a number of writing masters also taught other subjects. One of these was Joseph Hodgkinson, who was master of Leigh School, dying in 1791. He had left home at the age of eighteen and had

> 'not much school education but was enthusiastically fond of learning and lost no opportunity of improving himself. By perseverance and unremitting application he had become an excellent English Grammarian : he was well read in History and Geography, wrote a good hand, his temper was mild, his hand clear and his heart sound'.

He became an itinerant writing master, working at Bolton-le-Sands and Standish grammar schools. Later, he became the master of a school at Worsley and was, at the same time, the land surveyor to the Third Earl of Bridgewater. He was, in addition,a fine player of the bassoon and composed a number of psalm tunes and anthems for the chapel choir. When he was appointed to Leigh Grammar School, he brought with him some pupils from his previous schools. This seems to have beeen the only example of a writing master succeeding to the mastership of a grammar school. At the same time, it does raise questions as to the status of the grammar school under his mastership.[79]

Apart from the sixteenth century reference to a song school at Blackburn, the only other school where singing is mentioned is Rivington. The Statutes provided that if 'the Master and Usher be content with twenty pounds or thereabouts between them, the Goverours may bestow part of the residue on the curate, or any other, so that he is able and do teach diligently a writing or a song school'. In 1696, a singing master was employed for five days at a cost of 10s. There were further references to a singing master in 1718, when his fee came to £1:10:4 and in 1751, when John Makinson was paid £2:12:0 'for half a year teaching schollars to sing'.[80]

The other subject that was widely taught by the beginning of the eighteenth century was accounts or, in its highest form, mathematics. References in the seventeenth century are very limited. At Wyersdale school, under the terms of the Constitution of 1683, the master was required to 'teach his schollars to cast accompts'.[81] During the eighteenth century, there were a number of references to arithmetic in relation to the licensing of masters at Kirkham (1737), Clitheroe (1751) and Stalmyn (1755).[82] Generally, accounts or arithmetic were taught by the usher, or sometimes by the writing master.

The school which seems to have developed mathematics to the greatest extent was Manchester. Although it could be surmised that the demand was created by the local and commercial business enterprises, the emphasis seems to have been upon higher, rather

than upon commercial mathematics. According to the school historian, 'arithmeticians and mathematicians had long been employed, with no official relation to the School, to make up the deficiency of the School curriculum'.[83] No sources, however, are given to support this statement. Boys from Manchester Grammar School were prominent in the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos examination after 1747, when candidates were first drawn up in order of merit. In 1759, the First, Third and Fifth Wranglers were ex-Manchester Grammar School. This increased emphasis upon mathematics appears to date from the appointment of the Rev. Charles Lawson, as usher, in 1749. Another effect of the mathematical teaching at the school was the setting up of local mathematical schools by former pupils, including Henry Clarke and Jeremiah Ainsworth in Manchester.[84]

The practice of restricting the teaching of accounts to a limited time within the year, which had previously been set aside for a writing master, continued until the end of the eighteenth century. A memorandum of the Trustees of Bispham School of 27 April 1791 stated 'that Ralph Culshaw shall and may set aside teaching accounts daily in the said School at all times during the space of twelve months from this Date or till Easter next ensuring except, two months within the year which time he shall teach writing and accounts only, saving that he shall hear the reading scholars each one lesson a day during that time'.[85]

References to other subjects on the school curriculum are very limited in the eighteenth century. At Rivington, the accounts for 1716 included £2:3:6 for 'Mapps' and maps were bought and framed in 1741.[85] Geography also seems to have been taught at Whalley, for in 1802, the school received a bill for the repair of 'a pair of 18inch Globes and other instruments'.[87]

In December 1750 an advertisement appeared in the Manchester Magazine announcing that 'At Bury.... in a large and commodious house,.......young lads are boarded.......and compleatly qualified for all manner of business in Greek, Latin, French'. There is an indication that the Governors of Rivington Grammar School wished to introduce French towards the end of the eighteenth century. After the resignation of Samuel Waring in 1788 because of the inhabitants' concern over his youth, the Governors wrote to St. John's College regarding his successor and asked that the new master should teach French, as well as Latin. Presumably, the College was unable to provide such a candidate and there was no further reference to the subject until the 1870s.[88] In 1808, a master was appointed to Bolton to teach French on three days a week.[89] The boys of Manchester Grammar School recited extracts in French for speech day in 1826 but again there is no evidence of the extent to which French was taught.[90]

(x) School Libraries

An indirect indication of the school curriculum can be gained from an examination of the books provided for the various school libraries. At Manchester, books purchased for the Holiday Library between 1725 and 1740 included eight volumes of The Spectator; Don Quixote; Robinson Crusoe; Gulliver's Travels; L'Estrange's Aesops Fables; Phillips, A Compendious Way of Teaching Ancient and Modern Languages; Herrera's History of America in six volumes; Peter Kolben's History of the Cape of Good Hope (translated by Guy Medley); Michael Mattaire's English Grammar; Ward's Algebra; Camden's History of England; Paradise Lost; the three volumes of The Works of Addison; Abelhard to Heloise; three copies of English History by Question and Answer; Bennet's Hebrew Grammar; Geography Anatomised by Patrick Gordon; Fenelon's Telemachus; Boyer's French Grammar; Charles Rollin's Methods of Belles Lettres and Sir Charles Denham's Poems and Travels. As the books were presumably bought for the pupils, it appears that English grammar, poetry and literature; French grammar and literature; history, geography and algebra were taught in addition to the Classics. It is possible, however, that the books were bought for spare-time reading, rather than as an integral part of the school curriculum.[91]

The library of Leigh Grammar School was restricted to Greek, Latin and religious sources. It did, however, include A Treatise on the Scurvey by Edward Maynwarynge; a 1657 copy of A Book of the Names

_of all Parishes, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets and Smallest Places in England_; _The Complete French Master for Ladies and Gentlemen_ by A. Boyer and published in 1744 and _A Complete Dictionary Teaching the Interpretations of the Hardest Words_ by J. Bullockar (1684).[92] This library, which dated, in the main, from the mastership of Ralph Pilling (1699-1724) was seemingly geared directly towards a curriculum dominated by the classics and religion.

About 1710, the Governors of Clitheroe School bought a number of books off the wife of the late usher. These included Busby's _Greek Grammar_; a Greek Psalter; Isocrates' _Orations_; A Hebrew Grammar; _The Whole Duty of Man_ (in Latin) and works by Horace, Juvenal, Virgil and Ovid.[93]

(xi) **Religion**

Although religion usually appeared to be subordinate to the classics, it did pervade the whole life of the school and in, some cases, as the Statutes of Rivington confirm, dominated it, since 'above all things the Master and Usher shall continually move their Scholars to Godliness'.[94] The 'hidden curriculum' was reinforced by the almost universal practice of appointing clergymen as masters. In addition, they were frequently the vicar or curate of the local, or a neighbouring, parish. Frequently, the school was dominated by the physical presence of the church, with it, in earlier times,

often being held there. This practice continued into the late eighteenth century in the more remote parts of North Lancashire.

The influence of the masters often extended over the pupils for seven days a week. Under the terms of the 1623 Statutes of Merchant Taylors' School at Crosby, if any parents refused to have their children catechised by the master or usher, or if they refused to learn their catechism 'if upon three warnings in three weeks they reform not their places to be void'. The pupils would also lose their right to a place at the school if they were withdrawn from prayers, or the singing of psalms at the school 'or especially in the Church at the time of Service or Sermons'. They were, also, required to take to the church on Sundays and holydays one of the following, namely, a Psalm Book, Psalter, Testament and Bible and, in an entry which sheds further light upon the entry level of pupils, those 'as can write do take notes at Sermons and render account to the master upon examination'.[35]

At Bury, the Statutes of Roger Kay demanded 'That the Master, ushers and scholars should constantly frequent the church on Sundays and Holydays and, if it could be, sit together in some convenient place'. Likewise, the master should instruct his scholars, once a week at least, in the principles of religion and should hear them repeat and explain the Church-catechism.[36] Under the terms of the Statutes of 1737 at Blackrod, the master and usher were required to 'command every boy to have the Church Catechism

ready by heart that they may answer the curate when they shall be examined therein'.[97]

The only example of a school where there was apparently no religious instruction was, rather surprisingly at first glance, Rivington. It was reported in 1827 that no catechism was taught, although school did begin with selected prayers from the Liturgy of the Church of England. This was due to the fact that the Governors were dissenters, despite the conditions laid down in the Statutes, and, presumably, the teaching of the Church of England catechism did not accord with their religious beliefs.[98]

Thus, religion continued to play an important role in the grammar schools of Lancashire, although it has been alleged that the eighteenth century was characterised by 'The general Decay of Religion'; 'an open and Professed disregard to religion' and a lowering of religious and moral standards 'to a Degree never before known in any Christian country'[99] Such was the role of religion that one author has seen its decline in the eighteenth century as a major factor in the decline of the grammar schools in that and the following centuries.[100] Religion was, however, merely one of a number of factors exercising an influence over the grammar schools in the period under discussion. Any attempt to explain 'grammar school decline' in terms of 'religious decline' is far too naive, especially as 'decline' in the two areas is not proven. In addition, it could be argued that the interest aroused by the S.P.C.K., the growth of Sunday Schools and the Evangelical movement

towards the end of the eighteenth century are hardly indicative of a religio-social decline.[101]

## (xii) The Role of Religion in Non-classical Schools

Religion was an area of the curriculum that was common to both classical and non-classical endowed schools, although its influence was relatively much greater in the latter category. Two reasons help to account for this. Firstly, the motives of the founders reflected the stress that they themselves placed upon the importance of religion in school, both for its own sake and also in relation to its socialising and moralising roles. These motives were reflected practically in the provisions that the founders made for the schools that they were instrumental in setting up. Secondly, religion pervaded the whole of the curriculum of the non-classical school and, in addition to the direct religious teaching, was also the basis of much of the reading, writing, arithmetic and needlework.

It does seem that the religious emphasis changed over the period up to 1800. In the seventeenth century, the stress was placed very much upon the ability to read the Bible. From 1700 onwards, the emphasis appeared to be increasingly based upon pupils learning the catechism or instructed in the principles of the Church of England. That is not to say that Bible reading was neglected in schools, for

this was subsumed under reading, but that the width of instruction was broadened. The only references to 'reading the Bible' were at Skerton (1757) and Daveyhulme (1800).

Three reasons can be put forward for the increased emphasis upon catechism. The first was that in 1707, in a book sponsored by the S.P.C.K., The Christian Schoolmaster, Dr. James Talbot recommended the Anglican Catechism as a reading book in the Charity Schools. This was, subsequently, adopted as official practice.[102] Secondly, at a more practical level, catechisms adapted for school use, or combined with the alphabet, became increasingly available. One of the earliest of this latter type was The ABC with the short Catechism, published in 1714, 'for such as are of weaker capacity'.[103] On a more theoretical level, Isaac Watt's A Discourse on the Way of Instruction by Catechism and of the Best Method of Composing Them was issued in its third edition in 1736.[104] Thirdly, the catechism, with its stress upon the duties of the individual would serve to reinforce social attitudes towards subordination.

The views of those who endowed schools, in relation to the aims of education, probably determined whether reference was made to 'catechism' or 'Principles of Religion'. If schools were to be seen as fulfilling a social role with the emphasis upon station and duty, then, it is surmised, the emphasis would be upon catechism. On the other hand, if the schools were seen as 'bastions of Protestantism' then the stress would more likely to be placed on teaching the Principles of the Established Religion.

There were references to the teaching of catechism in Lancashire in the schools at Preston (1702), Worsley (1710), Warrington Blue Coat School (1711), Manchester (1723), Stretchford (1723), Hale (1742), Read (1743), Downham and Blackburn Charity School for Girls (1763). At Hale and Downham, the only curriculum stipulated was that church catechism should be taught. Roger Sudell's will, at Preston, stressed the need for the appointed catechist to be 'a sober and religious person' by writing this in large letters.[105]

The 'principles of religion' were referred to at Newton-with-Scales, (1707), Bolton (1714), Bilsborrow (1718), Culceth (1727), Unsworth (1737), Heywood (1737), Billington (1743), Haslingden (1749), High Style (1757) and Standish (1794). A link was provided by the will of John Hatch of Fulwood (1707) in that he stipulated that poor children 'should be taught the Principles of the Christian Religion according to the Catechism of the Church of England.[106] Unlike Staffordshire, where the stress placed upon 'Principles of the Established Religion' was a post- 1730 development, in Lancashire, at least until 1763, statements of both kinds of provision are to be found. It is of interest that the post 1800 developments at Warton (1800), Heysham (1817), Treales Roseacre with Wharless (1815) and Golborne (1826) make reference only to 'Principles of the Church of England'.[107]

In addition to the formal instruction, religion in schools was strengthened in a variety of ways. There are, for example in Northern Lancashire, a number of references to schoolmasters who

were the curates of local or neighbouring parishes. In 1733, the posts of schoolmaster and curate were combined at Blawith, Coulton, Flookburgh, Ramphead, Staveley and Torver.[108] At Blawith, in 1739, the master John Mackerett produced testimonials to support his appointment as deacon and, in the same year, he became a curate.[109] Other places where the post of reader or curate and schoolmaster were combined included Cartmelfell, Aldingham and Broughton. The link was further strengthened by the school being held in the chapel as at Aldingham, Broughton (until about 1760 when a school was built by subscription), Coulton (until about 1745), Rampside, Staveley and Whitworth. Although only about one quarter of the schools referred to religion specifically in the curriculum, there can be no doubt that it was taught in every school, with one exception. At Pemberton, the Charity Commissioners found few scholars due to 'the character of the schoolmaster'. It was alleged that the master 'professes not to believe in the Scriptures or in the fundamental principles of the Christian Religion'.[110]

An interesting example of religious cooperation occurred in the Free School at Rochdale. Of the fifteen trustees, eight were Dissenters and seven members of the Church of England. It had been the practice, since the setting up of the school in 1769 to keep this ratio.[111] Under the rules of 1770, 'Those whose parents, next relations, or friends, are members of the Church of England shall be taught the catechism of the Church of England, or such an one as shall be recommended by the Vicar of Rochdale; those whose

Table 5.3

Curricular Provision in the Non-classical Endowed Schools of Lancashire

| | Read | Read/Write | R/W/A | Read/Religion | Others | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1701-10 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 1 | (9) |
| 1711-20 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | (10) |
| 1721-30 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 0 | (12) |
| 1731-40 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | (11) |
| 1741-50 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | (7) |
| 1751-60 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 3 | (10) |
| 1761-70 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 2 | (9) |
| 1771-80 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | (2) |
| 1781-90 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | (5) |
| 1791-1800 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 2 | (9) |
| | (18) | (14) | (29) | ( 8) | (15) | |

Total Number Schools Identified: 84

(Based on Charity Commissioners' Reports, *passim*).

parents, next relations or friends are Dissenters shall be taught such catechism as is most approved by the parents, next relations or friends of such children'. The duties of the master were 'the improvement of the Morals as well as the understanding of pupils....... He shall one day in every week catechise such of them as are capable of learning the fundamentals of the Christian religion and shall inculcate the necessity of their repairing to some place of public worship every Sunday'.[112]

Thus, within the non-classical schools, religion was not only a central and centralising force within the school curriculum but it also exerted its influence through the 'hidden curriculum'. Devout masters, sometimes in Orders; links with the local church or chapel through insistence upon Sunday attendance and clergymen as visitors all served to reinforce the role of religion in the school.

**(xiii) Curriculum Development in Non-classical Schools**

Developments also took place in relation to other aspects of the curriculum of the non-classical schools in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although, in general, such schools tended to be less well documented as compared to grammar schools, evidence for their curriculum can be obtained from a variety of sources.

The curricular provision for schools endowed in the eighteenth century can be seen from Table 5.3. This is based on the intentions of the founders as indicated by wills, deeds, indentures or other

documents. Although it is indicative of current 'fashions' in education, the Table does suffer from a number of drawbacks. For instance, in a number of cases, it only indicates the provision made for the specific number of pupils catered for by the endowment. Thus, a school, for example, described as catering for eight children being taught to read could well have included writing and arithmetic as fee-paying subjects but this is not indicated. There were, in addition, a number of schools for which the original curriculum is unknown and these have been omitted from the Table.

What the Table does indicate is that the curriculum of these schools was based upon a combination of religion, reading, writing and arithmetic, together with needlework, knitting and sewing for the girls. Other specific subjects mentioned included spelling (Hambledon); Psalmody at Balshaw's School, Leyland; spinning at Blackburn Charity School for Girls; housewifery at Newton-with-Scales and navigation at Liverpool.

Although Latin, as the classification of these schools suggests, is omitted, there are a number of indications of Latin possibly having been taught. At Ribby-with-Wrea, Mr. Willacy. on his appointment from Garstang School in 1728, agreed that he would ' well and carefully teach all the scholars free to the said school as they shall come capable and ready to learn the Accidence and no higher in Latin and Greek'.[113] Willacy was also a deacon and was required to give two sermons every Sunday in summer and one on Sundays in

winter. The Charity Commissioners also made a negative reference to the school in that they reported 'Latin is not taught or required'.[114] It is unlikely that they would have commented had their attention not been drawn to the subject. There was also the provision that pupils could not start at the school until they could say their letters, which was an unusual stipulation for a school of this category. At Newton-with-Scales Charity School, a book of Latin proverbs was among those bought in 1709, at a cost of 19s.[115] There is no other reference to Latin being taught here.

At Chetham's Hospital School, books purchased in 1649 included A Latin book, A Cordelius, A Cato and An Accidence.[116] It has been suggested that the boys received a grounding in the classics in the adjacent grammar school, but there is no evidence to support this assertion.[117] In 1737, it was ordered that 'the Latin Grammar be henceforth set aside and disused and that the Treasurer give notice to the master and that the boys be wholly employed in reading and writing English and in Arithmetic'. [118] This evidence suggests that Latin had been taught in the school but was now seen as being unsuitable for the 'children of honest, industrious and painful parents'.

In a number of cases, there were dual appointments as schoolmaster and curate and, presumably, the potential for instruction in Latin was there. There is also the significance of the term 'grammar school', which was applied to Staveley in a testimonial for Martin Lamb in 1772.[119] Similarly, earlier in the century, Thomas Hudson

was nominated as master of the grammar school at Didsbury.[120] There is also a testimonial for Oswald Lancaster in the grammar school of West Derby in 1775.[121] It is perhaps the case, in these examples, that Latin had been introduced into the school by individual masters.

Unlike Staffordshire, where there was a decline in the course of the eighteenth century in the number of schools making provision for reading only, with an attendant increase in those schools catering for the 3Rs, the pattern for Lancashire is one of basic consistency.[122]

As in the grammar schools, a number of changes in the curriculum took place during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The most common was the introduction of additional subjects.

Writing and accounts or arithmetic were frequently introduced as fee-paying subjects. This happened at Overkellett, Eagley Bridge, Twiss Green and Moss-side. Marsden's School at Bolton provided writing and accounts at reduced rates for those on the foundation, while Westhoughton offered cheap rates for writing.

Free additional subjects were added at Tottington (writing), Billington (writing), Bilborrow (arithmetic), Kirkham Girls School (writing and accounts) Littleborough (arithmetic and mensuration) and Hambleton (writing and accounts).

By the nineteenth century, Worsley school had dropped writing for the poor. The girls' charity school at Blackburn had ceased

spinning as an industrial activity but a singing master was continued to be employed at £4.7.0 a year.

### (xiv) The Education of Girls in Non-classical Schools

Provision for the education of girls in the eighteenth century fell into two main categories. In the first and most numerous group were the schools which catered for the education of both boys and girls. The second category is made up of those schools which catered exclusively for girls.

In the first category were the charity schools at Ormskirk, Liverpool, Manchester (St. Paul's and St. John's), as well as the free schools at, among others, Heywood, Eccles, Flixton, Ardwick, Stretchford, Melling, St.Helen's, Formby, West Derby, Burtonwood, Hollinsfare, Euxton, Broughton and Whittington. [123] At Caton, boys and girls were taught in different parts of the school.[124] Similarly, at Halsall, the Charity Commissioners found that the boys were being taught by the master in the lower schoolroom, while the master's wife taught the girls in the school above.[125]

Schools which catered exclusively for girls were set up in the course of the eighteenth century at Preston, Rochdale, Kirkham, Great Crosby, Blackburn and Ribby-with -Wrea. At Bury, a school for girls was set up in conjunction with the grammar school.[126] In 1819, a separate school for girls was set up at Rochdale, as part

of the Free School, in which the schoolmistress taught twenty free girls, reading, writing accounts and needlework.[127]

The first of the girls' schools to be set up in Lancashire was the charity school at Preston. In 1706, it was pointed out that a school had been set up for boys but 'considering that the number of poor girls is as great or greater than that of the boys and there being no provision made for their education, we whose names are underwritten being very desirous that poor girls should be taught to read, knit and sew etc but above all be taught their duty do hereby promise to give the yearly sums undermentioned towards the orderly and pious education of them'.[128] In 1706, the S.P.C.K. Accounts commented on the 'school agreed to be set up for teaching 16 girls to read, say the catechism, sew, knit....'. In 1708, the school was described in conjunction with the boys' school. The school was set up in a house, built with contributions collected in the parish church, sometime before 1736.[129] At the end of their time in the school, the girls could be apprenticed. For example, in 1783, five guineas was paid to Prudence France for taking in 'an orphan girl at the Blue School'.

Another girls' school was endowed by Dorothea Holte who left £120 to the Vicar and Churchwardens of Rochdale in 1717 to buy land to be used for the teaching of 'six poor girls'. As at Preston, the curriculum was reading, catechism, sewing and knitting. In addition to being clothed, the girls received a Bible, a Common Prayer Book and The Whole Duty of Man when they left.[130]

From the time of the decision to exclude girls from Kirkham Grammar School in 1711, until 1760, the girls were taught by a dame. In 1760, a girls' school was endowed with £200 'for the benefit of instruction for the poor girls of the said town in Reading, Knitting, Sewing and other useful knowledge'[131]

A school modelled upon Kirkham Girls Charity School was set up in Blackburn as a result of the bequest of William Leyland in 1763. The curriculum was reading, knitting, sewing, church catechism, needlework and spinning. At the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit, there were ninety girls in the school being instructed in reading, sewing and knitting.[132]

Other schools for girls were set up at Crosby and in St. Anne's parish in Manchester. At Crosby, the school was founded by the sister of the headmaster of the grammar school, Catharine Halsall. In her will of 1758, she endowed the school with £8 a year. Girls 'whose parents do not rent above £10 a year' were eligible for a free education, with the emphasis on instructing 'them that are Protestants in the Principles of the Christian Religion'.[133] St. Anne's school had been set up by the Rector, Mr. Hoole, in 1744. There were forty girls who were taught to read, sew and qualify as servants'.They also attended work three days in the week.[134]

Another example of a separate school for girls being set up in the eighteenth century was at Ribby-with-Wrea. In 1780, the trustees made a decision to re-open the old school,which had been closed in 1722. They resolved to 'fit the old school for their (i.e. the

younger girls') reception and place a School Dame there to teach and instruct the said girls to read, knit and sew'. The girls 'such as are grown up and fit to learn writing and accounts' were to remain in the boys' school.[135]

Under the terms of the will of Mary Smalley (1794), £1,000 had been bequeathed to the Vicar, Richard Perryn, who had purchased '£1,666 13:4 stock in 3% consols, for the founding and maintaining of a free school in Standish, for the instruction of a succession of twenty poor girls who should belong to Standish, according to the constitutions and rules for the foundation and government of the said school'. The girls were to be between the ages of five and ten and every year, a quarter of the girls were to leave the school on the first Monday in July. It was stipulated that the girls were to be 'brought up in the communion of the Church of England', 'to be of good disposition and, in every respect, proper objects of a charitable foundation'. Likewise, the mistress was to be 'a frequent communicant at the Lord's Table, one of irreproachable morals and of sufficient abilities, skill and experience to teach the children which may be put under her care'. The pupils were to be taught to read well and 'be diligently instructed in the principles, doctrines and duties of the Christian Religion'. The mistress was required to teach them 'all kinds of plain needlework, to mark, to knit and to spin, to cut out and contrive articles of dress in the most economical way; to make and mend their own clothes; and to perform such other useful arts of

Life as may qualify them for domestic servants or to obtain a comfortable livelihood by their own industry'.
Thus, in the course of the eighteenth century, a separate system of schooling was established for the daughters of 'the Poor'. The advantage was the expanded provision but there was also the disadvantage in that girls in such schools appear to have received a more restricted curriculum as compared with schools in which boys were also to be found. Whereas, arithmetic was often taught to girls in mixed schools, in single sex schools such references appear to be entirely lacking.

### (xv) Industrial Occupations

An apect of the curriculum that was to be found only in non-classical schools, and especially in those which made some form of provision for apprenticeships, was that associated with industrial occupations.
In 1722, the Liverpool Blue Coat School Accounts included '£6.10.0 By Teaching to spin and some of the children spinning cotton'.[136]
Henry Newman, the Secretary of the S.P.C.K., wrote to Blundell in 1723 remarking that the Society had been notified of the 'very successful beginning that you had made in employing Charity Children by spinning of cotton'. He went on to request details of

Blundell's progress 'in such a manner that, if you don't object to it, and the Society approve of it, it may be printed and recommended to be practical in other places'.[137] Blundell had apparently been in touch with the S.P.C.K. again in late 1735, for there is, in its files, a rough draft of a letter to Blundell, dated 18 November 1735.

'Sir,
The Society, being informed that the children of your charity school or schools are employed in some useful work without prejudice to their learning to read, write and cast accounts, would be glad to know the nature of the work they are employed in ? How many hours in the day are employed ? Where you get the Materials, that is whether they are bought as a stock for the house or furnished by Tradesman to be bought up ? What may be the annual profits of their labour and to whom it is given ? Whether to the parents or the common stock for cloathing their children and other expenses of the house.[138]

There was a footnote to the effect that the same letter should be sent to the Rev. William Haddon, Rector at Warrington, but it is not known whether the S.P.C.K. had received information regarding industrial occupations there, or whether it was merely making enquiries.

Blundell was writing to the Society again in 1744. Among the other details, aspects of the pupils' work are reported.

'We employ the children half of their time to work turn to turn, that is half at work and the other half at their books. The boys pick oakum, draw and knot yarns, which we make twice laid cordage and the girls spin cotton, knit the Boys and their own stockings and spin the yarn and make all their own linnen as shirts, shifts, bands and caps.'

It was further calculated that the value of the children's labour was nearly £40 a year.[139] The S.P.C.K. was apparently aware that this type of activity could be carried on in schools where the children were on the premises for twenty-four hours a day but

'if there be any...... where the children go home every day to their parents and are employed part of their schooltime in some manufacture or branch of husbandry, besides learning to read, write, accounts, the Society would be glad to know what sort of employment they have.... in order to recommend such example to the imitation of other places'.[140]

The summary of accounts for the Liverpool Blue Coat School published in 1813, however, noted for the period 1709 to 1781 'Unproductively employed in Picking Oakum and Cotton spinning' This does seem to be an inaccurate description of the school's activities. In 1735, for example, cordage and oakum brought in £58:17:7; £77 in 1737 and in 1749 'oakum and twice laid cordage' was sold for £104:8:0.[141]

In 1765, £220 was paid to the proprietors of the stocking factory towards a building for the boys to weave in. Jonathan Blundell, the Treasurer, was a partner in the stocking manufactory and proposed to employ the children in that manufacture. Due to the financial terms offered, the school trustees agreed to this. The arrangement was discontinued in 1771 since it appeared that Messrs Blundell & Co. were 'only consulting their own private lucre and advantage in employing the children' and some subscribers were threatening to

withdraw their subscriptions. In 1778, Messrs. Craven, Rosson & Co. offered to employ 120 children for spinning and preparing cotton for weaving. For this, they paid £312 a year to the trustees. The Company very soon asked for thirty children to be withdrawn and, in 1781, all the children were relieved due to the depression of the cotton trade. The Committee continued to urge that the children should be employed in the cotton trade, but in 1789 cotton manufacture ceased. During the 1780s, it seems that the pupils' activities in the cotton industry were directly under the control of the school rather than outside bodies. In 1781-2, cotton cost £811 and brought in £1129:7:10. In 1785, cotton cost £559 but £804 was received from the cotton factory.

A further development took place in 1787, for in that year, the school received a direct cash payment of £260 for the employment of children. In 1790, an agreement was made for two hundred children to be engaged in pin-making but this activity, despite raising up to £450 a year, was discontinued.[142] An Account of the Blue Coat Hospital, in relation to a 'more liberal mode of education' (1802) pointed out that pin-making was the most profitable activity but had been detrimental to the children's health. It also stated that the activities associated with oakum picking, the stocking-frame and the carding, roving and spinning of cotton 'provided labour' but all the profits had been taken up with the need to pay the wages of a master, whose task it was to superintend the industrial activities. Aspects of this tradition continued, for after 1802,

the boys were taught to mend their own stockings, clothes and shoes.

The charity school at Warrington introduced industrial occupations in 1782, when it moved into the Town's End building. One half of each day, with the exception of Saturday, was devoted to manual labour, mainly weaving. Manual work was also used as a means of disciplining the pupils. A trustees' minute of 5 August 1785 stated that 'if any of the Boys or Girls be found guilty of telling Lies; He or She or They must be kept to their Work the three succeeding Saturday Afternoons and Fulfil the same Task as on other Afternoons'. That industrial work was not a success can be seen from the 1789 report, where it stated that 'The Managers are apprehensive that the Labour of Children is not as productive as it might be and wish to confer with some Gentlemen in the Cotton Trade in order to adopt, if possible, a Plan more eligible than is at present persued'. Further dissatisfaction was expressed in 1792.'It has been stated for Two last years that the Trustees are dissatisfied with the Mode of conducting the Cotton Business in which Children are employed and assistance from Gentlemen in the Trade has been requested, but no improvements have yet taken place'. In 1802, a committeee was set up in order that '... employment of the Children, and such other objects as may then come before them may be decided upon'. As a result of the bad management and the debt of £174:13:4, together with £472 written off, the

school was closed in July 1802, and industrial activities came to an end.[143]

Industrial occupations were also introduced at Chetham's Hospital in Manchester. At a meeting, held on 30 September 1765, the Governors ordered that an advertisement be placed in the 'next Manchester paper that the Governors are desirous to treat with any persons to instruct or employ any number of Blue Coat Boys in spinning twine or candlewick or in any other business or employment fit for children between the ages of 8 and 14'.[144] Two years later, a Mr. Booth was allowed to employ twenty boys in making shoes over the period of a year.The hours of work were from 8 till 12 and 1 till 6. For the labour of these boys, Mr. Booth paid £20 to the Treasurer of the Hospital.[145] Things did not, seemingly, work out to plan and on 15 April 1770, Booth was given three days' notice to quit the school. In 1768, an attempt had been made to allow the pupils to benefit from their labours. At the meeting held on 4 April, the Governors ordered that boys with certificates of good behaviour from their apprenticeships should be rewarded out of the money gained from their labour during their residence in the school. In order to exercise more control over the employment of their pupils, in 1787 a rule was passed that no boy was to be employed within one year of his admission to the school. Further doubts were expressed over the value of child labour, and in 1792, a committee was set up to consider 'the propriety of employing the

Boys in some useful labour' but no further progress seems to have been made.

One other school which introduced industrial occupations was High Style. Attached to this school at Kearsley, founded for 'poor fatherless and motherless children' was an estate of about ten acres. In his evidence to the Charity Commissioners, Thomas Jones, who had been master for twenty years, stated 'Boys work occasionally and indeed everyday more or less in occupations such as planting potatoes, digging them, going of errands. Occasionally, in the planting season, the boys are taken for the whole of the forenoon to the field. During last planting, they were taken away about three forenoons and no more'.This was caried out with the trustees' permission.[146]

Although this is a small sample, it does appear, with the exception of the Liverpool Blue Coat School, that attempts to develop the industrial occupations of pupils were not as successsful as the trustees had originally hoped. Problems tended to arise and, by 1800, opinion seems to have turned away from this aspect of the curriculum.

**(xvi) Conclusion**

Thus, by 1800, a number of changes had taken place in the curriculum of the grammar schools of Lancashire. Both relatively and absolutely, Latin had declined in importance, except in a very

limited number of schools. Increasingly, the grammar schools were concerned with the 3Rs and other modern subjects, as they sought to harmonise their charitable and curricular functions in relation to changing educational demands. In some ways, it can be argued that this was not a novel development, as there is evidence that elementary subjects had been introduced through necessity from the sixteenth century onwards. However, this changing curricular emphasis became more explicit in seventeenth and, more particularly, eighteenth century endowments.

Blurring imperceptibly, on occasions, into the grammar school curriculum was that of schools founded as 'non-classical'. Some of these had actually taught Latin, but their major emphases were never far from religious instruction and a combination of the 3Rs. Peculiar to some of the schools in this category were industrial occupations.

An area that was common to both groups of schools was the opportunity offered for the education of girls. Viewed in this light, the so-called 'educational decline' of the eighteenth century can be seen both as an expansion of educational opportunity and as a response to social demands, which differed from those of earlier centuries and was reflected in changed curricular priorities.

## References: Chapter Five

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10 Paul and Smith, op.cit., p.3.

11. Kay, op.cit., p.184.

12. Garstang, op.cit., p.42.

13. Statutes for MGS re-printed in Carlisle, op.cit., pp.673-83.

14 Garstang, op.cit., p.42.

15. Bateson and Shaw, op.cit., p.8.

16. C.C.R. Vol.3, pp.203-4.

17. C.C.R. Vol.11, pp.236; 240.

18. Will in L.R.O. Also ARR/13/3 (L.R.O.)

19. Hadwen had been accused of immorality.

20. Luft, op.cit., pp.62-3.

21. Bateson and Shaw, op.cit., p.8.

22. C.C.R. Vol.11. p.285.

23. C.C.R. Vol.19, pp.216-21.

24. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.240.

25. DDLK/9/34 (L.R.O.)

26. C.C.R. Vol.11, p.229.

27. C.C.R. Vol.20, p.130.

28. C.C.R. Vol.21, pp.21-2.

29. C.C.R. Vol.20 , p.192.

30 Since Nowell's Shorter Catechism was only published after 1570, it puts the date of the Statutes later than this.

31 This section is based upon Chapters IX and X of Rivington School Statutes.

32. Garstang, op.cit., pp.41-4.

33. DDX/211/11 (L.R.O.)

34. Bennett, op.cit., pp.30-1.

35. Warrington School 1526-1926, p.11.

36. School Statutes, op.cit.

37. Hawkshead School Statutes in Carlisle, op.cit., pp.656-662.

38. Luft,op.cit., pp.41-3.

39. Charlton, op.cit., p.117.

40. Bateson and Shaw, op.cit., p.8.

41. Autobiography., Chet. Soc., (1st Series), Vol.4.

42. C.C.R. Vol.11, pp.236; 240.

43. Sample Rules DDCm/3/20 (L.R.O.) These are not included in the Orders for Bretherton School (DDCm/3/18) dated 7 Feb. 1655 and probably represent an initial draft.

44. Brown, op.cit., p.79.

45 Statutes are printed in Chambres,op.cit.and in Carlisle, op.cit.pp.725-731.

46. DDX/191/1 (L.R.O.)

47. DDX/94/59 (L.R.O.)

48. EDV 7/1/84-353 (microfilm 42/2-3-4) (C.R.O.)

49. Carlisle, op.cit., pp.636-733.

50. C.C.R. Vol.20, p.131.

51. Ch. 2 Box 129.

52. Ch. 2 Box 129. Evidence of Rev. Joseph Whitaker.

53. Ch. 2 Box 130.

54. Ibid.

55. Ch. 2 Box 132 and Box 135. Evid. Rev. Thos. Bowman (Hawkshead) and Rev. Chas. Forshaw (Ormskirk).

56. Ch. 2 Box 137 (Evidence of Rev. Wm. Boardman).

57. Ch. 2 Box 138.

58. Lunn, op.cit., p.40.

59. Carlisle, op.cit., p.644.

60. Although there were twenty-six schools in this category, in six cases, there were separate departments giving an education based upon the 3Rs.

61. An almost full copy of the report is in Luft,op.cit., pp.130-5.

62. Summary Reports of Charity Commissioners.

63. (i)DDBk/2/2 (L.R.O.) (ii) Garstang,op.cit., p.118. (iii) Stocks, op.cit.p.387.

64. Brown, op.cit., pp.70-1 and Carlisle, op.cit., p.639.

65. Carlisle, op.cit., pp723-4.

66. See Luft, op.cit., pp.128-30.

67. Brown, op.cit., pp.70-1. Both Vincent (p.102) and Carlisle (p.639) date the Act of Parliament to 1784.

68. Prospectus quoted by Brown, op.cit., p.72.

69. Carlisle, op.cit., p.723.

70. Ch.V School Statutes.

71. Kay, *op.cit.*, p.75.

72. *Ibid.*, pp.90-1.

73. Merchant Taylors Account Bk. Vol. VIII p.189 (Microfilm 328). (Guildhall Lib.)

74. Luft,*op.cit.*, pp.86-7.

75. 1778 Returns EDV/7/1/208 (C.R.O.)

76. DDX/25/5 (L.R.O.)

77. DRCH/12 (25 September 1725.) (L.R.O.)

78. DDX/22/55 6 Feb. 1750-1 (L.R.O.)

79. This paragraph is based upon Lunn, *op.cit.*, pp.62-3 which,in turn, was based upon the Hodgkinson MSS and W.Millington, *Sketches of a Local Musician*, (Pendleton, 1884).

80. Kay, *op.cit.*, pp.25-6; 46-7; 84; 88.

81. SMay/2 (L.R.O.)

82. DRCH/37/1737; DDX/22/55 (L.R.O.)

83. Mumford, *op.cit.*, p.183.

84. *Ibid.*, pp.194-7.

85. DDX/94/95; Kay,*op.cit.*, p.88.

86. DDX/285/1 (L.R.O.)

87. DDX/109/24 (L.R.O.)

88. (i) DDX/94/97 (ii) Kay, *op.cit.*, pp.91-2.

89. Brown, *op.cit.*, p.76.

90. Mumford, *op.cit.*, p.523.

91. *Ibid.*, Appendix 16, pp.525-6.

92. Lunn, *op.cit.* , pp.117-24.

93. DDX/22/5 (L.R.O.)

94. Statutes Ch.X.

95. Articles for Parents and Friends in Luft, op.cit., pp.32-4.

96. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.219.

97. DDX/94/59 (L.R.O.)

98. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.207.

99. Vincent, The Grammar Schools, p.107 quoting J.Butler, A Charge Deliver'd to the Clergy (Durham, 1751) p.5. T.Secker, Eight Charges Deliver'd to the Clergy of the Dioceses of Oxford and Canterbury (London,1769), pp.4-5. G.Berkeley, A Discourse Addressed to Magistrates and Men in Authority, (Dublin, 1738), p.41.

100. W.O.Lester Smith, To Whom Do Schools Belong ?(Oxford, 1943), p.60.

101. Decline will be considerd in detail in Chapter 7.

102. Jones, op.cit. , p.69.

103. Neubury, op.cit., p.63.

104. Ibid., p.61.

105. His will is in the Lancs. Rec. Off.

106. Will of John Hatch (1705A/3386) (L.R.O.)

107. These paragraphs are based upon CCR passim.

108. DRCH/12 (L.R.O.) Visitation 12 June 1733.

109. DRCH 37/16/35 and 16/38 (1739) (L.R.O.)

110. C.C.R. Vol.21, p.309.

111. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.271.

112. Rules of 1770. Woods, op.cit., p.167.

113. DDD/1/91 (L.R.O.)

114. C.C.R. Vol.11, p.274.

115. DDNw/8/7 (L.R.O.)

116. MUN A6/13 (Chetham's Lib.)

117. A.Smith, Chet.Hosp. in the 17th.Cent ( Typescript. Chet. Lib.)

118. MUN A3/86 Register 1659-1759 (Chet. Lib.)

119. DRCH/139/1/1772 (L.R.O.)

120. DRCH 43/4/1772 (L.R.O.)

121. DRCH 139/1/1755 (L.R.O.)

122. See Gomez, Dissert., p.339.

123. Based on 1778 Returns EDV/7/1/84-353 (C.R.O.).

124. C.C.R. Vol.15, p.277.

125. Ch.2 Box 131. Evid. James Mawdesley, Master.

126. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.221.

127. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.273.

128. PR 1490/1/2 (L.R.O.)

129. C.C.R. Vol.11, p.324.

130. Woods, op.cit., p.105-6.

131. PR 2072 Original Papers Kirkham Girls Charity School 1760-1840. (L.R.O.)

132. C.C.R. Vol.15, pp.14-6.

133. 1778 Returns EDV/7/1/208 (C.R.O.) Also quoted in Luft, op.cit., p.116.

134. EDV 7/1/149.

135. DDD/1 24 June 1780 (L.R.O.)

136. 377/BLU5 (Acc 1604) (Picton Lib.).

137. Corr. Sent. 2/13 (5 Sept.1723) (SPCK).

138. Ab. Lett. Bk. 2/1 (SPCK).

139. Ab. Lett. Bk.25/79 (SPCK).

140. Ab Lett. Bk. 2/1 (SPCK).

141. Annual Review of the Blue Coat Hospital 1813 (Pic. Lib.).

142. Based on the Annual Reports of the Blue Coat Hospital and J.R.Hughes, Liverpool Blue Coat, Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs & Ches. Vol.XI (1859-60) pp.165-85 and Vol.13; New Series (Vol.1), 1861. pp.72-101.

143. Based on J.Bowes, Warrington Blue Coat School, Trans. Hist Soc. Lancs. & Ches., Vol.X (1869-70), pp.104-8.

144. MUN A3/86 (Chet. Lib.).

145. Minute of 20 April 1767, ibid.

146. Ch.2 Box 131.

# CHAPTER SIX

## The Economics of the Endowed Schools

### (i) Endowments

Although a number of schools, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, developed alternative sources of income, including fees, boarders, selling timber, mineral rights and hiring out both the labour of their pupils and their produce, it was, in fact, the finance derived from the endowment that was responsible, in almost every case, for their very existence. In addition, its adequacy or inadequacy, played a major role in determining the curriculum of the school, the extent of its charitable provision and, indirectly, its social structure. Generally, there was a direct connection between the status of the school and the level of its endowment, although there were exceptions, such as Chetham's School and the Blue Coat Hospital in Liverpool.

The major source of the school's income was the endowment granted by the founder. This was, generally, derived from land or property

but during the latter part of the eighteenth century, a number of schools derived their income from the interest on capital bequests. Basically, its purpose was to pay the salary of the master, or usher if one had been appointed. Provision was, occasionally, made for additional expenses, such as repairs to the buildings, cleaning the school. wining and dining the trustees and, as was the case at Bispham [Croston], dining the pupils once a year. In almost every case, no provision was made by the founder for the day to day expenses of running a school, so that pupils had to bring their own candles, buy their own books and writing implements, pay for the heating and, in some cases, contribute towards the cost of repair for damage to the school. Although the original endowment did not cater for such costs, in the course of the eighteenth century, a number of schools in Lancashire received augmentation grants, which made such provision, especially for 'poor scholars'. In addition, it had been the practice, in some schools, such as Clitheroe, for the trustees to provide books for worthy poor pupils. In the endowed non-classical schools, founders were aware that these incidental costs played a significant role in preventing poor children from attending school and so, in a number of cases, provision was made to cover the costs of the aspects mentioned, and, in addition, clothing was sometimes provided.

(ii) The Value of Educational Endowments

In Table 6.1, the original values of the chantry endowments in Lancashire have been listed together with their major uses, where these can be identified.

Table 6.1

Value of Chantry Educational Endowments 1546-8

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Blackburn | £4.7.4 | grammar and plainsong |
| Leyland | £3.17.10 | a free school |
| Liverpool | £5.13.3 | foundation requirement master |
| Middleton | £5.10.8 | ,, ,, master |
| Preston | £2.16.2 | free school |
| St. Michael-upon-Wyre | £5.10.8 | grammar school |

The average value of the chantry endowments which continued to support grammar schools was £4.12.8½. In some cases, the salary applied to the master was not the full value of the chantry. At Liverpool, the Commissioners reported in 1548 that the chantry was worth £6.2.10 but finding that 'the schoolmaster there had for his wages £5.13.3¼ yearly' ordered his stipend to be £5.13.3.[1] There was, however, some discrepancy, as the 1546 Commissioners had found

the value of the chantry to be only £4.15.10.[2] Leach has explained the difference as being possibly due to the exclusion of copyhold land from the earlier survey. The total value of the chantry at Middleton was £6.13.4 but after 'reprises' of 13s 4d and a further deduction of 9s 4d for unclear reasons, the master was left with £5.10 8.[3] Like Liverpool, the master at Blackburn lost part of the chantry income which was returned as £5.8.8. but he was only allowed £4.7.4..[4] Similarly, the chantry of Sir Henry Farington at Leyland, valued at £4.5.9. in 1524, was continued at a value of £3.17.10 from the Duchy of Lancaster , which was further reduced to £3.10.0.[5] A reprise of 5s reduced the value of the chantry at St. Michael-upon-Wyre to £5.10.8.[6] The chantry school with the lowest income was at Preston, which had beeen returned in a Valor of 1535 as £2.14.10¼. Despite the Chantry Commissioners of both 1546 and 1548 finding a yearly income of £3.2.4, the schoolmaster was ordered to receive £2.16.2 for his wages.[7]

By way of contrast, the values of the earliest endowments for grammar schools were £4 at Lancaster (1483), £10 at Widnes (1507), £10 at Bolton (1516), £40 at Manchester (1515) and £10 at Warrington (1525). The annual value of the endowment for Broughton is not known but its capital value was about £170. Even excluding the atypical amount for Manchester, the average income from these endowments was more than double those of the chantry schools. In a couple of instances, Preston and Middleton,this could have been a reflection of the early date of their foundations, as compared to

the grammar schools but, in general, bequests for chantry schools tended to be of lower value. Blackburn, Liverpoool, Leyland and St. Michael- upon- Wyre, all sixteenth century foundations, averaged no more than £3.8.9 a year, although their income had increased, on average, to £5.6.11 by 1548. These bequests for both chantry and grammar schools were at the same level as those found in Staffordshire and confirm the general estimates of educational historians.[8]

Between 1550 and 1600, bequests rose to an average of £15.2.2 in Lancashire. Two endowments of below average value were Prescot, where Gilbert Lathom left £7 a year in his will proved in 1552 and Penwortham, where, former chantry lands, which had, apparently, not been legally vested, were conveyed for a school, with an average income of £2.13.6, also in 1552. Clitheroe, by way of contrast, was endowed with lands worth over £20, Rochdale with £17 a year, Urswick £15, Hawkshead £23.6.8, Halsall £13.6.8, Warton £26.13.4 and Rivington with £27.9.6, when the bequest was completed. Blackrod, with £8 a year, was the only school to be founded with such a limited endowment, although Ashton-in-Makerfield school relied on a number of small gifts and, even by the 1630s, land could only be purchased to a value of £8 a year.

In addition to the original bequests, a number of schools received augmentation grants. At Winwick, Andrew Barton left an additional £5 a year in 1549, perhaps a reflection of his concern that the original bequest of £10, given only a couple of years previously,

was inadequate. In 1554, the year of its foundation, Clitheroe received 10s from Alice Radcliffe and a further £2 was left by the curate, Edward Lawson, in 1599 to supply books. The original bequest of 3s 4d at Burnley was augmented by £12 a year in 1563. Further bequests followed of an annual value of £4.13.4 in 1564; £3 in 1577 and £3.7.8 in 1580.[9]

In the early part of the seventeenth century, two categories of foundation can be recognised. The first was made up of a number of schools with limited endowments and included Cartmel, Kirkland, Oldham, Didsbury, Walton-le-Dale, Windle, Bolton-le-Sands, Dalton-in-Furness, Hoole, Astley and Hindley. Some of these had, in fact, been founded as non-classical schools. Oldham's endowment amounted to no more than £2 a year, Bolton-le-Sands £4, Hindley £8, Astley about £9.10.0, Dalton about £10 and Hoole and Didsbury £10 but in the latter case, £5 a year was only payable for twenty years. Kirkland with capital of £116.13.4, Windle with £162 and with Walton-le-Dale £120 had an annual income of no more than £8, assuming a return of 5%. Although a school had been built at Chorley at the joint expense of Robert Charnock and the parish, it was not until 1638 that the first endowment, amounting to only £1 a year, was received. Ormskirk's endowment of £15 a year was adequate in terms of the overall amount but whether it was sufficient to support a master and usher is more problematic, since the £10, allowed to the master, approximated more to salary levels of 1511, rather than 1611.

The setting up of schools with limited endowments does seem to be a feature of the early seventeenth century, since examples from the previous one are limited to Blackrod, Ashton-in-Makerfield and, perhaps, Leigh. One possible reason for this development is that it became more socially acceptable for people of lower social status to set up schools than had been the case in the previous century. Another suggestion is that schooling was beginning to be seen as a parish responsibility and the founders were seeking to galvanise the local community into action by providing the initial impetus. Whatever the reason, schools with limited endowments showed an increase in the early seventeenth century.

By way of contrast, the schools at Heskin and Crosby received large endowments. In 1613, Sir James Pemberton left an additional endowment for Heskin to bring its total to £50 a year. John Harrison not only left £500 for setting up the school at Crosby but also property in London, made up of nine houses in Crane Court, two in St. Swithin's Lane and four houses in Old Change. It was intended that the income should rise to £121.13.4 a year, which would go to the school, with the exception of £20 for the poor. Shortly after Harrison's death, the houses in Old Change were burnt down and the income was lost until 1634. The danger of loss of income due to fire destroying the property was very real and the disadvantage was further illustrated in 1666 when much of the property of Crosby School and some of that of Heskin was lost in the Great Fire of London. This resulted both in the reduction of

the master's salary for about eighty years and, also, in the inability to pay an usher for the same period of time at Crosby.[10] At Heskin, the school's income fell to £30.[11]

In the 'amazing period' from 1601 to 1640, a total of twenty-two schools were endowed in Lancashire. However, if an endowment of £13.6.8. is taken as average for the end of the sixteenth century and only allowing slightly for inflation, no more than three schools, Standish, Crosby and Heskin had above average levels of endowment, with Kirkby Ireleth (£13.6.8) and Bury (capital of £300) at about the mean. The remaining seventeen schools were receiving endowments below the approximate average level of 1560-70.

During the 1640s, the three foundations at Ringley, Dendron and Bolton received £15, £16 and £32 a year respectively, with the Robert Lever bequest for Bolton being an augmentation. It was in the 1650s that endowments reached new levels with the unprecedented income of £420 a year for Chetham's School, followed by an augmentation for Kirkham which provided a yearly income of £69.10.0. Bispham, also, received an income of £30 a year. On the other hand, the bequest for Bretherton amounted to no more than £13.6.8.. Overall, the pattern of bequests for this decade were atypical.

The period 1661 to 1700 was marked by the foundation of schools with very limited incomes. Urmston received no more than 10s a year, Clifton 30s, Stand £4, Carleton £2, Garstang and Litleborough £5, while Cockerham was in receipt of only £7 a year in 1719.

Cuerden was allowed £5 under the terms of Andrew Dandy's bequest of 1673 but £3.5.0 of this was taken for land tax and, since there were few fee-paying pupils, it was found difficult to continue running the school. Both Chipping and Presall had an income of £13.6.8, while Croston received £10 a year from Hiet's will, which was further increased by £5 a year from William Houghton in 1680 'for the better maintainance of a free school'. The one school that, apparently, received a substantial endowment during this period was Bispham (Croston). Here the endowment amounted to £32 a year between 1694 and 1700 but £12 was deducted from this sum for the use of local charities.

The picture that has emerged in relation to school endowments in the seventeenth century is that, in the majority of cases, the schools were inadequately, or even poorly, endowed. As a consequence, the masters must have relied upon the income derived from fee-payers or they must have combined their occupation of schoolmaster with that of another, for instance as a curate of a local parish.

During the eighteenth century, the value of new bequests for grammar schools remained very limited. At Broughton, the master received the interest on £160, at Lowick £3 a year and at Kirkland the interest on £100. In contrast, Kay's bequest for Bury included £50 a year for the master, £20 for the usher, £20 for exhibitions, £5 to the rent-collector, £4 on schoolbooks, £1 to 'a discreet

Table 6.2

Endowment Levels of Classical Schools at the time of the Charity Commissioners' Surveys

| Value | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| <£10 | 11 | 13% |
| £11-£25 | 13 | 15% |
| £25-£50 | 21 | 24% |
| £51-£74 | 11 | 13% |
| £75-£99 | 11 | 13% |
| £100+ | 21 | 24% |

person to preach a sermon in the parish church on 6 May' and £5 'in an entertainment' for the trustees at their annual meeting.

**(iii) School Endowments in the 1820s**

Table 6.2 summarises the position with regard to school endowments at the time of the Reports of the Charity Commissioners, published for Lancashire between 1820 and 1829. In some cases, these are the only sources of information relating to their value but it must be borne in mind that, for nearly all schools, these were peak figures, due to the rise in rents resulting from the Napoleonic Wars and their immediate aftermath. There were, also, a number of schools that found that rents had been raised to such an extent that the tenants were unable to meet the new demands, with the result that they had to be lowered but not to the levels of the eighteenth century. Since these figures refer only to endowments, they do not include the income derived from boarding, fees or other alternative sources. Even though they reflect only the basic school income, they are indicative of the general economic standing of the individual schools.

The two most striking aspects were the range of school incomes that had developed by the 1820s and the number of grammar schools in receipt of very low endowments. Probably, the most interesting contrast was between the incomes of the grammar schools at Liverpool and Manchester. In the former case, the school was still

receiving the income stipulated by the Chantry Commissioners, while that of the latter school had grown over the same period from £40 a year to over £4,400. Liverpool's income was, in fact, so limited that it had to be supplemented, even from the sixteenth century, by the Corporation. The Notitia Cestriensis noted 'Here is a Public School, the foundation of which is unknown. £5.13.6 was given to it by Q.Eliz. The Corporation names the Master and allows him £35 p.a. more, obliging him to give £10 p.a. out of it to the usher'.[12] Manchester owed much of its prosperity to the corn mills, bequeathed to the trustees by Hugh and Joan Bexwyke, which granted a monopoly. This was, however, a two-sided agreement in that all the grain in Manchester had to be brought to the mill but unless it was ground within twenty-four hours, it could be taken elsewhere. In 1726, the lease was sold for £400 a year. An Act of Parliament of 1758 abolished the wheat monopoly but left the malt monopoly untouched. The Act, also. allowed the trustees to sell any property no longer needed to fulfil the requirements of the monopoly. Between 1787 and 1800, the pasture for the mill horses was sold to private buyers and the Ashton Canal Company with chief rents amounting to over £1,000 a year. The trustees also invested in war loans that brought in a further £2,000 yearly. In 1810, because of irregularities in the running of the school mill, Joseph Twyford, a receiver, was brought in. By 1815, he had increased receipts considerably and a new mill was bought in 1818 at a cost of £3,228 and providing an average income of £3,000 a year. It was

mainly due to Twyford that the school was in such a strong financial position in the 1820s.[13]

The value of school endowments by the 1820s was the result of a combination of factors. These included the terms of endowment, the business acumen and interest of the trustees, the amount and location of the land or property, the length and terms of the conditions of the leases and special circumstances, such as those pertaining to Manchester.

Eleven schools (Table 6.2), 13% of the total, were in receipt of less than £10 a year. With the exception of the two chantries at St. Michael-upon-Wyre and Liverpool, and the late seventeenth century foundation at Clifton, the schools all represented the inadequately endowed, eighteenth century grammar schools. These schools would have been unable to carry out any charitable function, except at a minimal level. Such provision was, indeed, only made at Clifton, where two pupils were admitted free, Clayton and St. Michael-upon-Wyre, where there were three foundationers. All the schools relied on fees, though, as at Finisthwaite where the 3Rs and Latin 'for those who require it' were taught for 2d a week, these amounted to less than those charged in non-classical schools where a common weekly fee was 6d for writing and 9d for writing and accounts.[14]

Thirteen schools (15%) received between £11 and £25 a year, which meant that 28% of the sample had a basic income of less than £25 a year. Although the majority of schools in this category imposed

fees, several, including Kirkby Ireleth, Bleasdale and North Meols, provided a free education. In the case of North Meols, which was run on the National School system, the income was augmented by subscriptions.

The most numerous category, twenty-one, was made up of schools with incomes between £26 and £50 a year. 52% of grammar schools were, thus, receiving less than £51 a year. A further twenty-two schools were in the category of £51 to £100, which meant that about 77% of them had less than £100 a year Eleven schools had between £101 and £200, with ten receiving over £200. Manchester, with an income of seven times its nearest rival, Penwortham, was in the strongest economic position.

### (iv) Fixed or Variable Endowments

In addition to the two aspects namely, the range of incomes and their levels, there is another factor to be considered. This is the extent to which the value of the original endowment had increased in value, or not, as the case might be. Tompson identified three hundred and six endowments, of these eighty-six were fixed and two hundred and twenty variable. With regard to the fifty-four schools which he identified in Lancashire, sixteen fell into the fixed category, while thirty-eight had variable endowments. In general, it was those schools in receipt of rent-charges that had fixed incomes. Tompson's general argument was that schools with variable

endowments would gain from inflated land values but these 'could be ..... a disaster for others'.[15]

The terms 'fixed' and 'variable' endowments are descriptive rather than quantitative, in that a school, Crosby, for example, could have a fixed endowment that was larger than that of thirty schools with a variable one. However, the general assumption is that schools in the latter category 'were somewhat better equipped to fight inflation'.[16] It must also be noted that many of the schools in the 'variable' category were in receipt of 'fixed' endowments for part, at least, of their income. Tompson was aware of this and his classification is based upon the major aspect of the endowment. A number of points can be raised in relation to the sixteen schools with fixed endowments, identified by Tompson. One relates to his inclusion of a school as a grammar school but here there is no definitive category. He also appears to be mistaken in including Upholland in this category. In 1829, its income was £65.18.3., made up of £40 rents, £6.17.5 rent-charge and £19.0.10. from dividends. The original endowment in 1656 had been to the value of £2.12.0.[17] In 1673, income from the school lands amounted to just over £7 but the master's salary was given as £24 in the return to Christopher Wase. In 1734, the value of the school stock was £334.7.5.[18] This evidence hardly indicates a fixed endowment.

Two schools, omitted by Tompson, were Winwick and Heskin. Winwick's income of £34 remained steady during the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, as this was the income noted by both the Notitia Cestriensis and the Charity Commissioners.[19] The original endowment for Heskin of £50 had diminished due to the Great Fire. As a result

of a decree of the Court of Chancery, the school income was decreased to £30 a year for sixty-one years before its full value was to be restored. Thus, due to circumstances arising outside its control, a school on an endowment, that was seemingly fixed, could find that its income was greatly diminished..[20]

Four of the sixteen schools in Tompson's list, Liverpool, Halsall, Urswick and Warton were sixteenth century foundations and were still receiving the original rent-charge at the time of the Charity Commissioners' survey. Since the bequests, with the possible exception of Warton, were no more than average for the period when they were endowed, it is difficult to see how the trustees could have built up a reserve to expand the schools' endowments. A similar position appertained to the seventeenth century endowments, apart from, possibly, Crosby.

It was during the latter part of the eighteenth century that these schools found it increasingly difficult to attract masters qualified to teach the classics and there was a general tendency for them to decline in status and teach basically elementary subjects, with Latin, where it was available, very much in a subsidiary role. Although no schools were permanently closed in the eighteenth century, by the 1820s the grammar schools had closed at Liverpool, Winwick and Warton.

On the basis of the alleged relationship between land rentals and the nature of grammar schools in in the eighteenth century, a number of generalisations have been made. Vincent, for instance, has asserted that schools with low incomes from their endowments introduced fees to ensure their existence.[21] However, he overlooked

the fact that the payment of fees, in some cases, had been expressly forbidden by the founder. On other occasions, the introduction of fees, in face of local opposition, could lead to the loss of pupils.

Tompson appears to be unaware of the relationship between the nature of the school and the level of its endowment. In Chapter 2 of Classics or Charity?, he wrote that the "historically 'free' grammar schools were in an extremely difficult position in the 18th. century" due to the effects of inflation. In a later chapter, he stated that "at least two-thirds of the schools were somewhat equipped to fight inflation".[22]

**(v) Case Studies of Rivington and Blackrod Grammar Schools**

There are three major sources for Rivington Grammar School. The first is the records which have survived for the school and which are to be found in the Lancashire Record Ofice. Secondly, there are the printed and manuscript reports of the Charity Commissioners. Thirdly, there is a very detailed history of the school by M.M.Kay, which was published in 1931.

An indenture of 6 September 1574, between the founder and the governors witnessed that Bishop Pilkington had granted an annuity of £6.13.4 from lands held in Hutton-in-the-Hole (Co.Durham) by Christopher Leven. A similar amount was made available from the lands of George Middleton in Silkworth. The Bishop had also bought land closer to the school in Heath Charnock and Rivington with a rental value of £2.13.4, which was to be paid towards the master's

salary, and, finally, he gave copyhold lands worth £10 a year 'specialy for the wages of the usher there'.[23] The copyhold lands, according to a list of 1594 and an undated one, were at Linsack (£3.5.10), Sedgefield (6s 8d), Walsingham (£1.12.10), Wickham (£1.2.6.), Heighington (£1.2.6.), a cottage in Redworth (6s 8d), Stockden (8s 0d), Auckland (£1.2.0.) and Stanhope (£1.5.0). The total income amounted to £27.9.6. The land at Rivington and Heath Charnock had been purchased for £126.6.8. but had been settled on George Pilkington, who was to pay the rent to the school. In 1586, the rent of £2.13.4 was settled on the governors by deed poll for £36.

Although fixed rent charges were potentially a problem, as all decreased in relative value, Rivington was in the more fortunate position of being able to increase its reserves by fines on leases when they were renewed. Provision was, also, made in the foundation statutes to allow the income to be developed by forbidding leases to be kept for more than twenty-one years or three lives. In addition, only one lease was to be 'let forth' at one time and none renewed before the forfeiture or surrender or 'its expiration within four years'. A safeguard against the unlawful or disadvantageous selling of land was that all six governors, together with six of the 'discreetest' inhabitants, were to agree to any sale.[24]

A potential problem was posed in that the lands, apart from two rent charges of £6.13.4 , were held by 'copy of court roll'. The implication of this is that they could well have belonged to the

bishopric of Durham, rather than being the personal property of Bishop Pilkington, to dispose of, as he saw fit.

Right from the start, there were arrears of about £3. In 1598, Mr. Pilkington owed £21.14.10 and the tenants in the north about £17, encouraged, no doubt, by the uncertainty of the school's claim to tenure, together with the relative remoteness from Rivington. In 1604, £81 was outstanding. Writs resulted in the payment of fines of about £50 in 1610 but, on the debit side, there were the costs of the court action.[25]

A further problem arose in 1611, when the Rivington estate was sold to Robert Lever and Thomas Breres. Among the items of property conveyed were 'the inheritance of all that the Free Grammar School in Rivington and the Church or Chapel yard'. On the basis of this, Breres claimed, unsuccessfully, the property of the grammar school but the governors were compelled to defend the case in London, with all the attendant expenses.

In August 1613, a Commission of Inquiry into the government of the school found that the governors had not taken care with collecting the rents and fines upon leases. Additionally, the lands in County Durham were in danger of being lost 'through the negligence and wilfulness of the heretofore governors'.

Other aspects, which illustrate, at the very least a laxness on the part of the governors, include the lack of detail in the accounts, except for 1610-11; the payment to the masters of £13 to £18 a year, instead of £20 and the lack of strict records in relation to the borrowing and lending of monies.

A further example of the laxity of the governors was revealed prior to 1614 in that the master, John Ainsworth, and the usher, Thomas Hindley, appropriated the school rents to their own use by forging letters of attorney. From 1615 to 1711, comment was made yearly in the accounts that 'all debts and arrearages are yet owing'. To exercise a degree of control over the governors, the accounts were henceforward to be signed by six townspeople.

Although income stabilised between £26 to £28 a year in the period 1618 to 1638, further problems arose in the 1620s. The schoolhouse was in decay and a debt of £6 left the governors short of money. As a result, the master, Henry Bodurda agreed to forego up to one pound out of his salary. As a further indication of financial problems, the masters from 1633 to 1640, Wiliam Duckworth and John Crooke, received only £18 a year and, in fact, Crooke left the school with £5 owing to him. From 1640 to 1642, the governors could not afford a master and the school was run by the usher on a salary of £6 a year. From 1642 to 1646, a master seems to have run the school on a salary of £10. In 1647, a master and usher were appointed but the master resigned in 1649 and John Hodson, the previous usher, continued to run the school at his old salary of £10.

The legal cases of about 1635 and 1638 were part of the reason for the school's financial problems. In about 1635, the Bishop of Durham wished the governors to 'take out fresh copies' for their lands. The question arose as to whether a corporation could, in

fact, be granted a copyhold. To avoid action in Chancery, the governors were advised to compromise. The legal action, which began in 1638 and lasted until 1663 left the school 'utterly ruined and deserted'. The problem had arisen when Mr. Middleton of Silkworth refused to pay his rent charge of £6.13.4 'until it bee recovered by law'. It seems that Middleton had sold part of the estate on which the rent-charge was fixed but had failed to impose any charge. Since there was doubt about which part of the estate bore the charge both Middleton and the new tenant refused to pay. In 1639, the governors claimed the arrears in Chancery, and the case was prepared in 1648. With the death of the governors involved, the suit was abated and revived in 1656. In 1660, Middleton and the tenant, Maddison, were each ordered to pay half the arrears. Middleton complied, but Maddison did not and, after further legal action, Middleton paid all the arrears, amounting to £433. The net result to the school was the loss of £300, the cost of the legal actions.

Yet another legal case arose in the 1650s, when the tenants of the land in Heighington, refused to pay the rent of £1.6.8. In 1654, the governors gained an order to eject them, but, in 1658, their tenants complained of being 'disturbed'. In a petition to the Bishop of Durham in 1662, they denied that Bishop Pilkington was ever 'seized' of the lands and that the rights of the governors were restricted to 'the hay or fore crop growing upon one third of the Cathedral Frith'. The situation had been further complicated during the Commonwealth, when the land had been taken from the

Bishop and granted to the tenants. In 1663, it was decreed that the governors should be granted possession and were entitled to arrears of rent, together with the legal costs.

Gradually, the school income rose to £30 and then £40 and, between 1685 and 1701, a number of fines and releases were paid to the governors so that, by 1703, securities of £306 were held by the school. By 1709, John Bradley, who had been master since 1669, was receiving £24 a year.

In 1714, a new school replaced the old one , which had been pulled down, at a cost of £80. Between 1700 and 1740, the annual income of the school was between £50 and £100. Gradually, income rose to about £150 but it showed significant increases when leases were renewed. In 1743, £368.12.10½ was received and in 1782, £329.9.9½. The two rent charges of £6.13.4 and the local rent of £2.13.4 remained constant but, in 1789, the 'northern' lands brought in £113.18.2. Towards the end of the century, the governors had managed to build up a surplus of £400, which was lent out at interest.

With regard to salary levels, John Glasebrook, the succesor of Bradley, received £26 a year. In 1738, the master's salary was raised to £50 and, from 1755 to 1789, £52.2.0, the two guineas being a gift. Edward Sweetlove, the usher from 1688 to 1733, was paid £13 and his successor, Robert Blackburn had his salary raised to £22 in 1738. The other ushers in the eighteenth century were paid between £24 and £30. By 1800, the master's salary was £60 and the usher's £30.

In 1823, the governors obtained Letters Patent (3 Geo.IV). Among other aspects, they pointed out that they had sold part of the lands in Co. Durham and had £2994 to hand and in order to reinvest that amount, according to the statutes, had contracted to buy an estate at Wheelton, a few miles from the school, at a cost of £3,000. Since the value of the existing school lands was £230 a year and the Wheelton estate was valued at £150 a year, the governors applied for a licence to hold lands, which would not exceed £400 a year in value. This was due to the fact that, under the terms of Letters Patent of Queen Elizabeth, they were not empowered to hold land exceeding £30 a year.

Between 1794 and 1827, fourteen separate transactions had taken place with regard to school lands in County Durham. In all the sales realised £8,213, with the sale of fifty-four acres in Sedgefield for £3,324 in 1807, the largest single transaction.

To compensate for the sale of land in County Durham, transactions amounting to £8,266 had taken place between 1807 and 1827. On each occasion, land had been bought within a relatively close distance to the school. The largest transaction was the Wheelton estate of forty-four acres at Leyland. £2,600 was spent on land in Rivington and Heath Charnock. Other premises were bought in Blackburn, Turton and Edgeworth Moor.

At the time of the Charity Commissionners' survey (midsummer 1827), the school's income was £308.9.8 The rent charge at Hutton-in-the-Hole remained at £6.13.4, while the rent conveyed by the heir of George Pilkington still amounted to £2.13.4. By now, the major sources of income were from the Wheelton estate (£105) and

Bradley's tenement in Rivington (£50). £200 was spent on salaries, with the master receiving £100 and the usher and writing master £50 each.

What this study of Rivington Grammar School does show are the problems which could arise from dubious claims to lands, the difficulties of administering an estate at a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, the need for some form of control over the governors themselves and the weaknesses, from the school's point of view, of fixed endowments. It, also, demonstates how the governors, by judicious housekeeping and careful business transactions could eventually put a school into a strong financial position.[26]

In contrast with Rivington, where the original endowment was relatively high, Blackrod School, some three miles away, with its endowment of £8 a year, arising out of the rents of John Holme's lands in the parish of All Saints in Lombard Street, London, was poorly endowed. It received an augmentation grant in 1639 (£40) and, in 1640, the rent of £10 a year, from a farm in Leigh, was applied to the school. In addition, there was an exhibition at the school worth £5 a year at Pembroke College.

In 1722, the school income was reported as £24 but by 1739, it had risen to £48.18.6. In 1754, it amounted to £104.6.11 but, until this date, the Exhibition income was included as well. Excluding this, the school received £51 a year. In 1761, the repayment of £100, together with the interest on it, resulted in an income of £154.19.3. By 1771, income had reached £90 and £105 in 1787. Alongside this account, the Exhibition income increased from about £53 in 1754 to £405 in 1777. £516 in 1790 and the total had reached

£1,901 by 1823. This was due to only two scholars receiving any benefit from this fund in the latter part of the eighteenth century.[27]

One other source of income for this school resulted from the fines on leases. An indenture of lease and release of 15/16 October 1736 recited that a fine of £100 was paid for a lease for 31 years on the premises called Graveoak. There were new indentures related to this estate in 1766 and 1790.

At the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit, income was derived from the Graveoak estate, then let out at £100 a year; the £8 bequest of John Holme; £6.6.0 rent for the old school house; £1.15.0 for part of the old school garden; property bought for the school in 1823 amounted to £11 and two turnpike securities for £100 each provided £10 interest. These latter had derived from a will of 1812 and were intended to benefit the usher.

The main source of expenditure was the salary of the master and later in the eighteenth century, the usher. Thomas Shaw, appointed in 1736 was receiving £27.10.0 in 1739; £30 in 1740 and £36 in 1743. Over the same period, the salary of the master increased from 55% to 61% of the school income. In 1747, Shaw moved to Bolton Grammar School and his replacement, James Rothwell, was appointed at the lower salary of £20. By 1761, it had increased to £28 and to £40 from 1776, though, for some unexplained reason, it had declined slightly to £38 in 1787. The increased income allowed an usher to be appointed. Although the school historian noted that there was an usher only in 1736 and then from 1776 to the end of the century, the Account Book entered £2.10.0 a quarter for Robert Winstanley

for assisting Mr. Shaw in 1747. He was, also, paid 7s 6d for writing up the governors' accounts. In 1754, Samuel Ward was the usher at £12 a year, which was still his salary in 1761. From 1776, the usher received £20 a year, although he, too, had his salary decreased, in this case to £19.[28]

(vi) Long Leases

An aspect about which the Charity Commissioners were very critical was the granting of very long leases. Pilkington had been very aware of this and in the 1622 Statutes for Clitheroe

It is further ordered that because improvement of the school revenues and the increase of rents thereof are the chief means to enhance the school and to encourage the schoolmaster in his duty, therefore, from henceforth no lease shall be let either of all or any part of the school possessions for ten years only in being and none at all in Reversion and the rents of everything that shall be dismissed shall from henceforth upon every lease be improved and increased to the full sum of two thirds parts at the least of the full and utmost value which any man will give if it were actually void.[29]

Penwortham came in for particularly harsh criticism from the Charity Commissioners.[30] It was observed 'that various portions of the trust estates have been let for the extraordinary period of 999 years'. Further, it was noted, 'the leases of that description have been granted, not only for the purposes of building, but also as mere agricultural leases, without any covenants for building on the part of the lessees'. The Commissioners were, seemingly, not impressed with a certificate from four builders and two surveyors in Preston, which stated that in their opinion, the owners of land could not obtain a full building rent unless it is subject to a

perpetual ground rent, which may be bought out at 20 years purchase or on leases of 999 years, subject to an annual ground rent. It was suggested, by the Charity Commissioners, that the trustees might offer land for building on 99 year leases which would result in lower ground rents and allow the property to increase in value 'instead of being incapable of further improvement'.[31] In their view, the trustees had no authority to 'alienate the property for a term equivalent to a perpetuity'. In future, the trustees would be wise to grant building leases of such an extent as have received sanction in a court of equity. With regard to leases granted for 999 years, without any covenant for building, the Commissioners felt that these could not be supported. Their main concern was that, although the trustees were receiving the full rental value as agricultural land, the growth of Preston would result in a greater benefit to the charity if the land was used for building. It was suggested that such leases should be cancelled on terms beneficial to both parties. Should this fail, the trustees were not to hesitate to have the leases set aside in a court of equity. In 1823, the Registrar in the Court of Chancery stated, in his report, that in future, no leases of more than eleven years should be made without the Court's approval, except for land on which building rents would be charged.

As a further example to illustrate rental trends, problems and masters' salaries, Bolton Grammar School will be considered. In 1516, John Barton left a bequest of £10 for a priest to teach grammar.[32] In 1526, land worth £1. 13. 4 was purchased at Tockholes

by the parishioners, probably with funds accumulated from the bequest. A complaint was made in the Court of Duchy Chamber, in 1573, that John Orrell, the nephew of the one surviving trustee had taken the property to his private use. In his reply, Orrell claimed that the rent had been handed over to the school and that he would continue to maintain it and, to help to support his case, he named new trustees. This, the parishioners claimed, was a further breach of agreement, since they had the right to give their consent to any appointments.[32]

In the early seventeenth century, the school received a number of bequests. In 1616, Thomas Lever left £50 towards the building of a new school and in 1620 Robert Lever made a bequest of £4, described by the school's historian as 'a derisory sum'. £1.6.8 was derived from James Gosnell's bequest of 1622. The major bequest was that of Robert Lever, who had asked his brothers in 1637 to find a suitable estate to endow the school. To his annoyance, an estate in Heywood was conveyed to his brothers and, in his will of March 1641, he gave them the option of keeping the land or paying £350. In addition, £250 was left for the school building. In 1646 articles of agreement for the refounding of the school were drawn up. After much legal wrangling, with William Lever of Kersal being ordered either to hand over the Harwood estate or £350 and eventually taking the former course of action, new deeds were sealed in 1659.

At the first governors' meeting in 1658, it was discovered that school stock of £170 was held by John Bradshaw and £30 by Robert Norris, both paying interest of 6%. It was not until after

Bradshaw's death in 1662 that the stock was recovered. A greater problem was posed by the £150 'as we conceived' held by Sir Ralph Ashton of Whalley, who had died. Attempts were made from the mid 1650s to get this money paid over to the school but it was not until 1680, when Sir Ralph's successor died, that the debt was accepted. Between 1681 and 1685, £250 was paid in instalments of £50 but the school had been deprived of the use of £150 capital for thirty years.[34]

Despite Lever's bequest, the school was considered to be inadequately financed but to cope with the number of pupils, an usher was appointed in 1670. To supplement the school's income, James Lever of London, nephew of the refounder, gave £15 a year 'for the increase of the schoolmaster's wages'. In 1677, he provided a more permanent endowment, a lease in Manchester with a number of shops with rooms above let to tenants, providing initially £20 a year. A bequest of £50 from Andrew Dandy, to which the trustes added £10, was used to buy a farm of eight acres. The trustees, also, bought land adjoining the Gosnell charity and let the whole as one unit. Later, the Charity Commissioners were critical of such an arrangement since the school and the charity shared the same trustees. As a result of these developments, the school's annual income, not including capital repayments, increased from an average of £23.5.0 in 1660-9 to £45.14.0 in 1670-9 and £70.15.0 in 1680-9. During the 1690s, accounting was less strict and income fell to about £54 but between 1695 and 1700, entries in the account book are very limited. A further indication of possible problems was that salaries were in arrears.

During the 1650s, the master's salary was about £19.10.0 and the usher's £10 but Nicholas Leigh, a master in the 1660s, received only £13.6.8, while Thomas Stamp (master 1668-9) was paid £15. The fact that there were nine masters between 1657 and 1671 is an indication of either strained relations with the governors, for which there is some evidence in relation to religious teaching, or the low salary levels. In 1670, an usher was appointed at a salary of £8.10.0, later raised to £10. Richard Duckworth, who had been appointed as master in 1669, was demoted to usher in 1672, at a salary of £15, £1 less than he had received as master. A sharp increase in salary was paid to William Baldwin, appointed in 1674, for he received £30 a year.The more realistic salary levels had been made possible mainly by the bequest of James Lever. Even so, masters stayed rarely for more than a few years. During the mastership of Adam Coupe (1680-86), the masters' salaries were raised to £33.6.8. and £16.13.4. There was, however, a salary crisis in 1702-3, which led to a temporary cut in wages to £20 for the master and £10 for the usher. This was due to the lack of financial interest by the governors, reflected not only in the failure to complete the accounts, but, also, in collecting the rents and interest owed to the school.

In 1701-10, the average income was nearly £58 a year, rising to £65 in the following decade and to £68 a year in the 1730s. In 1739, school income amounted to £71.16.6 and, in addition, £344.9.0. was on loan at 4½-5%. In 1742, the old school building, which had been converted into cottages was pulled down and two houses were built on the site at a cost of £150. In the course of the century, when

they were not required by the masters, they were let at a yearly rent of £3.10.0. rising to £5. In the mid 1740s, the school also received £135 from the sale of timber.

Accounts tended to be slack between 1749 and 1760, when Roger Brandwood was the treasurer. In 1752, he made a mistake of £4.10.0 in the accounts, in his favour and, £400 received in 1754 for the coal under Bent's Farm at Little Lever and lent out to the borrowers between 1757 and 1759, did not appear in the accounts at all. This only came to light in the governors' minutes of 1873.

By 1757, the school's income was £124.10.7, made up of £85.6.7 from rents and £39.4.0. interest. Again, there were problems in collecting all the income due to the school. In 1759, £40 was owing. Brandwood was, himself, not guiltless and, having built up a reserve of £100, refused to hand it over but signed a bond for it. It was not until 1780 that the capital was repaid, though the interest continued to be paid over the intervening period.

The school income continued to rise to an average of £129 in the 1760s and to £147 between 1771 and 1775. The rise was due basically to increased income from rents, which was then invested in loans. This surplus, also, allowed the school to spend £300 on an Act of Parliament, which had little practical impact on the school. In the Act, the school income was stated to be £180 a year but capable of rising to £200 when a number of leases fell in. The Treasurer, John Ridgway, was required to call in existing personal loans and mortgages, amounting to £1,754, and no more were to be granted. By 1800, all had been repaid, except for £100, owed by the treasurer's own firm, which was, apparently, experiencing financial problems.

With this money, a farm was bought for £870 and from this, an income of £38 a year was derived. In 1801, on the death of Ridgway, there was a balance of £900 in the accounts, together with his debt. Ridgway's executors were allowed to keep this money for six months but, in 1803, when the treasurer, Ralph Fletcher, attempted to regain this money, it was realised that Ridgway's son was now bankrupt. Eventually, after a long drawn out legal case, half of the debt was recovered, together with half of the legal costs but the school lost over two year's income.

Due to the effects of the inflation associated with the French Wars, school income rose to about £230 a year in the decade 1801-10, an increase of about £50 a year as compared with the 1780s. Income further doubled to about £500 by 1815. The fall in land prices after the war led to increases in arrears, so that over £800 was owed by 1827. Rents were reduced at Harwood from £100 to £80 and at Eccleshill from £60 to £40. The falls in rental were compounded for the school by the loss of over £300 due to the bankruptcy of the tenant of the Manchester property, which had been let at £1,300 a year and the decline in the rate of government stock to 3%. However, the school managed to keep its income over £400 a year by selling timber and the water rights at Harwood to a bleacher. At the time of the Charity Commissioners' survey, school income was £485.10.6. made up of £402.9.6. rent, £1.15.0. rent charge and £81.6.0. dividends.

During the eighteenth centuries, salaries for the master and usher showed increases. John Skelmerdine's salary was raised to £33.6.8. in 1703, which had been the level prior to the reduction in the

previous year. This was despite the expenses incurred in building upon two of the farm estates. After the death of Wiliam Yarwood, the usher, in 1701, his successor, James Horrock, received only £10 but this was raised to £16.13.4 in 1704. Several years later, Yarwood's widow received £3 as compensation for her husband's underpayment of salary. By about 1715, the master's salary had been raised to £38.6.8. and the usher's to £18.13.4.

A problem arose in 1727, when John Boardman, the master, was compelled to retire due to infirmity. In order to pay for his pension of £12 a year, the masters' salaries were reduced to £30 and £16 respectively, although the master's salary was to rise to £40 on Boardman's death. However, he was not to die for another thirty years. Joseph Hooley, appointed to the school in the 1740s, received £40 as did his successor, Thomas Shaw, who was to remain as headmaster for thirty-eight years. Shaw's salary was increased to £50 in 1757, £70 in 1765 and £80 in 1775. His usher, Thomas Boardman (Senior) saw his salary grow from £25 in 1754 to £30 in 1765 and £35 in 1766. On his resignation in 1771, his son received the same salary but it was raised in 1775 to £45. In 1785, William Nuttall, at the time a non-graduate, was appointed as usher and acting headmaster at a salary of £60. When John Lemprière was appointed in 1790, he was offered £84. Nuttall became usher on £45 and Boardman was dismissed. Further rises took place and, in 1802, the new headmaster, John Wilson, received £90. In 1814, the master was granted a salary of £200 a year, the usher £100 and the writing

master £75. The school historian has argued that it was inflation that forced salary levels upwards but the masters' salaries were, more probably, a reflection of the increased school income rather than the cause. In the 1820s, a decline in the school's income led to the total salary bill being reduced to £335.

**(vii) Endowments for Non-classical Schools**

The level of endowments for non-classical schools was generally lower than that for grammar schools, ranging from 9s for Aulherstside to £2,608 at Chetham's School in Manchester. Of the one hundred and twenty-five schools identified (Table 6.3), forty-one (33%) had an income from endowments of less than £10 a year; thirty-six (27%) of between £11 and £25 and twenty-five (20%) between £26 and £50 a year. Thus, 80% of these schools were in receipt of less than £50 a year. Another thirteen schools received between £51 and £100. Of the top ten schools, by income, six were in the category £101 to £200, while only High Style (£249), Warrington Blue Coat (£450), Newton-with-Scales (£636), together with the previously mentioned Chetham's School received more than £200 a year.

TABLE 6.3

Endowments of Non-classical Schools at the time of the Charity Commissioners' Survey

| <£10 | £11-25 | £26-50 | £51-75 | £76-100 | £101+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 41 | 36 | 25 | 10 | 3 | 10 |
| (33%) | (27%) | (20%) | (8%) | (2%) | (8%) |

(2% shortfall due to rounding off of figures)

A comparison between non-classical and classical schools shows that 33% in the former category, as compared with 13% in the latter had endowments of less than £10 a year. 80% of the non-classical schools had an income of les than £50 a year, as compared with roughly half the grammar school sample and only 10% of the non-classical schools were in receipt of more than £75 a year, as compared with 37%. These relatively low incomes had further implications in that there were other aspects to be taken into account such as the provision of books, writing implements and, on occasion, clothes, which, proportionately, took a greater percentage of the income, as compared to the grammar school, where the major function of the endowment was to pay the salaries of the masters.

(viii) Chetham's School and the Blue Coat School, Liverpool

During the period 1759 to 1800, both the costs of running Chetham's Hospital School and its income showed a steady increase.[35] In the year from I May 1760, it cost £357.12.5¾ to run. This was met from the school income but there was an additional sum of £2,806 held on bond, on which 4% interest was charged. During the 1760s, expenses reached a maximum of £452 in 1767-8. During the 1770s, income fluctuated between £414 in 1773-4 and £457 in 1776-7 but reached £500 in 1779-80. The trustees were well aware of the need to increase their income and, at the meeting of 5 October 1778, it was pointed out that the leases held in the Manor of Sutton in Derbyshire had very nearly expired. Hugh Chetham was requested to go over and value them and ensure that the farms earned a clear profit of £600 a year. Between 1781 and 1791, income increased from £579 to £928 and rose to a further peak of £1176 in 1800. Thus, in the space of forty years, the income of the school had more than trebled. Although the greatest increase had come in the 1790s, the previous decade had also shown a sharp increase in income.

Although the Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital was not, strictly speaking, an endowed school, it did, in the course of the century, receive a great number of capital bequests and benefactions. There is also the general question as to whether or not the school would have been in a more advantageous position had it invested its

income, for instance, in land. A third source of income, that it shared with a number of other schools was derived from subscriptions.

In 1709-10, the income of the school was £63.3.2½.[36] Of this sum, £10.9.2½ was collected in the 'new church' on New Year's Day, while fifty-seven subscribers, giving individual amounts from £2 to 10s, provided £50.10.0. Expenditure included £18.16.11 for clothing forty boys and ten girls. In 1711, income came to £241, including £100 from Bryan Blundell, with expenditure of £238.17.5¾ but this included £90 let out at interest. In 1712, income was £174 with expenditure of £171 but this later figure included 16s for coal, 2s to the master for teaching a poor boy to write, £2.4.0 for books and £100 let out at interest. These figures did not include any salaries for the masters. Subscriptions amounted to £39.15.0 in 1713 but these were not included in the general income of £73.10.11. In the same year, expenditure, which included £1.7.0. for the singing master came to £47. Betweeen 1713 and 1717, subscriptions fluctuated around £30 but, from 1718 to 1723 inclusive, fell to approximately £22 before increasing to over £30 in 1724 and 1725. Other sources of income over this period included sacrament money, church collections, gifts, interest on loans and a collecting box in the school. By 1718, an income of £624 together with subscriptions of £23.15.0 against an expenditure of £24 allowed £500 to be laid out on a new school.

## TABLE 6.4

### Income of Liverpool Bluecoat Hospital 1717-1797

| | Benefactions | Legacies |
|---|---|---|
| 1713-19 | £1480 | £ 195 |
| 1720-29 | £1371 | £ 346 |
| 1730-39 | £ 300 | £2586 |
| 1740-49 | £2657 | £1135 |
| 1750-59 | £2369 | £ 590 |
| 1760-69 | £ 716 | £ 827 |
| 1770-79 | £ 61 | £1148 |
| 1780-89 | £ 950 | £ 731 |
| 1790-97 | £ 675 | £1085 |
| | £10,579 | £8,643 |

General expenses included £6 for Mrs. Floydes, who taught knitting and sewing. There was also the cost of the pupil apprentices who numbered two in 1715, five in 1717, four in 1719 and twelve in 1721. The salaries of the three teachers were made up of £40 for the master, plus £7 for his 'dyet', £10 for the usher and £10 for the mistress. There were also the expenses of singing and spelling books and catechisms, as well as the cost of clothing the pupils, which amounted to £7.10.0 in 1725 for twelve boys and one girl.

Reference was made to industrial occupations for the first time in 1722, when the income included £6.10.0 'By teaching to spin and some of the Childrens spinning cotton'. In 1725, £3.15.5 was derived 'by spinning cotton'. The pupils' earnings from spinning cotton had increased to £10.14.9 by 1735.

During the 1730s and 1740s, although more than £30 was received from subscriptions every year, the number of subscribers had fallen to seven. In order to raise subscription income, a campaign was launched to involve the people of Liverpool much more in the school. This resulted in over £50 being subscribed by commanders of ships and £152 from others. By 1749, the total income was £2,288, while expenditure of £1,605 included £1,000 lent out on security.

Benefactions and legacies resulted in considerable sums accruing to the school. (Table 6.4)[37] Between 1713 and 1797, over £19,000 was donated for the use of the school. In the period 1713 to 1729, Bryan Blundell made five bequests, totalling £1,490, while the bequests of John Cleveland amounted to £500. With the exception of

the £100 donation from John Blackburne, the remainder of the bequests ranged from £20 to £50. Likewise, the fourteen legacies, over the same period, yielded from £20 to £100. During the 1730s, benefactions fell away to £300 but legacies increased in value to over £3,500. This figure is slightly misleading in that it includes the values of the premises left by Mrs. Ann Cleveland in 1735 which were only sold, part in 1787 and the remainder in 1802 for £1,706.13.9. and the two houses left by Thomas Morris, which were sold in 1789 for £350. The other thirteen legacies, valued at £20 to £100 provided £530 for the school.

Large increases in the levels of benefactions were noted from 1740 to 1759 before there was a falling away in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Benefactions in the 1740s included one of £1,000 from Alderman Foster Cunliffe and eight of £100. By way of contrast, excluding William Clayton's legacy of £1,000 in 1740, only £135 was given during this decade.

The 1750s were marked by only one benefaction of over £100, and that was for £105, but the forty bequests resulted in a total of more than £2,350 being raised. Legacies amounted to less than £600.

From 1760 to 1797, benefactions fell away from the high level of the previous two decades and reached their nadir in the 1770s with just three bequests worth £61. This was compensated, to some extent, by legacies totalling nearly £1,150.

During the 1780s, a number of groups began to make contributions towards the school. In 1783, half the income of a play resulted in £42.18.10 being handed over to the school and a further £38 from the same source the next year. This continued until 1795 , by which time only ten guineas was provided. In 1784, the Committee for Conducting the Festival of Music donated £180 to the school; while further donations up to 1791 included £13.9.4 from the Musical Society, £11 from the Free and Friendly Society, £16 from the Music Hall Society and £10.17.11 from the 'Subscribers to the Hotel bottom of Lord Street'. In 1794, children attending the funeral of John Walker benefited the school to the sum of five guineas.

In the three years 1798, 1799 and 1800, combined benefactions and legacies totalled £372.0.7., £452.13.0 and £1,470.16.0 respectively, amounting in all to £2,295.9.7. These were followed by £704 in 1801 and £390 in 1802 and, after donations had levelled out at £300-450, a further rise to £1,082 had taken place by 1813.[38]

In addition to benefactions and legacies, there were four additional sources of income for the school, namely 'Estimated or Certain Income' derived from interests and rent, yearly subscriptions, church collections and earnings from the labour of children.

In the 1780s, the income from interest and rent was estimated at £680 to £690. This can be compared with £357 in 1735 and £382 in 1763. By 1793, this had risen to £775 but had fallen slightly to

£751 in 1798. After a further considerable fall in income from this source to £648 in 1802, it climbed quickly to £822 in 1806 and £1,007 in 1811.

Similarly, yearly subscriptions shared a general upward trend from 1781 onwards, although, initially, levels were generally below those of the 1760s with £244 as compared with £318. By 1783, subscriptions had reached £369, while from 1788 to 1797, their value fluctuated around £450 a year. Further increases took place to £531 in 1798, £628 in 1800, £783 in 1802, £916 in 1811 and £1,014 in 1813. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, subscriptions were running at twice the level of the combined benefactions' and legacies' figure.

Church collections for the school also showed a predominantly upward trend, although there were yearly fluctuations. During the second half of the 1780s, church collections were consistently about the £270-280 mark. By 1794, this source of income had risen to £390, while a further rise took the average amount to about £450 between 1798 and 1804. Church collections reached a peak in 1806 of £542 and, after falling to £400-450 up to 1813, fell further to £294 in 1819.

The final source of income was derived from the labour of pupils. This included oakum picking, cotton spinning and weaving and later pin making. £260 a year was received from 1782 to 1787 but in 1789 this declined to £130. A peak of £370 was achieved in 1793 and 1794. For the remainder of the period, up to 1802, income rose from

£100 to £150 to £206 in the final year before employment was abolished.

Thus, what these figures show is that, despite the fact that the school was not endowed, due to the extent to which it was supported by the mercantile class of Liverpool, it was in receipt of a yearly income which exceeded that of every other school in Lancashire in the eighteenth century. The scale of the school also exceeded that of any other. To take a sample year, 1813, two hundred and thirty-two pupils were educated, boarded, fed and clothed in the school. Food for the year cost £1,680, bedding, cloth and leather aprons cost £517. In addition, thirty-six boys and fourteen girls were apprenticed. Miscellaneous costs came to £833, while a further £304 was spent on oatmeal, bread flour, shelled barley, ling fish and '756½ yards of 'Boys Blue Cloth'. Total expenditure was £3,592, or about £13.6.8. a head. Income, which came to £2,644 included £21 from the sale of manure and old rags, together with £5.11.3 from the sale of metal and old hymn books. Rents amounted to over £450 and interest to £530.

### (ix) Non-classical Schools in the 1820s

By the time of the Charity Commissioners' surveys, the non-classical schools had adjusted to their financial situation in five ways, although there was a degree of overlap between the categories. Approximately twenty-two schools, excluding the Blue

TABLE 6.4

Income of Liverpool Bluecoat Hospital 1713-1797

| | Benefactions | Legacies |
|---|---|---|
| 1713-19 | £1480 | £ 195 |
| 1720-29 | £1371 | £ 346 |
| 1730-39 | £ 300 | £2586 |
| 1740-49 | £2657 | £1135 |
| 1750-59 | £2369 | £ 590 |
| 1760-69 | £ 716 | £ 827 |
| 1770-79 | £ 61 | £1148 |
| 1780-89 | £ 950 | £ 731 |
| 1790-97 | £ 675 | £1085 |
| | £10,579 | £8,643 |

Coat School at Liverpool, were providing a free education for their pupils. These included the 'charity schools' at Manchester, Ribby-with-Wrea, Newton-with-Scales, Blackburn, Stretford, Salford, Kirkham, Standish and Warrington, which combined instruction with one or more aspects of the following; board, clothing, writing equipment or apprenticeships. In addition, there were a number of schools in receipt of an endowment of approximately £30 to £70 a year, which allowed a free education to be provided. In this category were the schools at Formby, Thornton, Poulton, Lytham, Haigh, Colne, Crosby and Newton. Two other schools, Balshaw's at Leyland and Hunter Stret in Liverpool, were examples of relatively large, eighteenth century endowments, with the income of the former coming to £140 and the latter £180.

The second major category of fourteen schools was made up of those which charged fees for all instruction. Except for Didsbury (£43) and Dean Church (£34), the other schools tended to have very small endowments, ranging from Gorton (nil), Walmsley (£2.7.0.), Ellel (£5.7.6.) to Fulwood (£18) and Edgworth (£22). In twelve cases, the introduction of fees had been a response to the inadequacy of the endowment, although, in one instance, Walmsley, the master had acted contrary to the instructions of the trustees. In 1795, the Committee had ordered that 'eight girls should be placed as free scholars'. In 1796, James Howorth and his wife were appointed to the school. They were soon succeeded by John Pilkington, who, it

was alleged, 'for twenty-five years taught not a single girl gratis although he received £20 per annum'. This was confirmed by the evidence of Pilkington before the Charity Commissioners when he stated that 'until last Easter (from 1803) no children were taught free'.[39]

In four cases, Audenshaw, Marsden's school at Bolton, Billinge Chapel End and Southworth-with-Croft, the poor pupils qualified for subjects at reduced fees. At Audenshaw, thirty poor children were taught reading at 2s a quarter with half of the charge being paid for out of charity funds and the other half by the parents.[40] Twenty children at Marsden's school received free instruction in reading and catechism but they paid for writing and accounts at reduced fees.[41] All the children of the township of Southworth-with-Croft qualified for instruction at a lower rate than the usual charges fixed by the trustees.[42] Finally, at Billinge Chapel End, ten pupils were taught free and seven 'at half the usual rate'.[43]

The most numerous category was made up of sixty-four schools which utilised their endowments to provide a number of free places. In some cases, the restricted free places were a reflection of the endowment. At Edenfield, one child was taught free in respect of an endowment valued at £1.2.6.[44]. Despite an endowment of £24, only two were taught free of charge at Pilling. In his evidence to the Charity Commissioners, William Cowan, the master, stated that when he had first come to the school, he had understood that he had to teach nine or twelve poor children reading, free of any charge.

None had been nominated and accordingly, he had taught all the children coming to the school and taken fees from all who were able to pay.[45] There were also only two free scholars at Astley but this was more a reflection of the rundown nature of the school in which there were only five pupils altogether. This was probably due to the age of the master, Robert Cunliffe who had been 'schoolmaster of Astley 55 years last July'. The school roll had been 80 or 90 when he had first been appointed. Over the last five years, the numbers in the school had declined from about 20 a year to 12-15 and further to five. For the three fee-payers, the charge was 3d. a week for writing and 5d. for accounts.[46]

Other schools with up to ten free scholars included Ashton-under-Lyne, Billingham, Samlesbury (although there were no free scholars at the time of the Charity Commissioners' investigation), Little Lever, Turton, Croston, Halton, Huyton, Caton, Scotforth, Astley, Cuerden, Hopwood, Hollinwood, Scarisbrick, Rainford, Todmorden, Torver, Blawith, Bardsea, Read, Whittington, Culceth and Sawrey. At Sawrey, the Charity Commissioners were interested as to why the number of free scholars was only four, rather than the six stipulated in the deed of William Braithwaite in 1766. It seems that the bequest had been taken over by the parish to educate four pauper children, although it was the master's opinion that the six free places should be 'better bestowed upon the children of labourers with large families' who, at that time, were required to pay quarterage.[47]

Schools offering up to twenty free places were Marsden's School at Bolton, Great Harwood, Roscow Fold, Tottington, Esprick Eccles, Chipping, Row Green Flixton, Skerton, Euxton, Whittle-le-Woods, Melling, Unsworth, Littleborough, Spotland, Haslingden and the two schools at Billinge. At Marden's School, twelve poor children were instructed on Brooke's charity and twenty upon Marsden's but, in the latter case, the pupils were required to pay fees for further instruction. [48] At Melling, although twenty-five or six were taught free 'being children of poor people', they were required to pay fire money.[49]

Substantial numbers of free scholars were to be found at Pleasington (40), Carleton (up to 40), Walton (up to 35), West Derby and Rochdale with sixty. At Scarisbrick, Howick and Longton, the majority of the pupils received a free education.

In addition to the endowment restricting the number of scholars entitled to its benefit, free instruction in the subjects offered was also variable. Provision was made for reading only at Great Harwood, Roscow Fold, Eccles, Flixton, Euxton, Read, Scarisbrick, Unsworth and Whitworth. Marsden's School and Row Green specified reading with catechism. Ainsworth, uniquely, offered reading and accounts, while Blackburn Girls Charity School and Spotland included sewing and knitting. Instruction in reading and writing was offered at Billington, Little Lever, Ashton-under-Lyne, Whittle-le-Woods, Hopwood and Golbourne, while Tottington also included sewing and knitting.

The largest group comprising Chipping, Huyton, Esprick, Skerton, Melling, Hollinwood, Chipping, Skelmersdale, Howick, Longton, Carleton, Rainford, Windle, Rochdale, Milnrow, Butterworth, Littleborough, Torver, Walton, West Derby, Haslingden and Whittington instructed their pupils in the 3Rs on the endowment. The number of pupils enjoying this instruction varied from two at Rainsford to sixty at Rochdale and West Derby.

What appears to have been generally the case was that teachers in schools with adequate endowments were expected to provide a full general education. Where the endowment was of restricted value, then, the expectation was that an education equivalent to that value, in terms of either the number of pupils or the extent of the instruction, would be given.

The fifth category comprised the schools that provided free instruction in reading for some or all of the pupils but, in every other case, the pupils were expected to pay for writing and accounts, with the exception of Burscough, which catered solely for reading. At Brindle, Chipping, Woodplumpton, Moss-side, Ringley, Tatham, Hoole, Ringley and Hindley, all the pupils, provided that they lived locally, received free instruction in reading. This appears to be related to their foundation as free schools, although this was modified in an indenture of 1699 at Woodplumpton which stated that the school should be free 'so far as the issues and revenues would extend'.[60] At Ringley, free reading, with payment for writing and arithmetic, was 'stated to have always been

the practice', by Mr. Allen, a trustee. This was further supported by the evidence of the Rev. John Barnstall, master and formerly perpetual curate, who declared 'They are taught reading free which I understand to have always been the custom'.[51] In the other schools in this category, free instruction was limited to six pupils at Garstang, thirteen at Westhoughton, fifteen at Downham and thirty-six at Croston.

Thus, at the time of the Charity Commissioners' survey, the majority of non-classical schools required the pupils to pay fees for all or part of their education. The level of fees in the 1820s was broadly similar across the county. A charge of 2d a week was made at Audenshaw, Finisthwaite and 3d. for reading and writing and 5d for arithmetic at Astley. At Marsden's School, Bolton, the twenty charity children could learn to write for 3d, half the usual fee.[52] At Brindle, the relatively high fees of 6d a week for writing and 9d for arithmetic did not result in a loss of pupils, since Mr. Brinsley, the master at the time of the Charity Commissioners' survey, had built up the school from six or seven to over sixty pupils.[53]

Other schools, in common with the grammar schools, charged quarterage. Fulwood with charges of 4s 6d for reading, 7s 6d for writing and 10s 6d for arithmetic was more expensive than Pilling charging 3s, 5s and 7s 6d respectively, or Goosnargh where reading was free and writing cost 2s 6d and arithmetic 5s. Two other examples, showing the broad comparability of fees, were Walton with

3s for writing and 5s for arithmetic and Bardsea charging 2s, 4s and 6s respectively. These charges can be compared with the situation at Blackrod Grammar School, where pupils in the usher's department paid 6s for writing and 9s for accounts quarterly. Other schools where quarterage was paid included Pleasington, Melling, Sawrey, Carleton and Lowick.[54]

It is difficult to date accurately the introduction of fees in most of the schools. One school where this can be done is Walton where an order of 1809, found in the parish account book, allowed the master to impose the prviously mentioned charges. In his evidence before the Charity Commissioners, the master stated 'I make this charge to the children of farmers and those who are competent to pay it'.[55] At Fulwood, fees had been introduced 'long before' the present master.

As in the grammar schools, a number of additional charges could be made. At Croston, the original school rules included entrance fees of 1s and 6d payable by poor cottagers. In 1823, the latter fee was increased to 8d.[56] Fire money was increased to 1s 6d, while 1s was charged at Melling.[57] Cockpence of 6d was payable at Pleasington, while at Clifton with Salwick, the pupils were expected to pay between 2d and 6d to the master at Christmas and Shrovetide, although this could amount to 1s on occasions.[58]

As might be expected from the social class of the pupils and the relative status of these schools, boarding played a minor role, except in the case of such charity schools as Liverpool,

Manchester, High Style and Ribby-with-Wrea, where it was part of the charitable provision. The only evidence for the presence of boarders in the remainder of the schools is to be found at Eagley Bridge. This school had been set up for poor children in 1794 but since it lacked any endowment, the master was compelled to charge fees. The Charity Commissioners noted that the present master 'has a large attendance of pay scholars and a few boarders'. That this had been the case previously was confirmed by John Ashworth, the son of the founder-trustee, who stated in his evidence that 'a former master had 10 boarders'.[59]

**(x) Charitable Trends in the Eighteenh Century**

In the course of the eighteenth century, a minimum of more than £28,000 was donated for the endowed non-classical schools in Lancashire. This figure is of general, rather than specific accuracy, since the original value of the endowment is not always known. This applies, for instance, to Balshaw's bequest for Leyland, which was providing an income of about £140 a year at the time of the Charity Commissioners' inquiry. In this case, the value of this bequest has been tentatively estimated at £1,000 when it was originally provided. Where the annual income is known but not the capital value, then it has been assumed that this will represent one-twentieth of the value. The figure of £28,000 also

TABLE 6.5

Charity and the Endowed Non-classical Schools in the Eighteenth Century

| | |
|---|---|
| 1700-1709 | £3,131 |
| 1710-1719 | £2,370 |
| 1720-1729 | £2,772 |
| 1730-1739 | £1,408 |
| 1740-1749 | £1,203 |
| 1750-1759 | £2,732 |
| 1760-1769 | £2,938 |
| 1770-1779 | £1,999 |
| 1780-1789 | £2,885 |
| 1790-1800 | £7,435 |
| | ------ |
| | £28,873 |

includes the amounts raised by subscription either to build the school, or to provide an endowment, where the sums involved are known. In the majority of cases, it does not include the cost of building the school or the land on which the school was built, as often there is no reference to such values.

This total can be compared with the approximate sum of £28,600 provided over the period 1480 to 1660 but there is the effect of inflation to be taken into consideration when seeking to compare the two sets of figures.

The pattern of bequests, also, showed a change in that the large, single donations played a lesser role in the eighteenth century, as compared with the previous era. There were, in fact, only three bequests, valued at more than £1,000 in the course of the century. These were Hornby's for Newton-with-Scales, Balshaw's for the school which was to bear his name at Leyland and Mrs. Waterworth's gift of £4,000 in 1800 for Hunter Street School in Liverpool.

What this confirms is that the level of philanthropy remained constant throughout the eighteenth century, apart from a period of relative decline between 1730 and 1750, which might have been connected with the withdrawal of the S.P.C.K. from its involvement in education. Conversely, the interest shown during the first decade could well have been a reflection of the interest aroused by the work of the Society. Table 6.5 also confirms the upsurge in philanthropy during the last two decades of the 1700s, which has been ascribed as a reflection of the increased interest in

## TABLE 6.6

## Charity and Endowed Classical and Non-classical Schools in the Eighteenth Century

| | |
|---|---|
| 1700-1709 | £3,751 |
| 1710-1719 | £4,815 |
| 1720-1729 | £6,350 |
| 1730-1739 | £1,633 |
| 1740-1749 | £1,563 |
| 1750-1759 | £3,512 |
| 1760-1769 | £3,608 |
| 1770-1779 | £2,529 |
| 1780-1789 | £3,225 |
| 1790-1800 | £8,345 |
| | ------- |
| | £39,331 |

education fuelled by the development of the Sunday Schools and as a reaction to the French Revolution. In the latter case, the role of the schools was to civilise the masses to ensure that such a happening would never take place in England.

By adding the overall amount donated for grammar schools in the eighteenth century to that provided for the non-classical schools (Table 6.6), a total in excess of £39,000 is reached. What was significant about the pattern for the grammar schools is that despite bequests being at a significantly lower level, as compared with the non-classical schools, except for the twenty year period from 1710 to 1729, the pattern of donations was very similar, with both areas reaching a nadir in 1730 to 1749.

If the benefactions of £10,579 and legacies of £8,643 provided for the Liverpool Bluecoat Hospital between 1717 and 1797 are added, then in the eighteenth century, a minimum of £58,553 was given for education in Lancashire. Thus, while acknowledging the effects of inflation, a sum equal to twice that donated in the period 1480 to 1660 was provided in approximately half the time scale.

What the evidence of these figures does suggest is that the charitable impulse, after declining in the period 1660 to 1699, reasserted itself in the early eighteenth century. This philanthrophy was directed not only towards the founding and support of non-classical schools, as exemplified in the 'charity school movement', but also towards the founding and maintenance of grammar schools, which, in the key period of S.P.C.K. involvement,

actually received bequests on a larger scale than the non-classical schools, at least in Lancashire. Money continued to be provided for education throughout the century and this surely supports Miss Jones' epithet of the eighteen century as 'par excellence' the age of philanthropy'.

References: Chapter Six

1. V.C.H. Lancs. Vol.II, p.594.

2. Ibid., p.593.

3. Ibid., p.575.

4. Stocks, op.cit., p.20.

5. V.C.H. Lancs. Vol.II, p.600.

6. Ibid., p.603.

7. Ibid., p.571.

8. Gomez, Dissert..p.251. Tompson, Classics or Charity p.30 gives figures of £5 -£10. Presumably, he is referring to the first half of the century.

9. See Jordan, Soc. Inst., pp.42-4.

10. Luft, op.cit., p.17, p.77.

11. Wase MSS CCC 390/2/p.8. (Bod. Lib.)

12. EDA/3/3/153 (C.R.O.)

13. i) Graham and Pythian, op.cit., p.15. ii) Mumford, op.cit. pp.257-258.

14. See Chapter Two passim.

15. Tompson, op.cit., pp.76-7.

16. Ibid., p.77.

17. DDLm/5/24a-5 (L.R.O.)

18. i) Wase MSS CCC 390/2 (Bod. Lib.) ii) Bagley, Upholland Gram. Sch., Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. Ches. Vol., 101, pp. 93-4; 95.

19. i) EDA 3/3/165 (C.R.O.) ii)) C.C.R. Vol.20, p.195.

20. EDA 3/3/187 (C.R.O.)

21. Vincent, op.cit., pp.40-1.

22. Tompson, op.cit., pp.28; 76;92.

23. i)DDX 94/94 and DDX 94/95 (L.R.O.) ii) Kay, op.cit., pp.34-7.

24. Chap. VI of the School Statutes.

25. See especially, Kay, op.cit., pp.60-1.

26. Based upon C.C.R. Vol.19, pp.196-208.

27. i)DDX 94/59. Account Bk. 1736-1837 (L.R.O.) ii) C.C.R. Vol.19, pp.184-9.

28. i) Kay, op.cit., p.130. ii) DDX /94/59 (L.R.O.)

29. DDX /22/53a (L.R.O.)

30. C.C.R. Vol. 15, pp.194-205.

31. Ibid., p.199.

32. Brown, op.cit., p.22-3.

33. Duc. Lanc. Pleadings Vol.CX11 a32 (Pub. Rec. Off.) quoted in Brown, op.cit., pp.37.

34. Ibid., pp.45-6. The following section is based upon pp.57-79.

35. Minute Bk. Chetham's Hospital (Chet. Lib.)

36. This section is based upon 377/Blu/5 (Acc 1604) (Pict. Lib.).

37. Some Account of the Rise, Progress and Present establishment of the Blue Coat Hospital Liverpool (Pict. Lib.)

38. 1813 Account of the Blue Coat Hospital (Pict. Lib.)

39. i) C.C.R. Vol.19, p.215. ii) Ch.2 Box 129. It seems that the £2.7.0 endowment was made up to £20 by the trustees and from the estate of James Green who had provided the site for the school together with a small endowment.

40. C.C.R. Vol.16, p.87.

41. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.175.

43. C.C.R. Vol.21, p.292.

43. C.C.R. Vol.20, p.228.

44. C.C.R. Vol.19, p.227.

45. Ch. 2 Box 131.

46. Ch.2 Box 133.

47. Ch. 2 Box 132.

48. Ch. 2 Box 129. Evidence of Arthur Forkington, master.

49. Ch. 2 Box 131. James Bennett, master.

50. C.C.R. Vol.11, p.362.

51. Ch. 2 Box 136.

52. Ch. 2 Box 129.

53. Ch. 2 Box 129. Mr. Brinsley's evidence.

54. Based upon Ch.2 Box 129 Brindle, Blackrod, Pleasington, Audenshaw; Box 130 Finisthwaite; Box 131 Pilling, Melling; Box 132 Sawrey, Fulwood; Box 133 Astley; Box135 Carleton; Box 136 Goosnargh; Box 137 Lowick, Walton, Bardsea.

55. Ch. 2 Box 137.

56 C.C.R. Vol.15, p.116. Hiett's Rules are referred to on p.113 and were included in a printed form in the Account Bk. PR 686. (L.R.O.)

57. Ch. 2 Box 131.

58. Ch 2 Box 129, 132.

59. Ch. 2 Box 129.

# CHAPTER SEVEN

## GRAMMAR SCHOOL DECLINE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ?

### (i) Neglect by Educational Historians of the Eighteenth Century

The eighteenth century, as far as developments within the grammar schools have been concerned, has been almost entirely neglected by the educational historian. The 'vigorous broom of fresh research' has, in fact, been no more than a superficial dusting but what has been revealed here and there has led to questions being raised regarding the traditional, impressionistic interpretation of the period as being one during which the grammar schools entered into a state of lethargy or general decline.[1] In a number of cases, the grammar schools even went out of existence altogether. Since these institutions were apparently in such a depressed state, they have held little interest for the historian, despite the fact that they had enjoyed a 'golden period' in the previous century and some interpretation of the causes of 'decline' was obviously called for. This attitude has been reinforced by a number of general educational accounts such as J.W.Adamson, <u>English Education 1789-</u>

*1902* (Cambridge, 1930); H.C.Barnard, *A Short History of English Education from 1760 to 1944* (London, 1947) and M.Sturt, *The Education of the People* (London, 1967). These studies treated the eighteenth century very superficially and then only in relation to the sowing of the seeds of popular education during its latter part. Similarly, the works of M.G.Jones, *The Charity School Movement* (Cambridge, 1938) and, more especially, Irene Parker, *The Dissenting Academies* (Cambridge, 1914), H.M.McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Acts* (Manchester, 1931) and N.Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1951) have tended to stress the educational developments that took place in the period 1660 to 1800 as being a reaction to the decline of the grammar schools and the universities. Jones, for example, sees the changing philanthropic emphasis as part of this reaction. In the case of the other three authors, their works were a direct reflection of the implied criticisms of the grammar schools. The only general study which considered the aspect of grammar school decline was S.J.Curtis, in *The History of Education in Great Britain*, who placed its genesis in the seventeenth century when these schools had failed to respond to criticisms from such men as Bacon, Milton and Locke. Its nadir was, however, to be reached in the following century.[2]

(ii) Eighteenth Century Decline - Its Genesis

The acceptance of the description of the eighteenth century, as one during which the fortunes of the grammar schools reached a very low ebb, appears to have been originally due to the influence of two writers, A.F.Leach and de Montmorency. Leach's alleged weaknesses as a historian have been noted by W.E.Tate, Joan Simon and R.S.Tompson and, in this context, it is necessary to do no more than point to his basic educational ideas and the features associated by him with 'decline'.[3]

Fundamentally, Leach, whose interest in educational history had been developed after he became an Assistant Charity Commissioner in 1884, sought to show in his educational writings (1890-1915) the antiquity of English schools and to disprove the idea of the Tudors as the great patrons of English education. What he did was to move the emphasis to the medieval period and, in his research, he tended to place little emphasis upon post-1600 developments. Indeed, he wrote 'With the eighteenth century, the modern era of schools begins ......... the historical interest becomes less for a work like the present'.[4] It is of some significance that, in the histories of schools in the Victoria County History: Lancashire (Volume 2), Leach covered the schools founded prior to 1550, with the exception of Prescot and Warrington, while Rev. J.H.Chaytor described the remainder. It has, also. been alleged that, when he did bring his descriptions of schools up to the eighteenth

century, he used only materials 'readily available and his analysis of them was often swift and shallow'.[5]

According to Leach, 'the late eighteenth century blight' or 'decay which overtook the large majority of the ancient grammar schools' was made up of three aspects. The first was curriculum degradation, which was primarily the omission of Latin from the curriculum and its replacement by elementary subjects. Secondly, there was managerial corruption which included sinecurists, pluralists and longterm masterships and, thirdly, depressed school numbers leading in some cases to the closure of schools.

The role of de Montmorency has been, first of all, to support the picture of inefficiency and corruption to be found in the grammar schools by pointing to the abuse of the charities, as well as the appointment of 'ignorant persons ........ to carry out the duties of teaching'. Secondly, through references to legal cases, especially the King v the Archbishop of York 1795 and the Attorney-General v the Earl of Mansfield 1826-7, he publicised the inflexibility of the grammar school in modernising its curriculum, as well as contributing to the view of schools as 'empty walls without scholars'.[6] The former view has been supported by Curtis who pointed out that 'The grammar schools, bound by their foundation statutes, were unable to change their narrow classical curriculum even if they wished to'.[7]

As a result of the extent to which the views of Leach and de Montmorency were accepted, the decline of the grammar schools in

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been reiterated uncritically by a great number of later historians. Alicia Percival. for example, has argued that by the 1770s 'a terrible blight had descended upon the majority of these grammar schools'. This 'blight' was due to four factors, namely the insufficiency of the endowments; the combining of the role of schoolmaster and parson; a concentration upon feepayers and an out-of-date curriculum.[8] The basic contradiction, which has either not been realised or merely ignored, would seem to be that the presence of feepaying scholars would hardly suggest that the schools were in a state of decay. In ascribing the combining of the roles of schoolmaster and parson as being a fundamental factor in depressing the status of the grammar schools, she is merely repeating uncritically the view of Leach that it was 'the pernicious practice of employing parsons as schoolmasters ........ which led to the degradation or ruin of many grammar schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries'.[9] Cyril Norwood has described the eighteenth century, rather emotively, as 'a dark period in the history of English education', ascribing this as due to a 'narrow curriculum of much Latin and a little Greek, handled with increasing stupidity by clerical pedagogues of low status'.[10] Apart from the fact that he did not provide any evidence to support his claim of 'low status', he also overlooked the contradiction in that such masters would hardly be capable of teaching 'much Latin'. S.J.Curtis, on the other hand, sweepingly related the fact that 'the eighteenth

century displayed secondary education at its very lowest level' to the declining standards of 'social and official' life and the emergence of England as the world's major industrial nation. In neither case does there appear to be any direct relationship.[11] As another example of the way in which historians have sought to fit grammar schools into preconceived categories, the 'degeneration, evident and accelerating anyway by 1660' has been connected to the 'notorious floggings of Dr. Keate', conveniently ignoring the one hundred and fifty year gap between the alleged association.[12]
Other factors which have been put forward as helping to account for the decline of grammar schools have included the poverty of tenant farmers; the decline of religion and the overproduction of boys for a restricted labour market.[13]

## (iii) Perceptions of Decline in Lancashire Grammar Schools

Decline has been accepted, either implicitly or explicitly, by the writers of the histories of grammar schools in Lancashire. In sixteen examples, no attempt was made to question the alleged general decline of such schools. As a result, three categories can be recognised.
In the first category are those schools, which despite the general pattern, did not experience decline. At Rivington, it was noted that 'The progress made by the school in the latter part of the seventeenth century was maintained during the eighteenth'. Later,

after commenting that 'The reasons for the decline of the grammar schools ......... can be read of in the history of English education', Kay went on to write 'Cases can be found justifying this attack but perhaps not so readily at Rivington'.[14]
The historian of Upholland School pointed out the educational paradox: 'The same years which produced the peerless prose of Gibbon and Burke ....... were years of idleness and decadence in both schools and universities'. After devoting a page and a half to decline, he went on 'Through these doldrums Upholland Grammar School sailed safely and quickly'. This was due to the lack of local serious effects on the school as a result of the Industrial Revolution or social change.[15]
Similarly, after describing alleged decline, Luft in his history of Merchant Taylors' School wrote 'Whatever may have been the position of free schools in other parts of the country, however, the Crosby School was now reaching out to a period of rapid development and considerable local distinction and there is no sign of decay for well-nigh a century'. This was due to 'a series of able and conscientious headmasters' and the 'proximity of Liverpool' which 'provided during the eighteenth century a growing population to draw upon'. It was under Rev. John Waring (1677-1711) that 'the school entered a long period of prosperity'. Yet, a number of aspects do not give full support to this view. On the positive side, the school had about fifty scholars and the School Visitors in 1681 reported on the master as a 'Man of good learning and parts

....... and as far as we can inform ourselves is ......... industrious in his calling.' On the negative side, there was no usher and Waring's appointment called for him to 'teach the Scholars to read English and to teach them to write'. For several years before his death, he had been in poor health which raises questions as to whether this interfered with his teaching duties. Waring's description as a 'great and good man' seems to have been based upon his ability to get on with his neighbours, especially Nicholas Blundell, the Catholic Squire, his breeding of pigeons and his bee keeping rather than any documentary evidence regarding the school.[16]

In the second category were those school historians, who, having accepted the 'decline theory', sought to fit their own school into the same category, despite either the lack of, or even contradictory evidence. Such an example can be found at Middleton. 'Politically suspect, socially rejected, intellectually dead; such was the state of the grammar schools in the eighteenth century.' However, the authors continued, 'although there is very little documentary material relating to its history in this period, the special factors affecting its decline are sufficiently clear'. These 'special factors' were proximity to Manchester and Bury Schools 'serving prosperous and growing centres of commerce' and failure to attract the gentry.[17] Here it is of interest that a local historian of Bury has pointed out in the period prior to about 1730 that 'there were few educational opportunities for

Bury's children, the old grammar school having fallen into serious decay'.[18] Furthermore, to support decline at Middleton 'it is posssible that, as at many other schools, the master drew the income leaving the tiresome business of class instruction to his asistant'. Thus, because some grammar schools were described as being in a state of decline, Middleton must have been in the same position and because some unspecified masters took their salaries but failed to do any teaching , this must have been the case at Middleton, despite the lack of any supportive evidence. Yet there is some evidence for decline later in the century. According to the 1778 Returns, the school was in a state of disrepair and the undermaster, Nathaniel Fish 'was formerly very attentive to the school but is now quite superannuatedand consequently has few or no scholars'.[19] The school revived under James Archer with the building being repaired and the number of pupils reaching one hundred and thirty in 1789.

General decline is, also, accepted by Brown in his history of Bolton School and, seemingly, for the school but he then goes on to point out that 'when many schools were incompetently managed by their trustees, those of Bolton were at least competent'. In addition, double the number of new trustees required were appointed in 1700, while two trustees 'showed their concern' by leaving bequests. By the 1780s, Bolton School was apparently 'stagnant'. This was despite the efforts of Sir Ashton Lever to

bring 'some originality into the discussion of trustees who were trying to face the challenge of the growth of Bolton into an important industrial centre' and the passing of a private Act of Parliament in 1788, initiated by the governors.[20]

Grammar school decline was accepted at Ashton-in-Makerfield. However, 'No serious misdemeanours in the running of Ashton Grammar School in the eighteenth century have come to light but a certain administrative slackness on the one hand countered by the "philanthropic zeal" of the school's benefactors suggests that here was no great exception to the general rule'.[21] Again a question is raised as to whether philanthropic support would have been forthcoming for a school in a state of decay.

Similarly, contradictions are also evident in Murray's account of Lancaster Grammar School. Here 1708 to 1765 is identified as being the relevant era, being described as 'a period of undistinguished obscurity in common with most of the grammar schools of the county'. This was despite two boys being sent to Cambridge under the mastership of Stephen Lewis (1725-33) 'about whom almost nothing is known'. The evidence for decline under Viliam Johnson (1733-65) was that his mastership was distinguished only by 'the length of his period in office'. Yet the school was 'not in a state of decadence' and the setting up of a writing and mathematical school was 'one of the many indications that the Corporation as governors of the school were determined to keep it in an efficient state'. Murray, also, considered that the governors neither

neglected their duties nor attempted to divert the school's endowment illegally. With reference to the period after 1765, despite national decline, Lancaster 'greatly enhanced its reputation'. Such success was due to a very able master, the Rev. James Watson (1765-94), the support of the governors and the general prosperity of Lancaster. The Rev. John Widditt, his usher and successor, received the Freedom of the Corporation for his services, including those to education. Overall, despite the conflict between Rev. Thomas Holmes and the Corporation, which began in 1717 over repairs to the schoolhouse, and which were presumably the cause of the 'decay' identified in 1721, the general picture of Lancaster Grammar School in the course of the eighteenth century is not one of decline.[22]

Mumford, in his history of Manchester Grammar School wrote 'At no period did the Grammar Schools of England exhibit such signs of decay as at the end of the eighteenth century'. This was caused by the commercial depression following prolonged war leading to a fall in the number of wealthy boarders, the decreasing value of the classics as compared to modern studies and the age of the master and his assistant which 'limited their grasp of the changing conditions and their adaptability to the new needs'.

This 'decline' is not borne out by Mumford's own statistics. Between 1783 and 1807, he noted that the size of school was probably between one hundred and twenty and one hundred and fifty. This had been exceeded in the period 1764-82, when there were,

perhaps, one hundred and fifty to two hundred pupils, but it was greater than the figure before 1749. Similarly, the admissions for 1780-89 were greater than for any other decade, except the 1770s, and even the lower figure (285) for 1790-99 exceeded the admissions for the rest of the century, apart from 1760-89. Admissions to Oxford in the final decade of the century, 45, compared with 47 (1780-89) and 46 (1770-79) and exceeded those for 1720-29 (16), 1730-39 (21), 1740-49 (28), 1750-59 (25) and 1760-69(26).

What the evidence for Manchester Grammar School does suggest is that between 1760 and 1789, the school enjoyed a period of unprecedented popularity and the alleged 'decline' in the final years of the century was only relative. In fact, the school was stronger at the end of the eighteenth century than it had been in the first half of that period.[23]

The third category includes those school historians who do not actually mention 'decline' but who show by the stress upon the work of the masters, at the turn of the century, that this aspect was, in fact, in mind. At Leigh, it was pointed out that the school was flourishing under the mastership of Ralph Pilling (1699-1726), who was 'foremost a scholar and deeply imbued with a sense of the religious'. Although 'great things were done', the only evidence presented to support the prosperity of the school was its rebuilding in 1709 and Pilling acquiring a cottage next to the school 'necessitated by an increase in numbers', it was surmised.[24]

Thus, in a number of cases, those who supported the 'decline theory' and those who opposed it did so on the basis of little or no evidence.

The last word on this topic must go to the historian of Farnworth (Widnes) School. He found it 'odd and amusing' that the 'seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries should see in the middle of their course, an insufficient and more or less sinfully incapable pedagogue at Farnworth School of blessed memory'.[25] Decline was, consequently, not a feature of the eighteenth century but an aspect that occurred in education in one hundred year cycles. (!)

(iv) **Managerial Corruption**

Managerial corruption has generally been considered to have been an instrumental factor in the decline of the grammar schools. In 1818, Nicholas Carlisle firmly placed the responsibility for the fact that ' many of our numerous and ample Endowments have fallen to decay' due to 'the negligence or cupidity of ignorant or unprincipled Trustees'.[26]

Yet such corruption as exemplified by the wholesale embezzlement of school incomes or the illegal transference of school estates was rare. Indeed, the Charity Commissioners, despite their suspicions only found a few examples nationally. Two reasons help to account for this. Firstly, there were always individuals or groups who were aware of their rights and willing to fight for them. Secondly, the Court of Chancery was responsible for both regular chancery proceedings and those initiated by the Commission for Charitable Uses. The underlying legislation was the Statute of Charitable Uses 43 Eliz.c.6. (1601), which had replaced a similar piece of legislation dated some four years previously. Its purpose was to 'reform deceits and breaches of trust touching lands given to charitable uses' and it authorised the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper to issue commissions, under the great seal, to hold inquisitions. After a jury had investigated the complaint, a decree of the true observation of the trust was to be issued, subject to appeal to the Lord Chancellor. It would seem that the Commission of Charitable Uses was quite effective during the seventeenth century, at least based on the number of cases brought before it. There was a falling off after 1688 and a further decline after 1750. Indeed, between 1750 and 1783, the date of the last commission, only eleven cases were dealt with.

In the period 1623 to 1629 a number of commisssions considered misappropriations of endowments in Lancashire. At Much Woolton,

Edward Mollineux had kept £55 for five years which 'he hath detained in his hands and yielded no profitt thereof the the school nor secured the same. Likewise, £50 was in the hands of Henry Mossocke of Allerton and William Ellison of Wavertree'. Orders were agreed at Wigan on 3 March 22nd. James that Mollineux should pay back the £55, together with an additional £15 'for wrongfully Detaineining and misemployinge thereof for the space of five years'.

Another Commission was instrumental in recovering the £100 given by Mary Abram to Miles Gerard of Ince for the use of Hindley School. Gerard was ordered to pay the £100 for the use of a free school, which was to be founded, together with interest of £8 a year until the payment was made. Additionally, he was ordered to pay interest of £3 a year for the ten year period over which he had held the money. The Commission also ordered Thomas Ashton at Bolton-le-Sands to pay £1 2.6.8. arrears towards the building of the free school to compensate for the £4 a year school rent, which he had kept for his own use. Other orders issued by the Commission included £10 to be given to Dean School 'intil a stipend for the said schole be laboured for' and a survey to be made of the lands of Penwortham School due to the smallness of the endowment so that 'the best and most profit be raised'. The school was, also, ordered to be kept at Longton as the most convenient place. Thus, managerial corruption characterised schools even in the seventeenth century. What this evidence suggests is that the schools were at their most vulnerable

in the period between the granting of the endowment and the actual building of the school.

Yet the term 'managerial corruption' is in itself an extreme, lying as it does at one end of a continuum from trustees who were most efficent in administering the school endowment, via those who merely complied with the appropriate trust deeds to those who were negligent and, finally, to those who were downright dishonest.

The Governors of Rivington Grammar School represent an example of a conscientious body during the eighteenth century, despite the fact that they included a number of Nonconformists, which was contrary to the Statutes. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Governors appear to have become more interested in the school. They appointed a writing master in 1695 and a singing master in 1696 and meetings, which became more frequent, were conducted with more order. In 1714, they were responsible for the rebuilding of the school at a cost of just over £80 and, during the course of the century, the school was put on to a more viable financial footing. Firm supervision was exercised over the estates in the north-east of England and these were visited yearly by one or two governors, despite the distances involved. Generally, administration was tightened up with the Statutes being particularly referred to and meetings were held up to four times a year. The extent to which the governors controlled the school's affairs can be seen from the atendance at meetings which, apart from 1701, 1712, 1715, 1729,

1739, 1742, 1753, 1763, 1764, 1788, 1789 and 1791 when five of the six governors were present, had full complements.

The school lands were also consolidated in the period between 1794 and 1814. Estates in Wolsingham. Whickham, Sedgefield and Heighington, together with other copyhold lands raised a total of £8,213. Since the governors could not sell land 'except it be for procuring as good or better', the income was used to buy land nearer to the school, which enabled an even closer control to be kept over it.

Governors, also, tended to hold office for long periods of time. This gave continuity and avoided the problems associated with declining numbers of trustees and the legal need to reinvest the trust. Richard Brownlow, for example, had fifty-one year's service between 1737 and 1788. Other long serving governors included William Longworth (1747 -84); John Morris (1713-36) and Jonathon Walker (1748-78). The evidence from Rivington Grammar School does not support managerial incompetence in the eighteenth century.[28]

Yet, even in a well regulated school, problems could arise. In 1796, after a Vestry Meeting, the inhabitants went to a meeting of the Governors with accusations of drunkedness, quarrelsomeness and neglect of duty against the master, Rev. Richard Hargreaves. On 4 November, he was given notice to quit but subsequent events highlighted the problem of attempting to remove a master. The dispute had been going on for some time as the Governors had written to Hargreaves on 28 July 1796 'We are sorry to hear the

many complaints made by the inhabitants ......... of the immoral conduct of you Richard Hargreaves Schoolmaster' and had summoned him to appear before them 'for the clearing yourself of the blame'. In reply, Hargreaves, in a letter of 2 August, questioned the right of at least two of the members to be governors. He went on 'This usurped power, the scandalous misappropriation of the school revenues and other gross abuses of the trust will be the subject of future inquiry'. Here, Hargreaves was probably referring to the religious affiliations of these trustees, although they had frequently been contradictory to the Statutes from the seventeenth century onwards. No subsequent evidence has been found to support his charge relating to 'the scandalous misappropriation of the school revenues'. Hargreaves was supported in his stance by the Treasurer, Thomas Smith, who had received notice to quit his post in a letter, of 27 October 1797, signed by four of the Governors. Smith had refused to resign or 'concur with any of your illegal proceedings'.

Even with the threat of dismissal over him, Hargreaves refused to mend his ways. He was absent from school from 31 January to 4 March 1797 without the consent of the Governors. On returning to school, Hargreaves had found John Lee in his place and 'seazed John Lee by the hair of his head and breast and smote him with his fist'. Hargreaves' drinking problems continued. He had 'got drunk before afternoon service [at Wigan] and got into the pulpit instead of the

reading desk and did not know the diference till it was hinted to him by the clerk'. He was also seen drunk at Euxton and had failed, again, to turn up to school. Eventually on 3 March 1800, the Governors paid him off with £101 together with interest.[29] From the available evidence, the number of pupils in the school did not fall, despite the conduct of the master and the apparent inability of the Governors to discipline him. Thus, a potentially damaging situation, as far as the school was concerned, in the end, caused no more than a minor hindrance to its running.

Unlike Rivington, the trustees of Blackrod Grammar School experienced a number of difficulties arising from the terms of appointment in Holmes' will and the deed of 1640, by which new trustees would be elected by Roger Bradshaigh or his heirs, together with four or more of the substantial inhabitants, whenever four of the trustees were dead. This meant that the surviving trustees had to be relied upon to consult with Bradshaigh's heirs and fresh indentures had to be made. In 1681, new trustees were appointed but by 1693, the only survivor was Wiliam Hulton who was 'ancient and infirme'. When the townspeople submitted a list to Sir Roger Bradshaigh, he refused to accept it on the grounds that it was made up of 'yeomen or persons whom he would not consent to make feofees'.[30] He then drew up his own list of socially acceptable local dignitaries. Seemingly, no further action seems to have taken place, for in 1736, when fresh trustees were appointed, the Graveoak Estate was said to be in the hands of Henry Hulton, the

heir of the last surviving trustee of the 1680 appointees. In 1760 and 1790, trustees were appointed by the same method. When the final 1790 trustee died, in 1843, a new trust deed had not been drawn up and since his executors had no right to appoint the trustees and no one appeared to know the procedure for appointing the four inhabitants, the matter had to be dealt with by the Chancery Court of the Duchy of Lancaster. This problem had been anticipated by the Charity Commissioners, some twenty years earlier, for they had pointed out that 'The expense of a new trust deed seems however indispensable'.[31]

Problems could arise, in addition, with absentee trustees. At the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit to Blackrod, there were only two trustees living in the neighbourhood, Sir Robert Holt Leigh at Hindley Hall, four miles away, and Robert Clayton in Wigan, five miles distant. Of the other trustees, William Clayton 'to whom the other Trustees have generally committed the management of school affairs has resided for the last two or three years at The Grange near Cartmel', some fifty miles away. Of the other trustees, Richard Clayton 'about twelve years ago fled from his embarrassed affairs' and was supposed to be living in France. Rev. John Vause, 'some years ago' had been 'suspended by the Bishop for gross immorality and is said to be at present an inmate of the Fleet or King's Bench'.He had shown a good degree of interest in the school, writing to James Baron, the Treasurer in 1825 and 1826 asking that a new trust be set up since the trustees were now

reduced to five. One of the other trustees who could not be located was John Walmsley who 'if living is supposed to reside in or near Preston' but 'he has never attended any meetings of the Trustees for the past 20, some say 30, years'.[32] Inefficient or absentee trustees could also have implications for other schools in that William Clayton, John Walmsley and John Vause were all governors of Wigan Grammar School as well.[33]

In the Charity Commissioners' report, it was stated that the trustees of Blackrod had not met since 1822 and the management of the property had been left to Mr. Baron, the Treasurer. it was recommended that new trustees should be appointed in view of the need to settle the newly bought property and the infirmity of the master who had been in the school for nearly thirty years.[34] Once more, despite the problems caused by the trustees, there appeared to be no perceptible effects upon the actual running of the school. In both instances, it was in the nineteenth , rather than in the eighteenth, century that the loss of interest on the part of the trustees became evident.

(v) School Closures

More observable examples of managerial corruption ought to be seen in the cases of schools which closed in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Corporation of Liverpool certainly seems to have been remiss, first of all with regard to rebuilding the

grammar school, which had been proposed on several occasions after 1774 , and then in not appointing a master to succeed John Baines who had died in 1803.

Warmpton School revealed the problems of not having legally constituted trustees. The sum of £280, appropriated to the endowment of the school, had been let out at interest and had, finally, come into the hands of James Harrop at 5%. Unfortunately, he had become bankrupt and so could not act in relation to the school trust. The solution put forward by the Charity Commissioners was for Harrop to transfer his interest in the trust, as the representative of the testator's executor, to some proper persons who could, then, both take steps to recover the amount of the debt due to the charity from Harrop's estate and, also could be involved in the re-establishment of the school. The problem was compounded by the small amount of the endowment, which amounted, in all, to less than £25. There was also the age of the master, who was nearing eighty, to be taken into consideration.

At Warton, the governors were apparently extinct due to the want of appointments to fill vacancies. Matthew Hutton had made provision for six trustees to be responsible both for the school and hospital and, on the death of any of them, the number should be made up to six. It was not until 1637 that the grandson of the founder by deed-poll of 25 November appointed the six trustees. Matthew Hutton had, also, allowed the trustees to nominate the masters, should he or his heirs fail to do so, thus anticipating one potential

problem. From 1796 to 1815, £46.13.4 had been paid to the Vicar, £26.14.4 of which was for the use of the school. However, from 1808 until 1823, when he died insolvent, he had kept the master's salary for his own use. The fact that no trustees, after those named in 1637, appear to have ever been nominated meant that no control was exercised over the Vicar, who was responsible for appointing the master.[36] Again, decline was a feature of the nineteenth century but its genesis lay in the seventeenth century.

Winwick provides a third example of a school that was characterised both by closure and the failure to ensure continuity of trustees. An indenture of 6 April 1619 fixed the number of trustees at six, which was to be made up 'so long as any three of the trustees therein named should be living'. A further indenture of 1723 granted £24 a year to the Rector of Winwick and his successors to be paid for the school. This implies that there were no other trustees at this date, as otherwise, presumably, the income would have been entrusted to them. When the Charity Commissioners investigated the school in March 1828, it was shut up and the master was residing twenty miles away.[37]

Although Tompson has noted that twenty-eight grammar schools closed in the eighteenth century, fifteen of them permanently, there were, in fact, no such examples in Lancashire. The county did not reflect Lord Chief Justice Kenyon's description of 'empty walls without scholars and everything neglected but the receipt of salaries and emoluments'.[38] Closure of schools in Lancashire was a feature

associated with the early nineteenth century. In every case, with the possible exception of Liverpool, it could be argued that it was the fact that the schools did not have a legally constituted body, which was, in a large measure responsible, rather than 'managerial corruption'.

### (vi) Longevity of Schoolmasters

Masters who remained in office for long periods were also a source of distrust for Leach. The assumption underlying this view, apparently, was that a long term mastership would inevitably result in an aged, incompetent master. Additionally, such men would be resistant to change and were, thus, part of grammar school decline. Such an opinion tends to ignore the beneficial aspects relating to the stability a good master could bring, although the orthodox view appears to be that any master who did remain in one school for a long time must have been inefficient. Presumably, this was because the master had failed to get 'promotion' by being appointed to a benefice. One other point that has been overlooked is that it was possible for a comparatively short period in office to disguise the fact that the master had been appointed at a relatively advanced age or that a master, who had been appointed in his early twenties would be still relatively young after thirty years in a school.
Although Tompson was critical of Leach in that 'this sort of observation [e.g. 'with the eighteenth century, long masterships

became the rule'] was always delivered as a fact unaccompanied by documentation', he made no attempt to analyse the length of time masters did stay in office.[39] In order to attempt an evaluation of Leach's view, some examples from Lancashire grammar schools will be considered.

One problem is the lack of relevant information for a number of schools. For those schools where the masters can be identified, it was almost invariably the case that the number of masters in the eighteenth century was less than in the previous century.

If the temporary masters betwen 1755 and 1758 are ignored at Great Crosby, five masters can be identified between 1622 and 1700 and five between 1701 and 1800, with Rev. John Waring bridging the centuries. The long term masters in the seventeenth century were Rev. John Kidde twenty-nine years and Rev. John Waring thirty- four years. During the eighteenth century, Rev. Anthony Halsall was master for twenty-five years, Rev. Wilfred Troutbeck for twenty-nine years and the Rev. Matthew Chester for forty-one years (from 1789).Of these masters, all died in office except Rev. John Kidde, who remained as curate in Great Crosby for three years after his dismissal, until his death in November 1654. At their deaths, both Kidde and Waring were fifty-eight years old, which even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could hardly be equated with senility. Troutbeck and Chester were both about sixty-eight at their deaths. Between 1622 and 1677, four masters covered fifty-

five years, an average of about fourteen years, but between 1711 and 1829, the masters averaged nearly thirty years in their posts. Similarly, at Bolton, between 1622 and 1705, there was a minimum of thirteen masters with John Shelmerdine (1687-1705) and John Duckworth (1622-1639) remaining in office for the longest spells. In fact, between 1653 and 1686, there were ten masters, with six in the thirteen years from 1659 to 1672. In the eighteenth century, in addition to Shelmerdine's mastership spanning the centuries, there were only five masters, together with William Nuttall, the usher, who was acting headmaster for almost five years (1785-90). During the seventeenth century at Rivington, eleven masters have been identified, excluding the periods 1640-2 and 1649-54 when the usher took over the combined roles. The pattern breaks down into distinct periods. Between 1609 and 1669, nine masters stayed for an average of less than seven years. John Bradley was then master for forty years (1669-1709) and was followed by four masters between 1709 and 1727. After a two year gap, during which the usher ran the school, the remaining seventy-one years of the eighteenth century were covered by John Norcross Senior (1729-65), John Norcross Junior (1765 -88) and Rev. Richard Hargreaves (1788-1800).

Patterns similar to that of Rivington are to be found in other schools. Seven masters can be identified at Oldham in the seventeenth century and six in the eighteenth century, while Bury had thirteen and six (although the school was closed 1716 to 1728). The restricted records for Blackrod allow six masters to be

distinguished between 1697 and 1798 with James Rothwell master from 1746 to 1798, a period of fifty-two years.

Other masters who remained in schools for long periods included Rev. Charles Lawson at Manchester (1749-1807), James Archer at Middleton (1778-1829), Rev. William Barrow at Manchester (1671-1721), Rev. Robert Harris at Preston (1788-1835) , John Baines at Liverpool (1759-1803), Thomas Fawcett at Oldham (1771-1812) and Matthew Chester at Great Crosby (1788-1829). The record, however, appears to be held by Rev. William Naylor, who was already usher when he was appointed as headmaster of Ormskirk Grammar School on 16 February 1756. His successor was appointed on 11 June 1821, some sixty-five years later.[40]

What this evidence does confirm is that the average length of mastership was indeed longer in the eighteenth, as compared with the seventeenth century. A possible explanation is that in a period of stable or, indeed, falling prices, such as characterised the latter part of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, there would be less financial pressures on the master to seek enhancement. In addition, many of the schools, in the period of rising prices, showed a steady increase in their incomes, with the attendant benefits for the masters. In real terms, as a consequence, the majority of the masters were in a more secure financial situation. In this context, it might be significant that longevity of office was first noted in a number of schools, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, seemingly

coinciding with a period of financial stability. Allied to this was the general political stability after 1660, although initially a number of nonconformist masters did lose their positions in schools.

Since masters tended to remain in office until old age, it is possible that, in some cases, it did have harmful effects on the school. At Warmpton, where the school had been closed, the master was almost eighty years old. As schools did not generally provide for pensions, the masters had no option but to carry on teaching as long as possible, unless they had an alternative source of income such, as a preferment. In cases of incurable or infectious illness, the statutes, as at Manchester, could make provision for the expulsion of the master from the school. Few masters were as fortunate as James Bateman of Bolton, who received a pension, obtained by reducing the salary of the master and the usher. He had been compelled to retire at the age of forty-three, after twenty-two years service, and lived to the age of seventy-two.

Invariably, it was the usher who was in the more parlous financial situation. In 1653, John Woodward aged 'nearly eighty' petitioned for relief at Wigan. He had been usher at Standish Grammar School but the £4 a year pension, he had been promised, did not materialise and he had been 'utterly cast away being old and weak of eyesight'[4] Likewise, James Molyneux sought relief in 1656 for his wife and small children. He had been usher at Wigan for twenty-seven years but removed because of sickness and 'sorely disabled

in speech'.[42] Whereas an elderly master could lessen his burden to a considerable degree by putting his teaching load onto the usher, the latter enjoyed no such advantage.

The age of Woodward and his position as usher, together with the twenty-seven years of service of Molyneux, also raises the question of longevity of ushers. This has not been identified as a factor in the decline of grammar schools. What has been noted in relation to the grammar schools of Staffordshire was that, for many, an ushership was a long term career, rather than a stage in promotion.[43] The longevity of ushers was a feature of both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Ushers typically fell into three categories, those who spent a considerable amount, if not all, of their teaching career in one school; those who stayed for no more than a short period of time, using the post as a stop-gap, and those who progressed from usher to being a master elsewhere. In the first category at Rivington were Thomas Hindley (1587 to 1614) and Edmund Sweetlove (1688-1733). Often, the short term ushers were boys appointed prior to going to university, as was the case with John Norcross Junior, who left Rivington to be master at Standish before entering St. John's College in 1747, or young curates biding their time before receiving a church living. Rev. Edward Owen, appointed in 1753 to Great Crosby and as headmaster of Warrington Grammar School in 1757 comes into the third category.

A mixed pattern has emerged for Middleton. After four ushers had come and gone between 1600 and 1608, John Walkden stayed for thirty-four years. During the eighteenth century, Thomas Fielden (1718-53), Nathaniel Fish (1754-83) and John Kenyon (1784-1801) spanned eighty-three years.

In the case of the long term usher, his presence would provide both for continuity and stability, especially when linked to long serving masters. In the latter case, the constant change of masters and ushers in the seventeenth century must have led to problems of continuity and a number of school records do indicate gaps in their appointments. This problem could be overcome by the combining of the roles of master and usher, or by temporary appointments. In the eighteenth century, short term ushers, allied to long serving masters, would have caused no more than limited disruption to the school. What the presence of the usher does suggest, however, was that the school was adequately resourced, both in relation to the number of pupils and its financial situation, since the post of usher was frequently not filled if the school was experiencing financial problems. Such was the situation at Crosby in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the earlier period, it was due to the loss of income as a result of the Great Fire of London. By the end of the eighteenth century, the fixed endowment was insufficient to support an usher.

(vii) **Pluralism**

Another feature alleged to be indicative of school decline was pluralism, whereby the master combined the task of running a school with, at least, one church living. In this context, three questions might be posed. First of all, why did pluralism lead to decline in the eighteenth century but not previously, when it had been prevalent? The second question relates to the relative priorities of the pluralist and why the teaching duties should have been neglected. In fact, in 1701, Francis Brokesby took this criticism a stage further when he argued that pluralism was fatal to the efficiency and integrity of both the church and schoolmastering as a profession since a master would 'do neither of them well'.[44] An exception to the rule that the majority of clergymen-schoolmasters saw themselves primarily as clergymen was Peter Collier, curate of Warrington. In 1693, he sought the mastership at Clitheroe on the grounds that his stipend was small and he was looking for an excuse to 'preach seldomer', since his parishioners were 'none of the easiest to please'. Thirdly, why should pluralism have led to decline ? Not only does it seem likely that better qualified candidates would have been attracted by the combination of a school endowment and a church living but the fact that a benefice allowed poorly endowed schools to attract masters must have been advantageous.

Attitudes to pluralism tended to vary both between schools and within schools at different periods of time. At Preston, it seems that masters were not allowed to hold church livings but this did not prevent masters being both appointed from and to them. In 1590, William Gellibrand was appointed as master and by 1607 was Rector of Warrington. By way of contrast, John Winckley, who had been curate of Garstang in 1641, had been appointed to the school at Preston by 1656. In 1680, Mr. Walmesley, about to take Orders, was ordered to resign before the following February. Yet, his successor, William Croxton, was 'to apply himself wholly to the duties of his office but not obliged to renounce his functions in the Ministry'. The changing attitude was reflected in the appointment of Robert Oliver, Vicar of Warton, as master in 1737. In 1744, he was appointed Vicar of St. George's, Preston. An attempt was made to get rid of him in February 1748 with a resolution of the Council calling for his resignation on the grounds of his cruelty to the boys and only attending school for two hours a week. The real reason was that he had canvassed for a Whig candidate. Despite this attack, he continued as master until 1764. Robert Harris (1788-1835), the master at the time of the Charity Commissioners' visit was also the Vicar of St.George's, where he remained from 1798 to 1862. These posts were so profitable that he could afford to forego the income from boarders.[45]

The Statutes of Rivington, while not forbidding pluralism, did not encourage it.[46] Under the terms of the oath required to be taken by

the masters, they were not to be a curate of the church 'but in great need'. Likewise, 'If the lands, rents and goods be not above twenty pounds a year, for the Master's wages, there shall be nothing given to the Curate of the church out of it, except he be Usher also which is not to be wished'. The role of the Curate was to teach a writing and song school and was further reinforced in Chapter VII where it was ordered that the usher must not be the curate 'if the number of scholars which he must teach be great'.

This was beginning to break down with the practicalities of the situation by 1617, when George Rudall was offered an addition to his salary, if he would act as preacher.[47] By the eighteenth century, this rule seems to have been circumvented by taking preferments other than in the parish church. Both John Norcross Senior and his son were curates of Horwich, while Richard Hargreaves held a post in Wigan.

Although there were examples of clergymen-schoolmasters at Liverpool in the sixteenth century (John Mylner 1567-8 and Thomas Wainwright about 1599) and in the latter part of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries (Rev. Robert Stythe 1684-1711 and perhaps Rev. William Atherton from 1704 to about 1711), problems only arose in 1748. An official visit by the Mayor and Corporation found a decline in the school numbers. The major problem was due to the master, Rev. Martin, the curate of St. Peter's. The Rector, Rev. Thomas Baldwin, was absent for some reason and it was the 'double duty' taken on by Martin which did

not allow him to 'attend the duty of the school as he otherwise might or would do'. To get Martin to give up the school, he was offered a gratuity of 40 guineas and it was 'ordered that for the future no clergyman shall be admitted schoolmaster or usher ....... in any capacity whatsoever'.[48]

Under the terms of the Act of Parliament in 1812 for Wigan Grammar School, neither the master or the usher was to officiate as curate or lecturer in the parish church, nor were they to perform any clerical duties 'in any Church' during the accepted school hours, except with the governors' written permission.[49]

Although the historian of Bolton School stated, with reference to the period about 1670 that 'The custom was soon established of allowing masters to hold curacies not in the Parish Church but in the numerous outlying chapelries', this had been an earlier practice as Zachary Taylor (c1653-c57) had been the minister of Cockey Chapel. In 1747, Joseph Hooley was forced to resign for breaking this rule and, on his appointment, Thomas Shaw was 'hereby enjoined and obliged that if he should go into Holy Orders not to preach or officiate in the Parish Church of Bolton upon pain to be expelled the school without the consent of the trustees or the major part of them'.[50] A further problem arose during the mastership of William Allen (1814-21). He was perpetual curate of Peel Chapel in Little Hulton, where he lived. Due to complaints about his irregular attendance, school hours were changed to 9-00 to 12-30 to suit him. After his departure, the former school hours

were restored and orders were made that the masters should live within a mile of the school and that clerical duties should not interfere with those at school. There is no evidence that the school declined under Allen, who introduced prizes worth £10 to be given to boys who declaimed in Greek, Latin and English on the day of the annual meeting of the governors.[51]

In contrast to those schools where masters were forbidden to take up clerical posts, no such restrictions appear to have been applied at Great Crosby. John Harison, father of the founder of the grammar school, had left £5 'for the better maintenance from time to time of the Minister that shall serve the Cure at Crosby Chapel'.[52] A record of 1629 referred to the 'electing and hyring of a Reader' who was also to 'teach our children within the Towne'. Since there was no record of any other school in the chapelry, the reference appears to relate to the grammar school.[53] In 1643, John Kidde became curate, 'who hath for his salary the tithes of the said place being worth about thirty pounds a year, except a fifth part'.[54] In 1648, the decline of the school was stated to have been due to the fact that 'Mr. Kidde, the Chief School Master hath much neglected the school and applied himself to the Ministry, being Minister of that part of the parish which is in Crosby'. Rev. John Ashworth (1660-77) was instituted as Vicar of Ormskirk , about eight miles distant, in 1663. He 'rode to Ormskirk on Saturday and returned back on Monday morning'. Although the Merchant Taylors' Company was prepared to let the master combine roles, it was not

prepared to do so for the usher.[55] On the appointment of Thomas Baker in 1663, he was required to apply himself wholly to his teaching and not to 'follow any other calling or employment'. This was seemingly a reaction to the activities of the previous usher, Thomas Hycocke, a Quaker, who had spent much of his time preaching illegally. In 1674, Ashworth was appointed King's Preacher, in addition to his position as Vicar, at Ormskirk. Although Ashworth was required to combine the posts of master and usher, due to the school's loss of income, there is no evidence that the clerical duties interfered with the educational. Ashworth's successors, Rev. John Waring (1677-1711), Rev. Gerard Waring (1711-30), Rev. Anthony Halsall (1730-55) and Rev. Wilfred Troutbeck were all curates of Great Crosby.[56] Matthew Chester had to wait until 1796 for a curacy, not at Crosby but at Melling. This was due to Troutbeck handing over the curacy at Great Crosby, in exchange for the incumbency of Haslingden, to Rev. Nicholas Baldwin, who had married a local widow and was keen to move into the area. Since Haslingden was at such a great distance from Crosby, Troutbeck employed a curate to look after the parish for him but there is no evidence that the school suffered as a result.

Warrington Grammar School, also, saw no objection to the masters combining roles. After being overlooked for promotion on two occasions at Great Crosby, Edward Owen successfullly applied for the headship of Warrington in 1757. For some time he continued as curate of Crosby, a post to which he had been appointed while

acting headmaster, before he became Rector of Warrington. This practice dated back to at least 1691, when Samuel Shaw had been appointed. There is evidence that the posts of usher of the grammar school and curate were also combined, as in 1713, when Mr.Stretch occupied the two positions.

One school where a combination of school and church posts led to problems was Manchester Grammar School. Henry Brooke, appointed as master in 1727, had been nominated to the living at Tortworth in Gloucestershire in 1730. With the permission of the trustees, he had made a number of long visits but increasingly, he had been absent from school, leaving it in charge of his brother. One of the results was that it seems highly probable that the school was closed for a period in 1739-40. After a successful legal action, which improved the finances of the school, the trustees could be more forceful and they reduced Brooke's salary to £10 and, additionally, he was deprived of the use of the boarding house. These measures brought him into line, until his resignation in 1749.[57]

One of the relatively few plurality cases has come to light at Warrington. In 1722,Thomas Haywood, the successor to Shaw, became Vicar of Garstang, some fifty miles distant, and in 1728, the incumbent of Sankey, although he did resign his post at Garstang in 1731. Another example was James Watson, master at Lancaster from 1765. In addition to the post of master, he was curate of the parish church and the chaplain of the Castle from 1775 to 1790. In

1786 he was appointed to a prebendal stall at Lincoln and in 1790 he became curate of Wyersdale and he, also, succeeded to the living at Caton. Yet, 'he did not allow his new duties to seduce him from his post at Lancaster'.[58]

In 1807, Rev. Robert Rawstorne was made master of Warrington Grammar School and Rector by Lord Lilford, who has married Miss H.M.Atherton, the Patroness of the church. Immediately, Rawstorne appointed an usher, Rev. William Boardman to do his teaching for him. Probably because the post of master had been turned into a sinecure, in 1810, several leading inhabitants sought to test Lord Lilford's right to the patronage of the school and the legality of the joint positions as master and rector. Four years later, the Lord Chancellor's Court ruled that in view of his possession of the old Boteler Estates, Lord Lilford was entitled to the patronage but the two posts were ruled to be incompatible. As a result, Rawstorne was obliged to give up the mastership.[59]

In the more remote areas of North Lancashire, dual posts as master and curate were positively encouraged, since it was only by combining the two incomes that candidates could be encouraged. At Coulton, Adam Sandys in 1664 had left a bequest for a preaching schoolmaster. Thomas Barwick's will of 1669 left a messuage and land for a minister and schoolmaster at Staveley Chapel. In 1731, Miles Burn left £400 to support a curate and master at Broughton, while in 1757, £400 was left by Rev. John Ambrose and Dr. William

Stratford to support a curate, who would teach English, Latin and writing at quarterage rates at Lowick.[60]

Further evidence comes from Urswick. In 1785, Rev. John Addison wrote to Bishop Porteous requesting help in his old age. He was now sixty-seven years old, having been master of the free school for forty-seven years and the vicar for thirty-eight, for which a joint salary of £40 a year had been paid.[61] Chaytor also noted that the posts of schoolmaster and vicar were held in common there. Earlier in the century, in 1716, Henry Holmes, the Vicar, had subscribed 'ad erudiendum pueros in schola grammaticalis'.[62]

Due to the smallness of the endowment at Kirkby Ireleth, school and clerical posts had been combined since at least 1688. A petition for a licence for Hugh Hunter in 1691 stated that he had acted as master and reader for three years.[63] Exactly one hundred years later, Robert Ashburner was nominated as curate and schoolmaster.[64]

Other examples included James Watterson (1703) at Lowick; John Statter (1704) at Bolton-le-Sands; John Hadwen (1716) and Thomas Holme (1737) at Aughton; Thomas Field (1734) at Cartmel and Francis Haygarth (1757) at Overkellett.[65] Although the feofees of Hawkshead Grammar School in 1691 stated that it was not their intention to appoint a preaching schoolmaster, in 1749 James Deason, the usher, was also curate at Rampside.[66]

Dissatisfaction, associated with combining the roles of schoolmaster and minister in Northern Lancashire, seems to have surfaced on only one occasion. In 1753, the inhabitants of Lowick

stated that they did not want Thomas Atkinson as curate because he would not teach in the school and, as the salaries were combined, no provision could be made for a master to take over that part of his duties.[67]

Although Francis Brokesby had been critical of the combining of the roles of master and minister, there is little evidence to support this in Lancashire. From the negative viewpoint of lack of expressed dissatisfaction, the system appears to have worked efficiently and helped to overcome the twin problems of inadequate school provision and attracting ministers.

**(viii) Was there a 'Golden Age' of Education ?**

If the grammar schools were in decline, as alleged, in the eighteenth century, there is the associated suggestion that, prior to this period, there was a 'golden age' and it is this aspect which will now be considered.

In general terms, the seventeenth century did experience a number of problems such as those in the period 1623-29 indicated in the Harleian Manuscript Extracts.[68] Abuses of endowments were recorded at Much Woolton, Wigan, Hindley and Bolton-le-Sands, while Penwortham school had not been kept since the displacement of 'one Barker late schoolmaster'.

Further indications of dissatisfaction can be obtained from the Quarter Session Records. In 1648, a petition was presented for the

repair of Hindley Free Grammar School, which was ready to fall down. Five further petitions were noted between 1658 and 1661, when, finally, the school was repaired. Similarly, the need for repairs at Ormskirk was notified in 1649 and again in 1650 and in 1662.[69] There is, thus, evidence of managerial corruption or incompetence in a number of schools in the seventeenth century.

This question will be further considered in more detail in relation to two of the best documented schools, Rivington and Merchant Taylors', Great Crosby.

In 1613, problems came to the fore at Rivington. In that year, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster held a Commission of Inquiry into the school, which included not only the governors but the master and usher. The Commission found evidence of 'decline' in a number of areas. For a long time, the intentions of the Foundation and the Statutes had been ignored and the governors had not only been slack in collecting rents but also had been lax in relation to extracting fines upon leases. As a result of these actions, it was alleged, the school roll had declined from between eighty to one hundred and twenty to 'nowe not above 30'. The governors were further accused of slackness in their accounting 'the accomptes shewed unto us one are left looslie in scatteringe paper and not entered as they ought to bee'.[70] Furthermore, due to neglect, there was a danger that the school lands in the Diocese of Durham would be lost.

That members of the local community were concerned about the school is confirmed by an instructive bill of complaint in the Chancery of the Duchy of Lancaster brought by Robert Shaw of Anglezarke against four of the governors in 1614. It complained that they had not sworn as governors in accordance with the statutes; that the governors had inspected neither the pupils nor the master and usher to see that they were carrying out their duties. In addition, the receiver of the rents and revenues had not 'entered into obligations for his true dealing' and the governors had given no account of the endowment except on one occasion, some two years previously. All the charges were admitted by the governors who pleaded in defence, old age and inexperience in such matters. All four undertook to resign. It seems that the practice of the governors taking the oath, according to the statutes, had soon fallen into disuse. One of the accused governors, James Urmiston, stated that he had not taken the oath on his appointment in 1580. Likewise, Robert Haslam (1607-12) stated that to take the oath was 'quite contrary to the common course'. The mounting up of arrears had led to problems in paying the masters and the governors had also borrowed money without keeping a strict account.

Further problems arose in 1617 when the Master and Seniors of St. John's College wrote to the governors to say that they 'had moved certain Gentlemen' to look into the state of the school and reform it. In their reply, the governors rejected the right of St. John's College to interfere in school affairs. They, also, pointed out in

a petition to the Chancellor of the Duchy that a Mr. Standish, at the instigation of the master, was threatening a lawsuit, while, at the same time, they were involved in a lawsuit over the lands in Durham. In the same year, the Treasurer, Robert Ainsworth, had travelled three times to London and three times to Cambridge in his efforts to remove the usher, Thomas Hindley, who, finally, admitted to forging letters of attorney, along with the master, and keeping the school rents. This provides further evidence of the carelessness of the governors.

Over the following years, accounts tended to be very brief but a degree of control was exercised after 1619 by the need for six of the inhabitants to sign them. Under George Rudall, numbers revived from 38 in 1615 to 65 in 1623 but by 1627, two years after his departure, the school roll was down to 29. Further decline took place in 1630, with, apparently, only eight pupils in the school. The situation was not helped by the rapid turnover of masters, with four between 1625 and 1640. From 1640 to 1646, there was only an usher but the number of pupils in the school in 1642 was only eight. It was only in 1647, with fines on leases increasing the school's income that funds allowed both a master and usher to be appointed. Due to a fall in income, because of unpaid rents, there was only a master between 1649 and 1660.

Extending over and beyond this period (1639-1663), the governors were engaged in a lawsuit against George Middleton of Silkworth. The final verdict, in favour of the school, was that Middleton was

to pay arrears of £433.0.4 but the case had cost £300. As the Decree of Executor pointed out, the school was 'utterly ruined and deserted by both masters and scholars for want of maintenance'.[71] At the same time, another legal battle was taking place over lands in Heighington. To some extent, these problems, resolved only in 1663, were the result of negligence by the governors in about 1613 in that they had failed to renew the leases.

The revival of Rivington School dates from the mastership of John Breres (1660-9) and John Bradley (1669-1709). Ironically, in view of the school statutes, Bradley was a nonconformist. Governors' meetings were held more regularly, accounts were fuller, lists of leases were drawn up and the school was kept in repair. School numbers rose to 48 in 1678, when the register began again, and 56 in 1681. Between 1682 and 1700, total numbers cannot be calculated since the register lists only those pupils coming into the school. Newcomers ranged from 28 in 1689 to 9 in 1685 and 1698. Also represented in the school at this time were a number of scholars from the gentry represented by Lord Willoughby and the Shaws of Heath Charnock.

At Great Crosby, the early years of the foundation were marred by conflict between the master, Rev. John Kidde, and his usher, John Carter. The initial row in 1624 was over the right to live in the school but was probably symptomatic of deeper tensions. The Company ruled in favour of the master but was forced in 1627 to instruct the usher 'to carry out a better respect to Mr. Kidde' and he was,

also, to 'be directed, guided and ordered' by the master 'in the teaching of the scholars and the governing of the school'. In March 1627, 'for special reasons to them best known', the Company ordered Carter to quit the school. In 1629, a Company Commission found few scholars in the school and those that were there were of poor parents and 'some of them papists'. The inhabitants were also critical of the master and usher in a letter to the Commission. Although the Company viewed it as representing the views of 'convicted Recusants', Kidde was advised to take more care over his teaching of Latin.[72]

In about 1635, Kidde had more problems with his usher, Thomas Fell, who was threatened with dismissal by the Company if he did not 'attend his charge better than he hath done'. Apparently, Fell was mixing with bad company, as well as neglecting his duties. Partially as a result of the relations between the master and usher, the period from 1636 to 1648 was one of decline. In 1648, the second visitation to the school found that the pupils were 'unready and raw in their answers and in their grammar rules' and 'not above two scholars could read perfectly a chapter in the Bible'. In the school, there were 'not above thirty boys and most of them poor men's sons'. Mr. Fell was found to be a 'very deboshed man and very scandalous in his life'. Additionally, 'Mr. Kidde ....... hath much neglected the school'. It was due to the absence from the school of Kidde that the 'best sort of inhabitants' did not send their sons to the school. The Company admitted a share in

the decline of the school and made provision for twice yearly examinations.

The first report in 1649, despite the sacking of Fell, found things in a bad state in that 'the scholars are generally raw and illiterate'. The Visitors were supported by thirty-five of the inhabitants, who pointed to Kidde's neglect of the school. In 1651, the master was dismissed. In mitigation, he pointed to the '500 Recusants in the parish', 'the extreme poverty', 'the rude behaviour of the people ...... so that men of quality would not send their children hither', 'the ordinary absence of scholars', 'the unwillingness of others to find their boys books' and 'Their utmost ambicion to have them taught to make bills and bonds, to reade surrender and the like, they aspire no further'. As the school's historian commented 'Kidde's tenure of office must be looked upon as an unqualified failure'.[73]

His successor, John Stevens, fared no better. He attempted to improve the status of the school by excluding girls and horn book boys from the school, by pointing to the appropriate statutes. The Company supported the master with regard to excluding girls but they urged him to teach English until the situation improved. Feeling that the Company was not whole-heartedly behind him, Stevens went off to Ireland.

Under Mollinex (1652-60), school numbers rose to sixty, although he was, also, accused of teaching the sons of recusants. The report in 1653 was very complimentary about the progress made by both master

and scholars. In return, the master requested additional boarding accommodation from the Visitors and enquired about scholarships available to the Merchant Taylors' Company at Oxford and Cambridge for, by 1654 'four or five of them at least are ready to go to the university'. Within a few years, Mollinex had greatly improved the standing of the school. This progress was to continue and 'there is no sign of decay for well nigh a century'.

Although it is dangerous to generalise on the basis of two schools, grammar school revival appears to date from the second half of the seventeenth century. Both Rivington and Great Crosby were also more fortunate than a number of other schools in Lancashire that suffered directly as a result of the Civil War. Kirkham School was closed, Preston was damaged and Blackburn was unable to pay its masters. But, leaving aside the effects of the Civil War, the evidence for the first half of the seventeenth century does indicate that a number of the grammar schools of Lancashire were characterised by features associated with decline.

**(ix) Conclusion**

There were, however, features associated with decline in the eighteenth century , in addition to the aspects mentioned by Leach. When William Jackman was nominated to Colne in 1706, a petition to the Bishop asked that he should supersede Henry Sutcliffe, who was 'altogether incapable'. Whalley School, as well, had problems with

its masters. In 1692, Robert Hargreaves was recommended in place of Mr. Highfield, who had become 'a papist'. In 1713, Leonard Nowell was forced to resign as he had 'shamefully neglected the school by being frequently drunk'. Out of compassion to his wife and children, he was allowed to return to the school but his licence was revoked in 1715, when the situation became worse than ever.[74]
Manchester Grammar School was not without its problems, which seem to have arisen towards the end of the mastership of Rev. William Barrow, who was at the school from 1671 to 1721, and which must have been related to his old-age and ill-health. During Barrow's illness, Edward Hulton, a former pupil and the son of the curate of Blackley, was appointed to the school. Mumford has suggested that 'The total number of scholars must have been few when a young man of twenty-two was left in charge of three departments'[75]. This is to overlook the fact that there were many examples of masters being appointed to grammar schools at this age. In 1721, on the death of Barrow, Thomas Colburn was appointed but lacking the support of the usher and townspeople resigned soon after. He, in turn, was replaced by John Richards, who neglected the school, perhaps as a reprisal for the irregularity in the payment of his salary and also for the lack of backing from the trustees. Attempts were made to get Bishop Gastrell to use his influence with the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to get Richards dismissed but without success. Ironically, in view of their attitude towards Richards, at a meeting held on 15 June 1724, the trustees granted

him a gratuity of £25. Two years later, matters came to a head, when it was recorded in the Minute Book that the trustees 'have had many complaints against Mr. Richards, the High Master, as to his gross negligence and absence from the said school so that the inhabitants of the town and parish of Manchester are afraid to send their children to him and several persons have withdrawn their children from the said School and put them to distant school and whereas the said Mr. Richards hath been admonished of such his neglect and absenting himself, therefore, the said feoffees have thought fit and do herby reduce his allowance to the sum of £10 per annum until he approve himself in his constant attendance, diligence and care in the said school to the satisfaction of the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester and Warden of Manchester'. This action was effective in so far as Richards apparently resigned during the following year.[76] Despite further problems that arose during the mastership of Henry Brooke, Richards' successor, as already described, Manchester Grammar School was to prosper throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century.

A minute of the governors of Ormskirk Grammar School of 16 March 1744 also pointed to decline in that the number of scholars was greatly reduced. As a consequence, there was 'at present no occasion for an usher' and the 'Present master may take on him the teaching of children'. In 1799, there were only apparently sixteen boys in the school but the trustees noted improved standards in the years from 1799 to 1801, as well as increased numbers. [77]

Although there were other examples of neglect in the grammar schools, such as Hargreaves at Rivington, these were, in fact, minimal in the context of the number of schools involved and the time-scale of one hundred years. Against these must be placed the displays of interest and development in the grammar schools. These included new buildings (Rivington), private Acts of Parliament (Bolton and Wigan), greater involvement of governors (Bolton) and new endowments (Bury). Indeed, the willingness of philanthropists to contribute towards the grammar schools, over the course of the century, is further witness to the role they played especially in relation to their local community.

Overall, what the evidence suggests is that the seventeenth century, prior to 1660, was characterised by social and political unrest, against a background of inflation and it was this lack of stability that was reflected in the grammar schools of the period. Few schools in the eighteenth century were to experience problems on such a scale as they had done at this time. From 1660 to approximately 1760, the grammar schools enjoyed a period of prosperity, which was generally reflected in a real improvement in income, lower turnover of staff and gradual adaptation to changing curricular needs. From 1760 onwards, as the effects of inflation and the socio-economic implications of the Industrial Revolution became more obvious, new pressures were brought to bear on the grammar schools. Yet it was only in the nineteenth century that the results of the pressures became apparent with grammar school

closures and the changing curricular emphasis in a number of schools moving into a non-classical dimension.
Grammar School decline was, thus, not a feature associated with the eighteenth century, as far as the grammar schools of Lancashire were concerned but rather with the following century. It is, however, possible that the weaknesses of a number of schools were protected by their artifically strong economic position, due to the rise in land values as a result of the French and Napoleonic Wars. Initial observation suggests that the nadir of the grammar schools was reached in the period from approximately 1815 to 1870, before the modernising tendencies, attendant upon the Reports of the Taunton Commission and the associated legislation began to exert their influence.

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30. Kay, _op.cit._, p.121 has the name Hilton.

31. C.C.R. Vol. 19, p.187.

32. Ch. 2, Box 129. Vause was spelt Zause in the manuscript reports. Kay was obviously unaware of the reason for Vause's absence from the locality, or perhaps it was too indelicate a matter in the 1930s to admit to such a weakness in a trustee, writing 'being later in London, he must have lost touch with the trustees'.

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45. V.C.H. Lancs., Vol.II, pp.571-3. Harris was Vicar of St. George's Church Preston from 1798 to 1862.

46. Statutes, Ch.VIII; Ch.VI.

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48. Ormerod, op.cit., pp.32; 34.

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56. Hycocke is probably the Hickocke complained about in the return to C.Wase. Troutbeck was responsible for rebuilding the chapel in 1770 at a cost of over £1,000

57. Mumford, op.cit., pp.151; 167.

58. Murray, op.cit. ,p.72.

59. Boteler G.S 1526-1926, p.31.

60. C.C.R. Vol.3, pp.188; 192; 195; 227.

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# CHAPTER 8

# CONCLUSION

## (i) Expansion of Schooling in the Eighteenth Century

The question then remains as to the extent to which the evidence from the sample county of Lancashire serves to complement or counter the general conclusions relating to education in the eighteenth century at a national level.The picture is further complicated by the fact that the general or text book picture of the period tends to be very limited, reflecting the relatively low level of research into this period. In addition, a number of developments such as the continuing establishment of grammar schools and the presence of girls in them has been largely overlooked.

During the eighteenth century, there is no doubt that both quantitative and qualitative changes took place in relation to the provision of schooling. The schools established prior to 1700 were further reinforced by twenty-one schools with claims to grammar status, which were endowed in the course of the century. These were, however, only part of the total provision and eighty-two schools of non-classical status were also endowed. There was also an unknown but considerable number of private schools. For example,

the Manchester Directory of 1773 listed 22 private educational institutions in the town.[1] These were ephemeral in nature and were representative only of the higher status institutions since the lower status 'dame schools' were not included.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the distribution of endowed schools still reflected the population pattern of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rather than that of 1800. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, it appears that school provision and population were generally in a state of equilibrium but there is evidence that schooling for the 'Poor' was overwhelmed as the urban population rapidly increased. This was in spite of efforts to cater for the increased population in such areas as exemplified by the setting up of charity schools at Lancaster, Wigan, Blackburn and Manchester in the last third of the century.

## (ii) Levels of Literacy

Further quantitative evidence of the influence of education in the eighteenth century can be gauged from examination of literacy levels during the period. The general pattern to emerge was that there was an initial increase and then decline in literacy in Lancashire in the course of the century. This trend was also reflected in the relationship between the number of endowed schools and the total population of the county. In 1700, it has been estimated, there were 2480 persons to each endowed school. By 1750,

this had fallen to 2,305 persons but had risen to 3,845 by 1801.[2] The endowed schools were, however, only one form of schooling and to these must be added the private schools, the dame schools and, towards the end of the century, the Sunday Schools, all of which contributed towards developing literacy.

Direct evidence of 'writing' literacy, based on the criteria of marriage register signatures, was obtained by Sanderson from analysis of trends in twelve parishes. Six (Blackburn, Burnley, Clitheroe, Great Harwood, Newchurch-in-Pendle and Whalley) were in the north-east of the county.[3] The other six were Bury, Chorley, Deane, Eccleston (St.Helens), Kirkham and Preston. With regard to the former group, literacy levels between 1754 and 1770 ranged from 50% (Clitheroe) to 29% (Burnley) but in every case they exceeded the levels of 1800-20 which varied between 38% (Whalley) and 27% (Newchurch-in-Pendle).

In the second group of parishes, literacy levels for males in the 1750s ranged from 50.8% at Chorley to 76.5% at Kirkham. By 1770, the percentage of male literates had fallen in five of the parishes, Chorley being the exception. All of the parishes, apart from Eccleston, where the rate rose from 47% in 1780 to 70.5%, had lower literacy rates in 1800 as compared with twenty years earlier. Similarly, the literacy rates for women, starting from a lower base line, showed a decline in all six parishes when the figures for the 1750s were compared to the 1790s. During the 1750s, female literacy varied between 14% at Deane and 16% at Bury to 39.5% at Preston. By

1800, there was a general tendency for literacy levels to show a slight recovery after the decline of 1770-80 with the figures ranging from 12% at Bury to 32% at Eccleston.

Although it is not possible to correlate literacy levels directly to the type of schooling available, these figures do bear out the decline towards the end of the eighteenth century. In this case, the trend in Lancashire was contrary to that noted over much of England by Professor Stone. A second point confirmed by these figures reflected the generally lower availability of educational provision for girls. What these figures seemingly indicate is the extent to which the provision of schooling lagged behind the expansion of urban population in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution.

To illustrate the educational progress made in the eighteenth century, these figures must be compared with the evidence of the literacy levels in the mid-seventeenth century. Analysis of Lancashire sessions depositions suggested that 9 per cent of the gentlemen in the sample, 43 per cent of the yeoman, 64 per cent of the tradesmen, 86 per cent of the husbandmen, 94 per cent of labourers and male servants and 98 per cent of female servants were unable to sign their names.[4]

**(iii) Movement from educational isolation**

Probably, the greatest but, at the same time, immeasurable contribution of the educational developments in the eighteenth

century was to bring the county into the mainstream of national life. It has been argued that in mid-Tudor times the county was 'an obscure, remote, insular and backward corner of England'.[5] Even by the Restoration, the county was only beginning to become acquainted with the outside world. Indicative of this isolation was the fact that between 1590 and 1640, less than 30 % of magistrates had been to university, which was a lower percentage than either Yorkshire or Somerset,[6] A further indication of this insularity was the tendency for both partners in gentry marriages to come from within the county , as happened on 70% of occasions.[7] In educational terms, the philanthropy of the 'London exiles' has been seen as an attempt to alleviate the perceived backwardness of the county. Likewise, the pre-eighteenth century schoolmaster was very much a creature of the locality. Three-quarters of the graduates in Rogers's survey moved less than ten miles to seek promotion and only 1% of the graduate masters came from beyond Lancashire or the adjoining counties.[8] As a result the overall effect of the educational expansion from 1520 to 1660 has been viewed as having limited results in decreasing the isolation and insularity of the county.[9]

After 1660, education in Lancashire began to view itself in a wider, national context. Ironically, this was at a time when the influence of the 'London Merchant Class', which had sought to breakdown this religous, social and educational isolation, became less prominent in the county's affairs. The numbers of students

going to Oxford and Cambridge from the grammar schools of Lancashire began to increase and this was both a reflection of, and a further spur to, increased national contacts. National links were further developed by the association of a number of schools with the S.P.C.K. in the early eighteenth century. The organisation of the industrial activities at the Blue Coat School in Liverpool became the model for such developments at a national level. Other schools began to develop a national reputation in the course of the century. Manchester Grammar School, for instance, up to about 1750 only attracted about 10% of its boarders from outside the county but thereafter the proportion rose to over 30%. Likewise, Rivington Grammar School began to attract boarders from outside its local catchment area. Although there is no analysis of schoolmasters on the scale of that carried out by Rogers in the seventeenth century available for the following century, it does appear that masters were becoming more mobile, moving both into and out of the county. In this context, the greater availability of newspapers in which to advertise vacant posts undoubtedly played a part.

Within the context of these exemplars and the problem of quantifying such a concept as 'isolation', the evidence does suggest that in the period after 1660, Lancashire moved steadily into the mainstream of schooling in England.

(iv) General Conclusions

What this study has confirmed is the extent to which the philanthropic impulse, identified by Jordan between 1480 and 1660, continued into the eighteenth century. In fact, the epithet 'the age of philanthropy' can justifiably be ascribed to the eighteenth century with regard to the endowed schools of Lancashire. However, the grammar schools were under strong pressures as a result of their charitable functions, which combined economic and educational implications. Basically, it was the schools with the variable, as compared with the fixed, incomes that were in the stronger position, although it was also possible for a school in the latter category to have a higher income than one with a variable endowment. Schools could also augment their incomes by charging fees or by taking in boarders. In both cases, there were charitable as well as curricular implications. This study has also identified that boarding was originally a practical response for those pupils unable to travel daily to school. In the majority of cases, it was not until the eighteenth century that boarding was seen as a means of supplementing the income of the school.

With regard to the curriculum of the grammar schools, Latin was invariably the basis of the curriculum with Greek playing a much less significant role. Two aspects of the curriculum that have usually been ignored in descriptions of grammar schools were religious instruction and the provision of basic instruction in

reading and writing. Even though the statutes of the grammar schools often stated that pupils should be able to read on entry, a number of schools did make provision for these subjects to be taught. The question is then raised as the extent to which this was a universal practice.

There is no doubt that, in the course of the eighteenth century, the role of Latin became less important. In fact, a number of grammar schools by the end of the century had either dropped Latin or relegated it to a position inferior to the 3Rs, to be taught only to a limited extent to a small number of older pupils. In a number of other schools more modern subjects had been introduced.

Although grammar schools continued to be founded throughout the century, the emphasis was increasingly upon the foundation of non-classical schools for the education of the poor. In this context, the role of the S.P.C.K. was significant. It did serve to stimulate local endeavour and to provide advice in relation to the setting up and running of such schools. On the other hand, many of the schools identified as being due to the efforts of the S.P.C.K. actually pre-dated that organisation. Although it is impossible to quantify the influence of the S.P.C.K., it formed, in practice, only one limited aspect of charity school provision.

The other major problem examined by this study was the extent to which grammar schools declined in the eighteenth century. The approach here was to consider how far the alleged symptoms of 'decline' were characteristic of the eighteenth century and whether

or not there had been a previous 'golden age'. The overall conclusion was that the eighteenth century did not meet problems on such a scale as had occurred prior to 1660. From 1660 to about 1760, the grammar schools enjoyed a period of prosperity. Increasingly after 1760, they began to face a variety of social and economic pressures which were to culminate in the early nineteenth century in school closures and 'curricular degradation'.

Thus, overall, the grammar schools of the eighteenth century sought both to maintain their classical curriculum and, at the same time, adapt to the changing social pressures. They continued to bear in mind their charitable functions, even if a degree of adaptation and contraction became necessary due to financial considerations.

These problems were less in evidence for the 'charity schools' founded specifically to serve the needs of the poor, although it is possible to identify a number of different categories within the generic term. During the course of the century, these schools gradually developed their curricula to embrace the 3Rs, together with religion and, in a limited number of cases, industrial occupations. Like their grammar school counterparts, they were also required to adapt to their financial circumstances, which might involve, for example, educating fewer children on the endowment.

The charitable impulse in relation to the establishment of schools thus continued until the nineteenth century which is surely indicative of the way in which the endowed schools were perceived

as meeting the social and education needs, at least as identified by those members of the social classes providing these schools.

### (v) Further research

Despite recent attention into education in the eighteenth century, this is still the least researched period of the modern era and thus any studies which throw further light on developments are to be welcomed. Any such studies also raise the issue of the extent to which studies of sample areas, such as Lancashire, can be generalised to the country as a whole.

A number of issues which might usefully be followed up have been identified in the course of this study and, where such evidence is available, have been developed. These include the ages at which pupils entered schools and the time they spent there; details of social class; aspects of curriculum throughout the schools and associated developments and internal school organisation.

Although the extent of the 'charity school movement' and the role of the S.P.C.K. has been analysed, for example by Joan Simon in relation to Leicestershire, there is still room for detailed analysis, on the lines undertaken in this study, of the role of philanthropy in the provision of education throughout the eighteenth century for other sample areas. Such studies would also

be concerned with the continuing foundation of grammar schools over the same period.

An area that might well be further investigated is the extent to which educational opportunities were provided in grammar schools for girls and also the level to which they were educated. The manuscript reports of the Charity Commissioners are a very much neglected source and within them there is undoubtedly a wealth of material, relating to other counties, waiting to be uncovered.

What this study has shown is that the eighteenth century was basically one of change and development, during which the grammar schools sought to balance their curricular and charitable roles. At the same time, the non-classical schools provided an alternative education for the poorer classes. It is a period of great interest calling out for further research into so many areas which will serve to further our knowledge of how the educational system of England has evolved.

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| DDX/2/6 | Account Book 1776-1821. |
| DDX/22/53a | 1622 Statutes (2 May). |
| DDX/22/54 | Bills and Receipts; repairs 1714-95 and school books 1740-65. |

**Croston**

| | |
|---|---|
| PR 686 | Croston Free School Minutes 1661-1851. Copy of the will of Rev. James Hiet. Printed Copy of School Rules of 1661. |

**Fulwood**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1705A 3386 | Will of John Hatch (4 February 1704). |

**High Style**

| | |
|---|---|
| Pr 2184 | School Bill for 24 January 1787. |

**Huyton**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDM/33/1 | Agreement of 1 January 1555-6. |

**Kirkham Girls' Charity School**

| | |
|---|---|
| PR 2072 | Kirkham Girls' Charity School 1760-1840. |

**Kirkham**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDX/138 | Includes Orders of the Drapers' Company regarding religion; 1701 Governors' Minute concerning the education of girls at the grammar school. |
| DDD/241 | Account Book 1795-1851. |

**Newton-with-Scales**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDNw 8/1/1 | Copy of Hornby's will (4 March 1708). |
| DDNw 8/1/6 | Lists of Admissions to the school. |
| DDNw 8/1/7 | Trustees' Account Book 1707-1828. |

**Ormskirk**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDX/191/1 | A Register for the Schoole of Ormischurche 1613-1890. |
| DDX/191/2 | Account Book 1796-1890. |

**Penwortham**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDX/557 | Lease of 1585. |

**Preston Charity Schools**

| | |
|---|---|
| PR 1490 | Memoranda of Boys' Charity School (1703-1833). |
| PR 1491 | Accounts of Two Blue Coat Charity Schools (1714-91). |
| PR 1492 | Accounts of Two Charity Schools. |

( PR 1490-2 are on microfilm GF 151).

**Ribby-with-Wrea**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDD 1 | Account Book 1714-1848. |
| DDD/91/59 | Articles of agreement Robert Willacy and new trustees (25 January 1728). |

**Rivington**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDX/94/93 | Robert Shaw and the School Governors v George Middleton and others (1648-53). |
| DDX/94/94 | Governors' Account Book 1574-1619 (Receipts; Lawsuits; salaries of masters and ushers; names of governors and first list of pupils. (Also referred to as MSS A). |
| DDX/94/95 | Governors' Account Book 1614-1711. |
| DDX/94/98 | Register 1615-1833. |
| DDX/94/100 | Statutes and Foundation Charter. |
| DDX/94/101 | Approval of Samuel Waring as master at the Grammar school by the Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge. |
| DDX/94/101 | Copy of the Statutes and Charter by Thomas Bromiley 1714. |
| DDX/94/102-142 | Miscellaneous manuscript material mainly relating to the Hargreaves affair. |

**Standish**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDX/211/11 | Pupils' Latin Speeches (1775-77). |

**Staveley**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDX/284/10 | Lease for 21 years at £7 a year rent (1705). |

| | |
|---|---|
| DDX/284/12 | Lease for 60 years at £8.10.0 a year (1721) |
| DDX/284/55 | Copy of request to the Bishop of Chester for a licence for Thomas Lishman to be master of the grammmar school (c 1777). |

**Upholland**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDLm/5/24a/5 | School Orders 1661 |
| DDLm/5/24a-5 | Conveyance of Richard Leigh (1656) |
| DDLm/24a/7 | Provision of school site by Leigh's nephew. |

**Urswick** (held at L.R.O. until 1979).

| | |
|---|---|
| DDX/279 | Letters Patent |

**Whalley**

| | |
|---|---|
| DDX/250/1 | Letters patent 1570-1. |
| DDX/250/7 | List of Masters 1630-1813. |

**Wyersdale**

| | |
|---|---|
| SMay/2 | Constitution of 1683. |

<u>Leigh Record Office</u>

**Wigan Charity School**

| | |
|---|---|
| MMP 25/101 | Hymns to be sung in the parish church by boys educated in the charity school (27 July 1788). |
| MMP 25/102 | Ditto in St. George's Church (3 October 1790). |

**Wigan Grammar School**

| | |
|---|---|
| MMP 3/40 | Transcription of the Foundation Deed. |
| MMP 2/19 | Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings I Chas. I. |
| MMP 18/21 | Copy of will of Edmund Molineux, Mercer of London and his bequest to the grammar school. |

SR/WGS/ RM 1782 /1760 Petition of Usher to Mayor arising from complaints of his neglect of duty.

SR/WGS/A/1 Account and Governors' Minute Book(1654-1817).

<u>Picton Library, Liverpool</u>

**Liverpool Blue Coat School.**

BLU/1/1 Preface to the First Roll.

377 BLU/2/1 Account of the Foundation of the School.

BLU/377/5 Blue Coat School Accounts 1709-1758

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Table 1 Guide to Place Names in Lancashire

Table 2 Schools in Lancashire

Map 1 Lancashire Showing Hundreds

Map 2 Lonsdale Hundred (North)

Map 3 Lonsdale Hundred (South)

Map 4 Amounderness Hundred

Map 5 Leyland Hundred

Map 6 Blackburn Hundred

Map 7 West Derby Hundred

Map 8 Salford Hundred

## Table 1
## GUIDE TO PLACE NAMES IN LANCASHIRE

| Parish/Other | Hundred |
|---|---|
| **Aldingham** | Lonsdale North |
| Dendron | |
| **Ashton-under-Lyne** | Salford |
| Audenshaw | |
| Church | |
| **Bispham** | |
| **Blackburn** | Blackburn |
| Billington | |
| Great Harwood | |
| Samlesbury | |
| Walton-le-Dale | |
| **Bolton** | Salford |
| Blackrod | |
| Breightmet (Roscow Fold) | |
| Edgworth | |
| Little Lever | |
| Rivington | |
| Turton | |
| Turton (Eagley Bridge) | |
| Turton (Walmesley) | |
| **Bolton-le Sands** | Lonsdale South |
| Over Kellett | |
| **Brindle** | Leyland |
| **Bury** | Salford |
| Heywood | |
| Tottington | |
| Tottington Higher End (Edenfield) | |
| Walmsley (Baldingstone) | |
| **Cartmel** | Lonsdale North |
| Upper Holker (Browedge) | |
| **Childwall** | West Derby |
| Hale | |
| Much Woolton | |
| **Chipping** | Blackburn |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Chorley** | Leyland |
| | |
| **Cockerham** | Lonsdale South |
| Ellel | |
| | |
| **Coulton** (Colton) | Lonsdale North |
| Finisthwaite (Finsthwaite) | |
| | |
| **Croston** | Leyland |
| Bispham | |
| Bretherton | |
| Heskin (Eccleston) | |
| | |
| **Dalton-in-Furness** | Lonsdale North |
| | |
| **Dean** (Deane) | Salford |
| Farnworth (Dixon Green) | |
| Kearsley (High Style) | |
| Rumworth (Dean Church) | |
| West Houghton | |
| | |
| **Eccles** | Salford |
| Worsley (Row Green) | |
| | |
| **Flixton** | Salford |
| | |
| **Garstang** | Amounderness |
| Bilsborrow | |
| Kirkland | |
| Nether Wyersdale (Cross Hill) | |
| Pilling | |
| | |
| **Halsall** | West Derby |
| Melling | |
| | |
| **Halton-with-Aughton** | Lonsdale South |
| Aughton | |
| Halton | |
| | |
| **Hawkshead** | Lonsdale North |
| Claife (Sawrey) | |
| | |
| **Hoole** | Leyland |
| | |
| **Huyton** | West Derby |
| | |
| **Kirkby Ireleth** | Lonsdale North |
| Broughton (Aulherst Side) | |
| Broughton | |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Kirkham** | Amounderness |
| Clifton-with-Salwick | |
| Goosnargh | |
| Goosnargh (Whitechapel) | |
| Greenhalgh (Esprick) | |
| Hambleton | |
| Newton-with-Scales | |
| Ribby-with-Wrea | |
| **Lancaster** | Lonsdale South |
| Bleasdale | |
| Cadeley and Fulwood | |
| Caton | |
| Over Wyersdale | |
| Poulton Bare (Torrisholme) | |
| Presall-with-Hackensall | |
| Presall | |
| Quernmore | |
| Scotforth | |
| Skerton | |
| **Leigh** | West Derby |
| Astley | |
| **Leyland** | Leyland |
| Leyland (Balshaw's) | |
| Cuerden | |
| Clayton | |
| Euxton | |
| Hoghton | |
| Moss Side | |
| Whittle-le-Woods | |
| **Liverpool** | West Derby |
| **Lytham** | Amounderness |
| **Manchester** | Salford |
| Didsbury | |
| Gorton | |
| Heaton Norris | |
| Newton | |
| Salford | |
| Stetford | |
| **Melling** | Lonsdale South |
| Wray-with-Botton | |
| **Middleton** | Salford |

| | |
|---|---|
| **North Meols** | West Derby |
| **Oldham**<br>Hollinswood | Salford |
| **Ormskirk**<br>Burscough<br>Lathom (Newburgh)<br>Scarisbrick<br>Skelmersdale | West Derby |
| **Penwortham**<br>Howick<br>Longton | Leyland |
| **Poulton**<br>Carleton<br>Marton<br>Thornton | Amounderness |
| **Prescot**<br>Eccleston<br>Farnworth (Widnes)<br>Rainford<br>St.Helen's (Windle) | West Derby |
| **Preston**<br>Broughton<br>Lea | Amounderness |
| **Prestwich**<br>Outwood (Ringley)<br>Pilkington (Stand)<br>Unsworth | Salford |
| **Ribchester** | Blackburn |
| **Rochdale**<br>Butterworth (Milnrow)<br>Butterworth ( Ogden & Hollingworth)<br>Hundersfield (Litleborough)<br>Saddleworth (Warmpton)<br>Saddleworth (Lydyate)<br>Spotland (Toad Lane)<br>Spotland (Whitworth)<br>Todmorden | Salford |

| | |
|---|---|
| **St. Michael-upon-Wyre**<br>Great Eccleston (Copp)<br>Woodplumpton (Catforth) | Amounderness |
| **Sephton**<br>(Great Crosby) | West Derby |
| **Standish** | Leyland |
| **Tarleton** | Leyland |
| **Tatham** | Lonsdale South |
| **Tunstall** | Lonsdale South |
| **Ulverston**<br>Blawith<br>Lowick<br>Osmotherley<br>Torver<br>Townbank | Lonsdale North |
| **Urswick**<br>Bardsea | Lonsdale North |
| **Walton**<br>Fazackerley<br>Formby<br>West Derby | West Derby |
| **Warrington**<br>Burtonwood | West Derby |
| **Warton** | Lonsdale South |
| **Whalley**<br>Accrington<br>Burnley<br>Clitheroe<br>Colne<br>Downham<br>Haslingden<br>Newchurch-in-Pendle<br>Newchurch-in-Rossendale<br>Padiham<br>Read | Blackburn |
| **Whittington** | Lonsdale South |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Wigan** | West Derby |
| Aspull | |
| Billinge | |
| Haigh | |
| Hindley | |
| Pemberton | |
| Upholland | |
| | |
| **Winwick** | West Derby |
| Ashton-in-Makerfield | |
| Culceth (Twiss Green) | |
| Golborne | |
| Lowton | |
| Newton | |
| Southworth-with-Croft | |

## Table 2
## Schools in Lancashire

| School | Township/Chapelry | Parish | Hundred |
|---|---|---|---|
| Accrington | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Ashton-in-Makerfield | | Winwick | West Derby |
| Aspull | | Wigan | West Derby |
| Astleigh | | Leigh | West Derby |
| Audenshaw | | Ashton-under-Lyne | Salford |
| Aulherst Side | Broughton | Kirkby Ireleth | Lonsdale North |
| Aughton | | Halton-with-Aughton | Lonsdale South |
| Baldingstone | Walmsley | Bury | Salford |
| Balshaw's | | Leyland | Leyland |
| Billinge | | Wigan | West Derby |
| Billington | | Blackburn | Blackburn |
| Bilsborrow | | Garstang | Amounderness |
| Bispham | | Bispham | Amounderness |
| Bispham | | Croston | Leyland |
| Blackburn | | Blackburn | Blackburn |
| Blawith | | Ulverston | Lonsdale North |
| Bleasdale | | to Lancaster | Lonsdale South (Amounderness) |
| Bolton | | Bolton | Salford |
| Bolton-le-Sands | | Bolton-le-Sands | Lonsdale South |
| Bretherton | | Croston | Leyland |
| Broughton | | Preston | Amounderness |
| Browedge | Upper Holker | Cartmel | Lonsdale North |
| Burnley | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Burscough | | Ormskirk | West Derby |
| Burtonwood | | Warrington | West Derby |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bury | | Bury | Salford |
| Cadeley & Fulwood | | to Lancaster | Lonsdale South (Amounderness) |
| Carleton | | Poulton | Amounderness |
| Cartmel | | Cartmel | Lonsdale North |
| Catforth | Woodplumpton | St. Michael upon Wyre | Amounderness |
| Caton | | Lancaster | Lonsdale South |
| Childwall | | Childwall | West Derby |
| Chipping | | Chipping | Blackburn |
| Chorley | | Chorley | Leyland |
| Church | | Ashton-under-Lyne | Salford |
| Clayton | | Leyland | Leyland |
| Clifton-with-Salwick | | Kirkham | Amounderness |
| Clitheroe | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Cockerham | | Cockerham | Lonsdale South |
| Colne | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Colton (Coulton) | | Coulton | Lonsdale North |
| Copp | Great Eccleston | St. Michael upon Wyre | Amounderness |
| Cross Hill | Nether Wyersdale | Garstang | Amounderness |
| Croston | | Croston | Leyland |
| Cuerdale | | Leyland | Leyland |
| Culceth | | Winwick | West Derby |
| Dalton-in-Furness | | Dalton | Lonsdale North |
| Dean (Deane) | Rumworth | Dean | Salford |
| Dendron | | Aldingham | Lonsdale North |
| Didsbury | | Manchester | Salford |
| Dixon Green | Farnworth | Dean | Salford |
| Downham | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Eagley Bridge | Turton | Bolton | Salford |
| Eccles | | Eccles | Salford |
| Edenfield | Tottington | Bury | Salford |
| Edgworth | | Bolton | Salford |

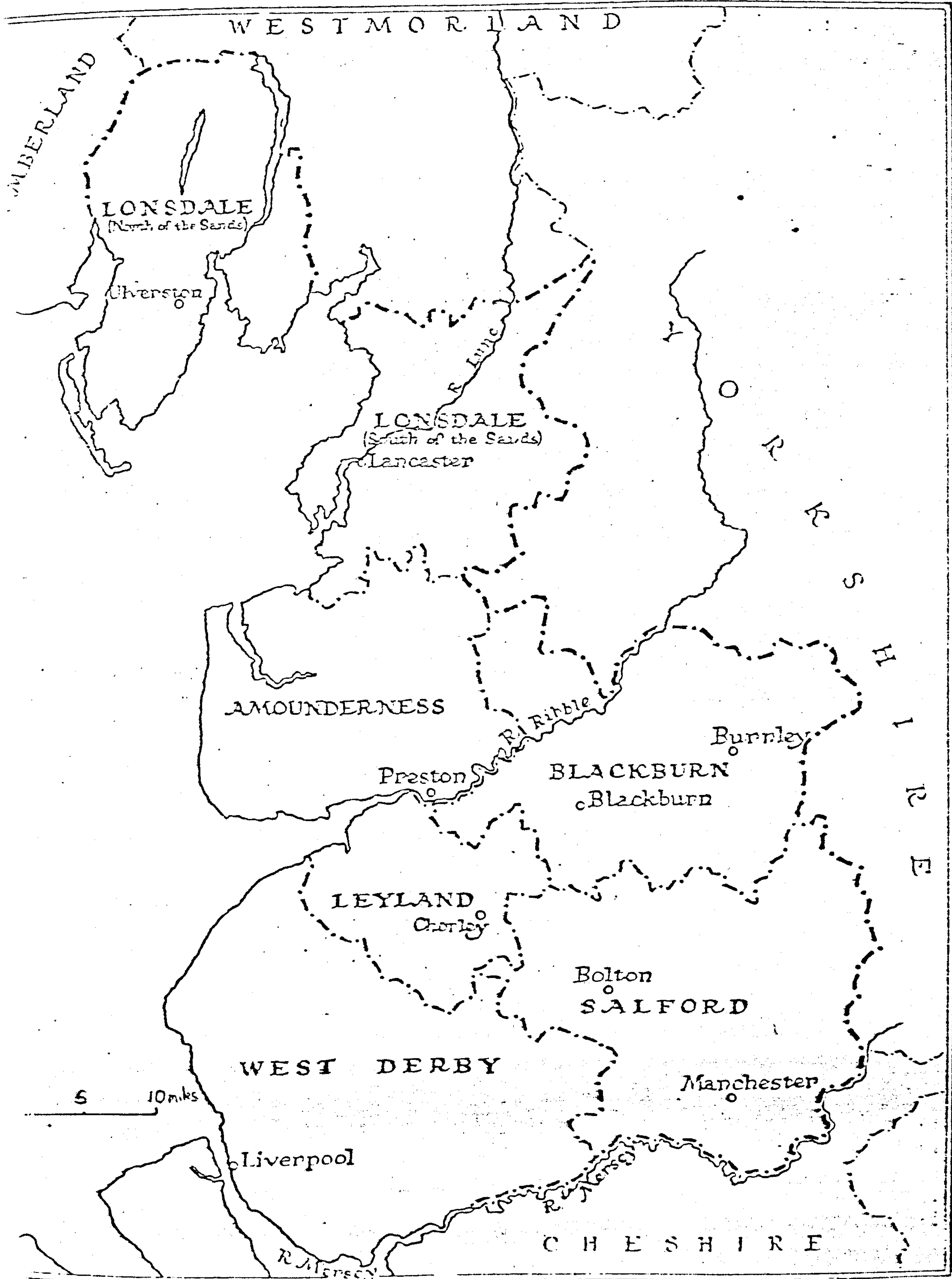
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ellel | | Cockerham | Lonsdale South |
| Esprick | Greenhalgh | Kirkham | Amounderness |
| Euxton | | Leyland | Leyland |
| Farnworth | | Prescot | West Derby |
| Fazackerley | | Walton | West Derby |
| Finisthwaite | | Colton | Lonsdale North |
| Flixton | | Flixton | Salford |
| Formby | | Walton | West Derby |
| Garstang | | Garstang | Amounderness |
| Golborne | | Winwick | West Derby |
| Gorton | | Manchester | Salford |
| Goosnargh | | Kirkham | Amounderness |
| Great Crosby | | Sephton | West Derby |
| Great Harwood | | Blackburn | Blackburn |
| Haigh | | Wigan | West Derby |
| Hale | | Childwall | West Derby |
| Halsall | | Halsall | West Derby |
| Halton | | Halton-with-Aughton | Lonsdale South |
| Hambleton | | Kirkham | Amounderness |
| Haslingden | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Hawkshead | | Hawkshead | Lonsdale North |
| Heaton Norris | | Manchester | Salford |
| Heskin | | Croston | Leyland |
| Heywood | | Bury | Salford |
| High Style | Kearsley | Dean | Salford |
| Hindley | | Wigan | West Derby |
| Hoghton | | Leyland | Leyland |
| Hollinswood | | Oldham | Salford |
| Hoole | | Hoole | Leyland |
| Hornby | | Melling | Lonsdale South |
| Howick | | Penwortham | Leyland |
| Hulton's School | | Bolton | Salford |
| Huyton | | Huyton | West Derby |
| Kirkby Ireleth | | Kirkby Ireleth | Lonsdale North |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kirkham | | Kirkham | Amounderness |
| Kirkland | | Garstang | Amounderness |
| Lancaster | | Lancaster | Lonsdale South |
| Lea | | Preston | Amounderness |
| Leigh | | Leigh | West Derby |
| Littleborough | Hunderfield | Rochdale | Salford |
| Little Lever | | Bolton | Salford |
| Liverpool | | Liverpool | West Derby |
| Longton | | Penwortham | Leyland |
| Lowick | | Ulverston | Lonsdale North |
| Lowton | | Winwick | West Derby |
| Lydyate | Saddleworth | Rochdale | Salford |
| Lytham | | Lytham | Amoundernes |
| Manchester | | Manchester | Salford |
| Marsden's School | | Bolton | Salford |
| Marton | | Poulton | Amounderness |
| Melling | | Halsall | West Derby |
| Melling | | Melling | Lonsdale South |
| Merchant Taylors' | Great Crosby | Sephton | West Derby |
| Middleton | | Middleton | Salford |
| Milnrow | Butterworth | Rochdale | Salford |
| Moss Side | | Leyland | Leyland |
| Newburgh | Lathom | Ormskirk | West Derby |
| Newchurch-in-Pendle | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Newchurch-in-Rossendale | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Newton | | Manchester | Salford |
| Newton | | Winwick | West Derby |
| Newton-with-Scales | | Kirkham | Amounderness |
| North Meols | | North Meols | West Derby |
| Ogden & Hollingworth | Butterworth | Rochdale | Salford |
| Oldham | | Oldham | Salford |
| Ormskirk | | Ormskirk | West Derby |
| Osmotherley | | Ulverston | Lonsdale North |

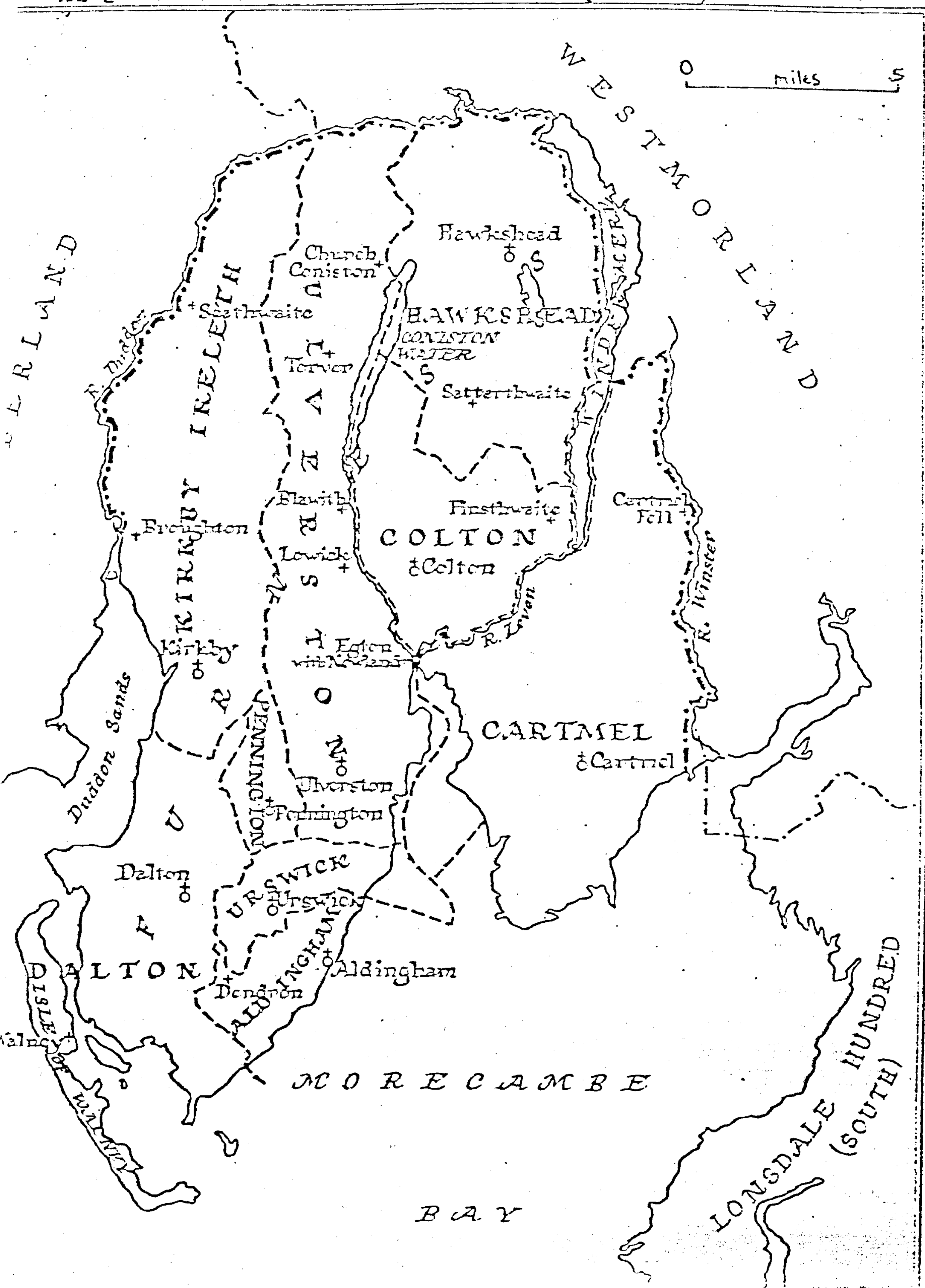
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Over Kellett | | Bolton-le-Sands | Lonsdale South |
| Over Wyersdale | | Lancaster | Lonsdale South |
| Padiham | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Pemberton | | Wigan | West Derby |
| Penwortham | | Penwortham | Leyland |
| Pilling | | Garstang | Amounderness |
| Poulton | | Poulton | Amounderness |
| Presall-with-Hackensall | | Lancaster | Lonsdale South |
| Prescot | | Prescot | West Derby |
| Prestwich | | Prestwich | Salford |
| Quernmore | | Lancaster | Lonsdale South |
| Rainford | | Prescot | West Derby |
| Read | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Ribby-with-Wrea | | Kirkham | Amounderness |
| Ribchester | | Ribchester | Blackburn |
| Ringley | | Prestwich | Salford |
| Rivington | | Bolton | Salford |
| Rochdale | | Rochdale | Salford |
| Roscow Fold | Breightmet | Bolton | Salford |
| Row Green | Worsley | Eccles | Salford |
| St. Helen's | | Prescot | West Derby |
| St. Michael-upon-Wyre | | St.Michael upon Wyre | Amounderness |
| Salford | | Manchester | Salford |
| Samlesbury | | Blackburn | Blackburn |
| Sawrey | Claife | Hawkshead | Lonsdale North |
| Scarisbrick | | Ormskirk | West Derby |
| Skelmersdale | | Ormskirk | West Derby |
| Skerton | | Lancaster | Lonsdale South |
| Scotforth | | Lancaster | Lonsdale South |
| Southworth-with-Croft | | Winwick | West Derby |
| Stand | Pilkington | Prestwich | Salford |
| Standish | | Standish | Leyland |
| Stretford | | Manchester | Salford |
| Tarleton | | Tarleton | Leyland |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tatham | | Tatham | Lonsdale South |
| Toad Lane | Spotland | Rochdale | Salford |
| Todmorden | | Rochdale | Salford |
| Thornton | | Poulton | Amounderness |
| Torver | | Ulverston | Lonsdale North |
| Torrisholme | Poulton Bare | Lancaster | Lonsdale South |
| Tottington | | Bury | Salford |
| Town Bank | | Ulverston | Lonsdale North |
| Turton | | Bolton | Salford |
| Twiss Green | Culceth | Winwick | West Derby |
| Ulverston | | Ulverston | Lonsdale North |
| Unsworth | | Prestwich | Salford |
| Upholland | | Wigan | West Derby |
| Urswick | | Urswick | Lonsdale North |
| Walmesley | Turton | Bolton | Salford |
| Walton | | Walton | West Derby |
| Walton-le-Dale | | Blackburn | Blackburn |
| Warmpton | Saddleworth | Rochdale | Salford |
| Warrington | | Warrington | West Derby |
| Warton | | Warton | Lonsdale South |
| West Derby | | Walton | West Derby |
| West Houghton | | Dean | Salford |
| Whitechapel | Goosnargh | Kirkham | Amounderness |
| Whittington | | Whittington | Lonsdale South |
| Whittle-le-Woods | | Leyland | Leyland |
| Whalley | | Whalley | Blackburn |
| Whitworth | Spotland | Rochdale | Salford |
| Wigan | | Wigan | West Derby |
| Winwick | | Winwick | West Derby |
| Wray-with-Botton | | Melling | Lonsdale South |

MAP 1 LANCASHIRE SHOWING HUNDREDS

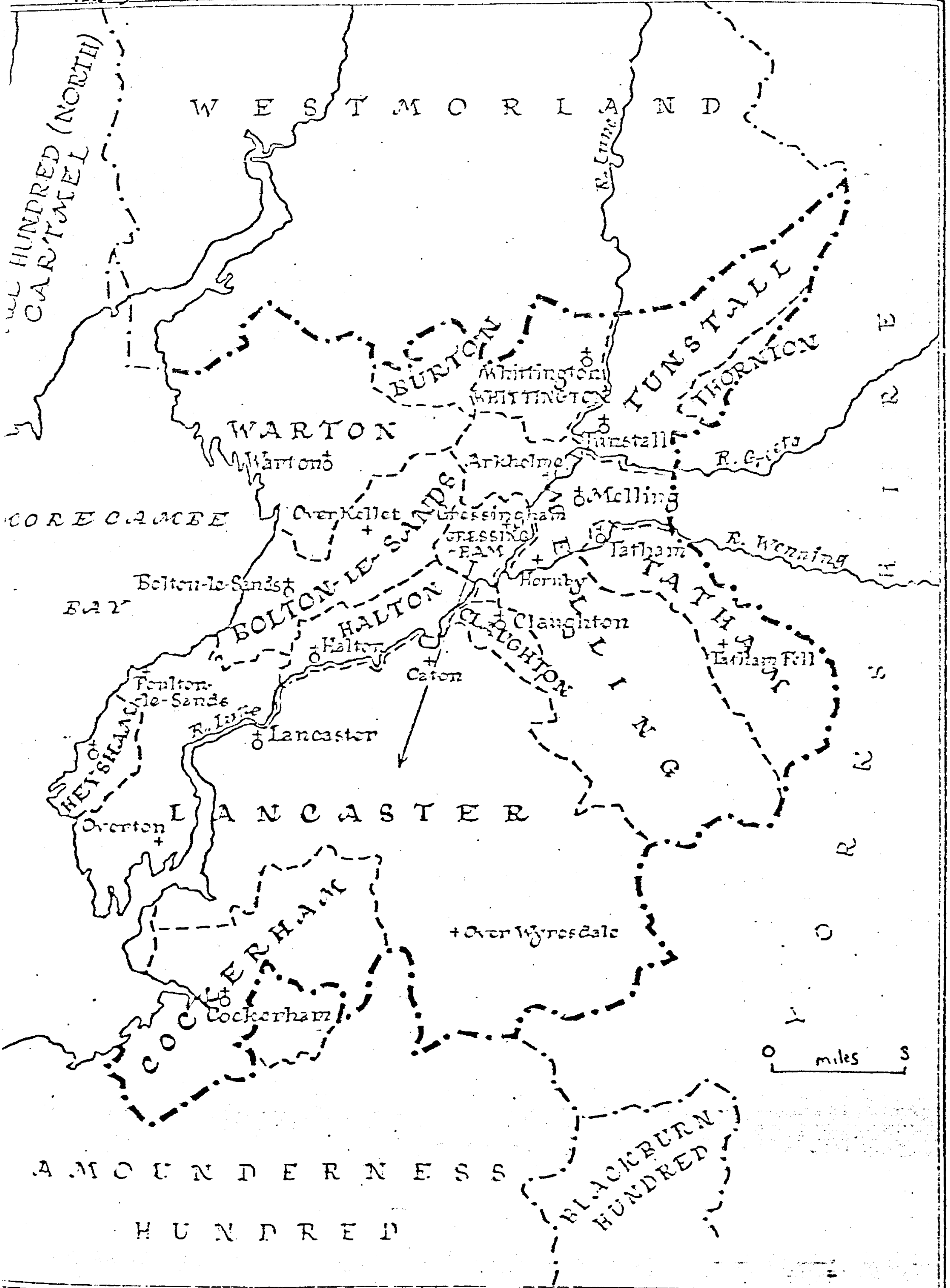


MAP 2 LONSDALE HUNDRED (NORTH)



MAP 3

# LONSDALE HUNDRED - SOUTH



MAP 4 AMOUNDERNESS HUNDRED

YORKSHIRE

BLACKBURN HUNDRED

LEYLAND HUNDRED

RIVER LUNE

RIVER RIBBLE

COCKERHAM

GARSTANG

KIRKHAM

PRESTON

POULTON-LE-FYLDE

BISPHAM

LYTHAM

ST. MICHAEL'S ON WYRE

Churchtown

Goosnargh

Broughton

Woodplumpton

Kirkham

Lytham

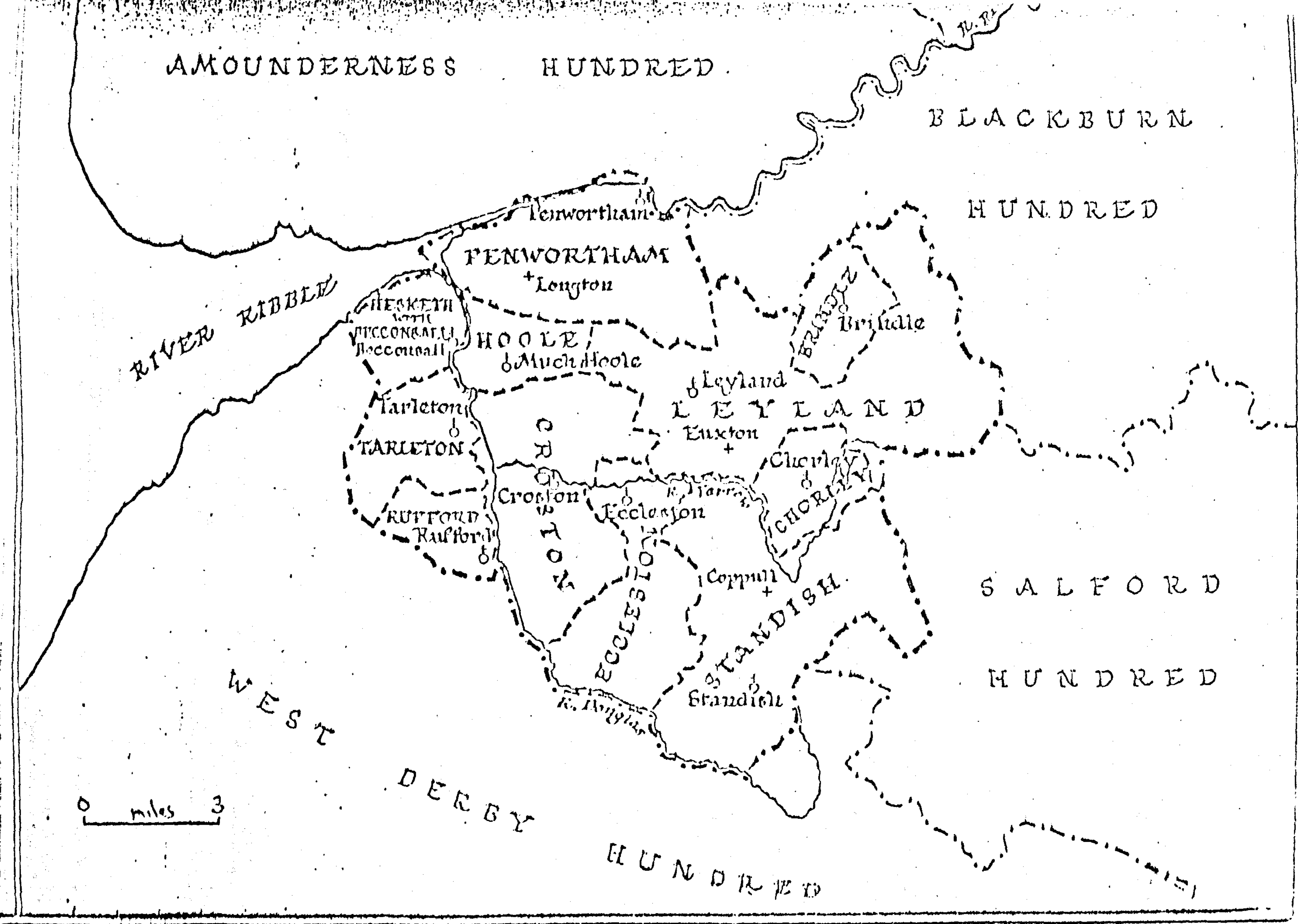
Poulton-le-Fylde

Bispham

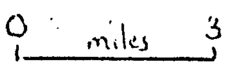
Preston

miles

MAP 5 LEYLAND HUNDRED



MAP 6 BLACKBURN HUNDRED



MAP 7 WEST DERBY HUNDRED

WEST DERBY HUNDRED

LEYLAND HUNDRED

SALFORD HUNDRED

NORTH MEOLS

North Meols

WALTON ON THE HILL (DET.)

Formby

HALSALL

Halsall

ALTCAR

Altcar

SEFTON

Sefton

Great Crosby

Maghull

Melling

AUGHTON

Aughton

ORMSKIRK

Ormskirk

Walton on the Hill

WALTON ON THE HILL

West Derby

Kirkby

St Nicholas

Toxteth Park

St James

Wavertree

CHILDWALL

Childwall

HUYTON

Huyton

PRESCOT

Prescot

St Helens

Rainford

Farnworth

Upholland

Billinge

WIGAN

Wigan

Hindley

WINWICK

Ashton in Makerfield

Lowton

Winwick

Burtonwood

Great Sankey

WARRINGTON

Warrington

Newchurch

Ashlinfare

LEIGH

Leigh

Astley

R. Mersey

0 miles 3

MAP 8 SALFORD HUNDRED