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Abstract of a thesis Charity Schools of Northumberland and Durham
1699-1810 submitted by Gordon Welch Hogg for the degree of Master
of Education, Durham University, October 1966.

Many charity schools providing free elementary education were founded in Northumberland and Durham especially in the early and later years of the eighteenth century. Motives of founders, mainly from the gentry, clergy and urban middling classes, varied. Many felt it a duty; some saw in the schools a defence of Protestantism; most had genuine humanitarian motives.

School management was essentially local - by the trustees or subscribers. However up to mid-century the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge through its local correspondents acted as an advisory body. Main sources of schools' incomes included endowments, subscriptions and charity sermons. Misappropriation of funds and loss of endowments limited the movement's success.

Urban schools usually flourished with the continuing interest and support of subscribers and often of corporations. The majority of rural parishes had schools but these were poorly attended, lacked adequate funds and, in the remoter areas, failed to attract suitable teachers.

A few Nonconformist schools were founded and, despite legal disabilities, Catholic schools existed. Special schools were those of Trinity House Newcastle for mariners' apprentices, the Crowley schools for workers' children and the Bamburgh Castle schools which included the only boarding school.

Religious education played a large part in the limited curriculum. Reading was taught to all, writing mainly to boys but arithmetic and other subjects were rare. Manual instruction was largely limited to girls. Schools often provided clothing and apprenticeship fees.

Usually teachers were poorly qualified and their salaries varied greatly. To help retired masters or their dependants the Association of Protestant Schoolmasters was founded. Teachers' subscriptions were never rigidly demanded.

After 1785 Sunday schools attempted to provide for increasing numbers of working children. Girls' schools of industry soon followed but had limited success. Monitorial schools appeared early in the nineteenth century and many existing charity schools adopted their methods.

CHARITY SCHOOLS IN NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM, 1699-1810

Thesis submitted by Gordon Welch Hogg for the degree of

Master of Education

University of Durham.

October 1966.

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- Facing page 92. Page from the Durham Blue Coat charity school book for the year 1755 showing that its main support came from subscriptions.
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Northumberland Charity Schools, 1699-1810.

PREFACE.

The term charity school in the following pages has been used to denote a school in which free elementary education was given to some or all of the children of a particular locality, the cost of such education being met by endowments, or by private subscriptions or by corporation or parochial support. By the end of the eighteenth century the term covered three types of schools - the day charity schools, the Sunday schools and the schools of industry.

The archives of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have been used extensively. Of the Society's printed material much use has been made of the Account which was published annually from 1704 to 1811. This is particularly useful up to 1732 for the reports of new schools and, from 1715 to 1724, for tables of schools arranged alphabetically by counties and containing school numbers. Of the Society's manuscript material most use has been made of the abstracts of all correspondence, in-letters and out-letters. These are collected in twenty-six volumes and the letters are numbered with the exception of those in volume 25. They cover the years 1699 to 1771 except for a gap from 1701 - 1708. Where reference has been made to one of these letters the prefix ALB (Abstract Letter Book) has been used followed by the number of the volume, then the number of the letter and finally the date of receipt or despatch by the Society. For the period 1701 to 1708 the General Minutes of the Society have been used. Certain out-letters of the Society have been referred to and these are denoted by the prefix CS(2) followed by the number of the.../

/the volume and the date of despatch. Humphrey Wanley was Secretary to the Society from 1702 to 1708 and the Wanley MSS., which have been referred to on occasion, are a very miscellaneous collection, consisting mainly of general and administrative letters.

Three other manuscript sources have proved most useful in identifying schools and in giving an overall picture of educational provision at certain times in the eighteenth century. The first is the Hunter MS 6a (Durham Cathedral Library) which is a survey of the parishes in the Northumberland Archdeaconry made on the basis of a visitation in 1723 by Archdeacon Thomas Sharp and added to between 1758 and 1826. A second source of much educational information is Bishop Chandler's Notes of a Visitation in 1736 (Newcastle Central Library). This is very useful for the Northumberland parishes but has little information on schools or schoolmasters in the county of Durham. Finally the Durham Diocese Book (Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, Durham University) based on the returns of the 1792 episcopal visitation and added to up to 1826, is particularly useful for a view of educational facilities in the whole of the Durham diocese at the end of the eighteenth century.

In the eighteenth century the diocese of Durham included the parishes of Alston and Garrowgill, both in Cumberland but the area of Hexhamshire in Northumberland was then part of the diocese of York; thus Durham diocesan records contain references to Garrowgill and.../

1844

/and Alston but there are no references to Hexhamshire. The parish of Craike which appears in the same records was transferred to the county of Yorkshire in 1844.

For convenience, the dating used throughout is New Style.

CHAPTER ONE.

THE BACKGROUND.

Writing of the North of England after 1603 the Rev. George Ridpath noted, 'The borders, which for many ages had been almost a constant source of rapine and desolation, enjoyed, from this happy era, a quiet and order which they had never before experienced'.¹ Historians have since questioned this picture of a region previously much troubled and now on the brink of untrammelled development. The late Professor Edward Hughes reminded us that Berwick was very much a garrison town even in Walpole's day² and there was still a 'Country Keeper' for Northumberland until the middle of the century whose annual salary was £500 from which he made good all cattle stolen and not restored. In mid-century gangs of Faws were still roaming the countryside. In August 1750 one of their number, one James Macfidum, was executed at Durham for robbing a ten year old Whickham schoolboy and two years later the local newspapers reported the transportation to South Carolina of the gang of Faws 'notorious for shop-breaking and plundering'. Age-old prejudice against Scotsmen died hard though the region was glad to welcome them as ministers and schoolmasters as the century progressed. Richard Shearer, a Scottish schoolmaster at Longhoughton, having crossed a local farmer, was committed to Morpeth gaol charged with being 'a person of lewd life and a common disturber of the peace'. Writing to plead his cause to the magistrates in

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1. G. Ridpath, The Border History of England and Scotland, (1808), p. 706.
 2. E. Hughes, North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century, p. XIV.

Quarter Sessions his final paragraph began, 'It is true I am a Scotsman as is my cost to me'.¹ His only offence was drunkenness.

Respect for the law was as yet skin deep, though the North was not exceptional in this. Riots and mutinies (strikes) were not infrequent, the worst offenders being the Tyne keelmen, always of an independent spirit; colliery owners however might from time to time encourage the cutting up of their rivals' waggon-ways. The age was no less litigious than any other. The Quaker Ambrose Crowley in his Law Book set up a Court of Arbitrators for his Tyneside iron-works. The court's task was 'To hear small differences..... which cause waste of time and trouble to Magistrates'.² Corn riots, and there were periodical years of dearth up to the mid-1740's, caused more trouble to the authorities than anything else, with the possible exception of balloting for the militia. In 1740, after a poor harvest and severe winter, keelmen and colliers to the fore, the mob attacked and burned Newcastle Guildhall. Durham, Sunderland and Stockton suffered similar outbreaks. In 1761 came the militia riots when in Hexham eighteen of the rioters were killed. Townsfolk acting jointly usually managed to thwart the press, but countrymen might not be so fortunate. In 1711 Embleton school lost its master when Robert More, together with other schoolmasters, were taken up as vagabonds and pressed into service in Flanders.³

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1. Northumberland Quarter Sessions Records, 29th June, 1725.
 2. Law 50., Law Book of the Crowley Ironworks, in Surtees Society Vol. 167 (1952).
 3. For a fuller discussion of the incident see below pp.120-22

Jacobitism, especially in the first two decades of the century, contributed to the unsettled conditions. Charity schools were originally set up to combat the growth of Popery, amongst other things. After the Fifteen the S.P.C.K. in reply to charges of Jacobitism infecting the schools, advised trustees of the need for choosing 'a master well-affected to his Majesty and Government'. In 1716 the Archbishop of Canterbury, after the attack on the London schools, advised the Society that catechisms 'that meddle with political or party Principles', should be thrown aside as 'pernicious to the original Design of these Nurseries'. Archbishop Wake later suggested that teachers should 'sign a solemn declaration acknowledging His Majesty King George to be the only lawful and rightful King of these Realms'.¹ But the Society could only advise the trustees of schools not order them. The writer to the introduction to the Memoirs of Ambrose Barnes, a prominent Newcastle alderman, complained that 'under the disguise of Charity Schools, children are brought up in disaffection to the government, malice against protestant dissenters and the way prepared for singing dirges and requiems for the dead'.² There appear to have been no dismissals of masters in the North or open signs of disaffection among masters or pupils. In the North the Fifteen was forestalled. The year 1718 appears to have caused more alarm. Colonel George Liddell wrote to William Cotesworth, the government's secret agent in the North East then in London on business, 'The Toryes and Non-Jurors are very insolent and the Rebels meet and

1. Quoted in W.O.B. Allen and E. McClure, Two Hundred Years, The History of the S.P.C.K. 1698-1898, p.145.

2. Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, Surtees Society Vol.I (1867) p.8.

caball frequently and brag of their having been in the Rebellion. I am satisfied we shall have another Brush this summer if the King goes over'.¹ And Mordecai Carey, having difficulty in trying to found a charity school at Morpeth, wrote to the S.P.C.K. in June 1718 that the town had 'Swarms of Papists'.² But swift government action, arrests and a careful choice of magistrates who would convict, saw the fairly swift evaporation of Jacobitism which became something of a luxury. Of the later rebellion Hughes writes, 'The Forty Five caused more anxiety to Tynesiders domiciled in London than to people on the spot'.³ In Durham City the mob attacked the popish chapels and plundered the priest's house. Times had certainly changed there since that chatter-box Celia Fiennes, journeying in the North probably in 1698, after noticing copes in the cathedral vestry wrote, '...here is the only place that they use these things in England, and several more Cerimonyes and Rites retained from the tymes of Popery; there are many papists in the town and popishly affected, and dayly encrease'.⁴ Defoe also remarked on the numbers of papists.⁵ Copes however were still worn on festival days even after 1746. Prebendary Warburton is reputed to have thrown off his cope in a pet because it disturbed his wig. Their use seems to have been finally abandoned in 1784. After

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1. Quoted Hughes, op.cit. p.21.
 2. ALB.8, 5621 5th June, 1718.
 3. Hughes, op.cit. p.24.
 4. Journeys of Celia Fiennes, ed. C.Morris, 2nd Edition (1949), p.214.
 5. D. Defoe, A Tour Through England and Wales, Everyman Edition, Vol.2, p.249.

the visitation of 1746 by Bishop Benson the records speak of a 'Mr. Warden a Scotch Jacobite Schoolmaster'. Where he taught is not recorded and apparently he continued unmolested.¹

Unsettled conditions and outbreaks of lawlessness there might be but progress could not be halted, progress which leaned heavily on coal and trade. Indeed maps of eighteenth century Northumberland and Durham show little but mining villages and the country seats of the colliery owners. Celia Fiennes quotes a previous observer's comment that the country 'would be the worst and most steril that I have seen in England, were it not for its mines of sea-coal, which are here so plenty, that it may justly be called the magazine whence all Europe is furnished with that commodity', and, after noting a fine Exchange and broad quayside in Newcastle, she concludes, 'It's a town of greater trade'.² But in the North as elsewhere landed property was the foundation of eighteenth century society, and landed wealth disposed of half of the total incomes at the beginning of the century and perhaps a third by the end. A mid-century writer maintained that, 'Agriculture was the only great prime mover of the economy and that most of the nation's industry was processing materials drawn from the harvests of crop, beast or timber or in some way directly serving these harvests'.³

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1. Durham Visitation Books. 1746.
 2. Fiennes, op.cit. p.209.
 3. Quoted G.E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century, p.4.

Landlords and farmers often helped their labourers and their families especially after a bad harvest. They were not unmindful of the education of the poor children of the village. There were two broad categories of agricultural labour. In the earlier part of the century servants (i.e. those living in) were plentiful and cheap and were hired by the year. Young found that servants' wages were 'higher than he conceived'. They received board and a man averaged £21 a year, a woman £8. This compares favourably with the salaries of teachers. The Newcastle Journal advertised for a master to teach the 3 R's at Haydon Bridge Free School offering a salary of near £25.¹ The position of mistress in St. Nicholas Charity School, Newcastle was advertised at a salary of up to £20, and this was one of the plum posts.² The country schools no doubt provided many farm servants. Even from a well-established school like the Berwick Charity School just over 20% of the jobs taken up by pupils were 'to service or place'. Only one appears to have gone as a 'gentleman's servant'.³

Most countrymen however were farm labourers. Young noted that in the North their wages averaged just over £16 a year. Most were married and children usually had to supplement the family income. A boy of ten or twelve at Raby might earn up to £6, at Gosforth only £3. Bailey, writing of Durham at the turn of the century, said 'I know a labourer of this class, who some years since was very much distressed with a young family of six children who are now become his wealth'.

1. Newcastle Journal, 3rd August, 1765.

2. Ibid., 18th April, 1767.

3. Berwick-upon-Tweed, Register of Charity School Children 1757-1860

The total family earnings were £2.1s. per week. The father earned fifteen shillings and the sons, aged 12, 11, 7 and 6 earned 9 shillings, 8 shillings, 6 shillings and 3 shillings respectively. He also noted that wages had doubled since 1790.¹ Parental encouragement for children in rural areas to attend school was certainly not as great as in the towns where the chances of apprenticeship to a good trade after a basic education were much better. The nature of employment in the countryside meant that at best attendance at school would be spasmodic, especially at harvest time. Early in the period part-time education was envisaged by the S.P.C.K. in their Third Circular Letter to the Clergy Correspondents of 8th June, 1700 where, following a successful experiment in Bedfordshire, they advocated evening schools in the winter for 'those who could not spare their Children and Servants from work on short days of winter'.² The idea was not taken up; Dr. Ellison summed up the position in his reply to the Society from Newcastle in July of the same year, 'That ye prospect of Teaching Children after they have done work is impracticable there'.³ The average working day was nine hours for six days in the week.

The open-field system was unusual in the North. Enclosure there was though in the two counties most of the common fields, especially of the towns, had been enclosed before the opening of the century. In

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1. J. Bailey, General View of the Agriculture of County Durham, p.263.
 2. S.P.C.K., 3rd Circular Letter to the Clergy, 8th June, 1700.
 3. ALB 1. 138, 19th July, 1700.

1727 the Rev. John Laurence could declare, 'As to the Bishoprick of Durham....Nine parts in Ten are already enclosed'.¹ It has recently been shown however that sizeable areas of 'town fields' remained common.² Most 18th century enclosure in the region was of the 'waste' and Bailey writing in 1797 said that the land capable of being converted into profitable tillage in Northumberland, (and the same could be said of Durham), was trifling, and that the greater part had been enclosed in the previous thirty years. Almost a quarter of a million acres of such land were enclosed between 1760 and 1810, practically equal areas in the two counties and mainly done by statute. As in the rest of the country only a small proportion of enclosure appears to have been put aside for the poor or for education. At Lanchester in 1781 on the enclosure of the commons one acre of 'very bad land' was set out in respect of the school and later at Frosterley 6 acres of land was made out to the school out of Frosterley Intack.³ In 1792 a quarter of an acre of the common lands was given to the school at Allendale.⁴ In 1801 on the enclosure of the common moors of Framwellgate and Witton Gilbert one twenty-fourth 'part or share in value' (part of the Bishop's share) was set aside as a fund for the establishment of schools in the diocese. The award of the commissioners was not made till 1809, and then, after expenses, the

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1. Quoted Lord Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present*, p.164-65.
 2. See Hughes, *North Country Life*, p.132-33.
 3. E. Mackenzie and M. Ross, *History of Durham (1834)*, Vol.2, p.262.
 4. *Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland (1819-37)*, p.469.

capital realised was insufficient for Bishop Barrington's grand plan. (For a fuller discussion see below Chapter 10).

Enclosure in the North therefore did not cause the trouble or hardship found in other parts of the country. There was loss of grazing rights and squatters suffered as elsewhere, but the Northern enclosure certainly did not create a 'landless proletariat'. Indeed Bailey noted that population increased in agricultural areas where there was enclosure and improved methods and that employment increased, especially in Durham where a good acreage of the newly enclosed land was brought under cultivation.¹ This growth of population, rather than enclosure or other factors, probably explains many of the problems after the 1780's. There was a greater demand for education which led to the founding of more schools. (Population before 1801 is a subject fraught with a host of difficulties. Population certainly increased in the latter part of the period, more so in Durham than in Northumberland, and especially in the towns and mining villages. Durham's population in 1700 was perhaps just over 95,000. By the 1801 census it had reached 160,361. Newcastle's population in the 1730's when Bourne wrote his history stood round the 20,000 mark. By 1801 it had reached 28,294.

Population increased and so did the numbers of the poor. The problem of the poor more than exercised the minds of eighteenth century writers. In trying to explain the increase in numbers of the poor and the increase in the poor rate they generally emphasised the

1. J. Bailey, Agriculture of Durham, p.98.

laziness of the poor, indeed the luxury of the poor. After the 1722 act the workhouse became the favourite panacea of all social evils of the century and out of the workhouse grew the working school.¹ In 1702 Francis Brewster wrote that 'the Neglect of the Poor seems the greatest mistake in our government' and he added that it was a national disaster 'to have so many Thousand Poor, who might by their Labours Earn, and so eat our Provisions, and instead of sending them out, export Manufactures, and that would bring in double to the Nation, whatever our Provision doth'.² Schemes for putting the poor to work reflected familiar mercantilist notions of getting the most out of the labouring force of the nation. Most of the towns erected workhouses; Sunderland's in 1740 ^{as did Durham City} was by public subscription. Sometimes the employment of the poor could damage the prospects of providing for their education. Writing to the Society in 1701 Dr. Thomlinson from Newcastle could say 'that a Manufacture to employ the poor has superseded all former designs of erecting Charity Schools'.³ However throughout the century the idea that poor children would be better workers if given a rudimentary education, not beyond their station of course, gained ground. As early as 1701 Alderman Whinfield could write the Society, 'The Corporation has agreed with a Person to take

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1. There is no entry in the publication the Account of Several Workhouses....and of several Charity Schools for Promoting Work and Labour (2nd Edit. 1732) for either Northumberland or Durham though some sixty are mentioned outside of London.
 2. F. Brewster, New Essays on Trade, 1702, pp.52 and 122.
 3. ALB 1. 261, 8th March 1701.

ten Boys and Girls every month and teach them to spin woollen yarn till they are able to maintain themselves, and that there is a school-master to teach them to read etc. Sir Wm. Blackett has taken upon himself to be overseer of this matter the first six months'.¹ Ten years later Thomlinson wrote that 'Besides the children of the Charity Schools in the correction or spinning house there are 87 girls, 3 boys and 27 old women but the children are not now taught to read though it is now proposed to be done'.²

England's a perfect world. has Indies too
Correct your maps: Newcastle is Peru.

so in 1651 had written the author of verses entitled 'Upon the Coal Pits about Newcastle upon Tine'. Other coalfields might be developing apace but coal was still the wealth and life of most of the region in the eighteenth century. That minerals belonged to the owner of the land is said to depend on a judicial decision of 1568. Many of the bigger landowners like the Delavals and Lambtons worked their own lands, and many of the lessees came from the landed classes. Indeed next to farming the exploitation of mineral deposits was the most common estate activity of the century. But new men, entrepreneurs like Cotesworth in the early years of the century, were also in the field. They had the necessary capital now that mining was becoming more expensive and a bigger risk. As pits moved eastwards and became deeper partnerships became increasingly common. At the opening of the century the average depth was some 200 feet. In 1794 a shaft was sunk at Hebburn 774 feet in depth. Numbers of

1. ALB. 1. 275, 7th April 1701.

2. ALB. 3. 2910, 3rd December 1711.

workmen employed increased accordingly. The same pit at Hebburn employed some 400. Surprisingly enough the area of a colliery was small covering anything up to only 30 acres and its life of short duration. At Longbenton in the 1740's the average life of a pit was just over three years. Miners, certainly in the first half of the century, were a peripatetic group and what schooling their children received was likely to suffer from frequent interruption. Most of the coal was transported to London and the east coast and, though exports thither rose in the century, the real increase came in the next century by which time the North East had formidable rivals. The growth of Sunderland was especially noticed by contemporaries. In somewhat of an understatement the Earl of Oxford could write in 1725, 'They (Newcastle) seem at present a little jealous of Sunderland which has of late shared with it pretty considerably in this trade and as I am told is likely to gain more and more upon it every day'.¹

The employment of women in the Northern coalfield became rare after 1780. Indeed it is to the pitman's credit that he used his increased wage to withdraw his wife from the mine. Most female labour previously employed was at the surface, 'wailing' as it was called. Mainly girls of eleven to sixteen did this work of picking out stones or dirt at the lowly wage of sixpence a day. The employment of boys was a different matter. From the 1740's a big expansion of child labour occurred. This was largely the result of

1. Quoted Hughes, North Country Life, p.159.

technical advances - ventilation doors meant the employment of 'trappers', and the increasing use of ponies and rails down the mines was voracious of child labour. A boy might enter the workings at six years of age and was employed as a trapper from twelve to eighteen hours a day for three shillings a week. At eleven he would begin to help convey coals to the surface on trams for a shilling a day. The work was hard and, 'by his superior Partner in the work when employed at the Tram he is frequently urged by severe blows and the most abusive language'.¹ At fourteen he became a 'half-marrow', and by stages, including being a putter (he filled the coal into baskets and trams) he would complete his apprenticeship and become a full hewer. The education of pitmens' children under these circumstances would be difficult. Sometimes a colliery owner helped out. The S.P.C.K. Account for 1712 records that 'The proprietors of a colliery there (Benwell), have set up a Charity School to instruct 70 poor Ch. of the Pitmen in the Christian Religion, and in Reading, Writing, and Accompts'. It is noteworthy that no further record of such a school has been found. The Newcastle Journal for 17th October, 1767 reported, 'The Lady of Ed. Montague Esq. has founded a School at Dentonburn for the education of the pitmens children employed in the colliery there; and also finds the boys cloaths till they be fit for business'. But such examples are rare and support given later in the century for

1. 'Replies by W. Thomas of Denton to Queries made by Sir John Swinburne concerning the State of Pitmen on the Tyne' (1800); quoted T.S. Ashton and J. Sykes, *The Coal Industry of the Eighteenth Century*, p.173.

Sunday Schools were not entirely for philanthropic motives. The letter written to the S.P.C.K. by Dr. Thomlinson of Whickham in 1722 is probably a truer picture of the situation. He wrote '...but the method to make the poor children of indigent widows come constantly to school is among the desiderata in that neighbourhood. The labour of loading coals by wagons is so great as usually to bring the men to their graves in the middle of their age, which fills the neighbouring parishes full of poor widows and children, the maintenance of whom chiefly depends upon the labour of the children who are commonly employed either in the pits or in leading carts in the summer time from 6 or 7 years old. So that if their attendance at school should be rigorously demanded the poor families would starve, and therefore all that can be done is to prevail with those that live near the school to come part of the day when they have left their work'.¹

Lead mining, found chiefly in the Weardale and Teesdale districts, was an even older industry than coal. The population of these areas increased steadily during the century especially after the London Lead Company began operations from about 1704. In these developing, remote and largely self-contained districts, education was a difficult problem especially getting and keeping their schoolmasters. However the Quaker Company had a good reputation for looking after the welfare of its workers and its record of educational provision was, for the times, quite commendable. In Weardale the bishop enjoyed sizeable royalties for his mineral rights and the rector of Stanhope held tithe

1. ALB 11. 6979, 20th February, 1722.

rights in the lead mines, making it one of the richest rectories in the country. Both bishop and rector felt therefore an obligation towards the ordinary people of the dale, not least in helping to provide education. But the remoteness of the area was uninviting to any able schoolmaster, a remoteness which prompted Surtees to relate an anecdote concerning Bishop Butler's tenure of the Stanhope benefice from 1725 to his resignation of it in 1740. Queen Caroline, enquiring of her former protegé now in the remote rectory, asked, 'Is Mr. Butler dead?' 'No, Madam', replied the Archbishop of York, 'but he is buried'.¹

Trading and manufacturing towns were beginning to develop during the eighteenth century and of these Newcastle was already becoming the commercial capital of the region. The old town near the river might be ill laid out, overcrowded with the labouring classes and still the commercial nerve centre but in the upper part of the town there were now wide streets where the 'middling' classes, the benefactors of its charity schools and other charities, lived and where the country squires might winter. Even Dean Cowper, who in an earlier excursion to the town in 1748 had remarked, 'It has indeed the riches and trade of London in some degree, but with it the nastiness and filth of Edinburgh, the inhabitants of the poorer sort seem to vie with one another in dirt',² was forced, in 1751, to admit that his former execration 'was of force changed into Compliments on the beauty and

1. R. Surtees, History of the County Palatine (1816), Vol.1, p.122.

2. Letters of Spencer Cowper, Dean of Durham, Surtees Society, Vol. CLXV (1950) p.102.

airyness of Pilgrim Street and the magnificence of the River Tyne'.¹ Other towns, especially Sunderland, might be developing in Durham (Northumberland's market towns were mainly in decline), but none could really vie with Newcastle. Its infirmary was opened in 1752 and its lying-in hospital followed in 1760. Its first bank had opened its doors in 1755, the second oldest provincial bank in England. By 1801 it had four. Learning and the arts were provided for. The present Literary and Philosophical Society was founded in 1793. The old Theatre Royal opened in 1788 with Stephen Kemble, the brother of Charles Kemble and Mrs. Siddons, as its manager from 1792. The Newcastle Courant, first issued in 1711 (a Newcastle Gazette had appeared the previous year but had quickly failed), was the oldest provincial newspaper in the North. Newcastle at most periods in the eighteenth century could boast of having at least three weekly newspapers. The town was also a sizeable centre of the printing trade, especially of childrens' books.²

The established Church played the dominant role in education in the eighteenth century and no sketch of the social background in the North East would be complete without a discussion of its work and place in society. Overton and Relton open their history of the Church of England in the century with the words, 'It is true that a lover of the English Church cannot study it without a blush. It is a period

1. Ibid., p.141.

2. See R. Welford, Early Newcastle Typography, Archaeologia Aeliana, 3rd Series, Vol.III.

of lethargy instead of activity, of worldliness instead of spirituality, of self-seeking instead of self-denial, of grossness instead of refinement. There was a grovelling instead of a noble conception of the nature and function of the Church as a Christian society'.¹ It is easy to attack its abuses - plurality and non-residence; extremes of clerical wealth and poverty; lack of church discipline (though Convocation was silenced from 1717 to 1852); neglect of pastoral work; the low morality of many of the clergy; the whole system of patronage, and so on. Such charges could be brought against the Church in the Durham diocese but a study of the records which remain leads one to agree with the conclusion of the editors of visitation records of the archdiocese of York in 1743: 'the strong impression left by these Returns is that of a body of dutiful and conscientious men, trying to do their work according to the standards of their day'.²

Addison, writing in the Spectator for the 24th March 1711, noted, 'We may divide the clergy into generals, field officers and subalterns'. Anyone entering the Durham bishopric in the eighteenth century was said to be 'going into the bishopric', - such was the repute of the prince-bishops. Next to Canterbury the bishop of Durham was the richest prelate in the land. His wealth, variously estimated and usually exaggerated, was based on landed property and it has been

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1. J.H. Overton and F. Relton, The English Church from the accession of George I to the end of the eighteenth century, 1714-1800, p.1.
 2. Visitation Returns of Archbishop Herring, 1743, quoted N.Sykes, Church and State in England in the 18th Century, p.6.

shown how 'episcopal recovery' proceeded in the century.¹ His control of political and other appointments was still considerable. He appointed the sheriff and chairman of the Quarter Sessions and a variety of other offices from his own attorney-general to the master-ships of the Palace Green schools. His ecclesiastical patronage was enormous. He presented to both the archdeaconries, appointed the twelve prebends and held the advowsons of twelve rectories, 4 vicarages and 5 curacies in the Durham archdeaconry, nine vicarages and three curacies in Northumberland and one rectory, three vicarages and a curacy in Yorkshire.

Who were the Durham generals - one might almost say field-marshals? William Warburton, himself a prebend of Durham even after his translation to the bishopric of Gloucester in 1760 and a regular subscriber to the Durham Blue Coat school, wrote, 'Reckon upon it that Durham goes to some noble ecclesiastic. T'is a morsel only for them'.² Bishoprics were of two kinds - 'of business for men of abilities and learning' (Chandler and Butler were of this kind and also the only charity school boy to be raised to the bench, Isaac Maddox of St. Asaph and later Worcester) and 'of ease for men of family and fashion'. Most of Durham's bishops were of this kind. A later occupant of the see, and an ex-schoolmaster, Hensley Henson, had little good to say of the eighteenth century Durham bishops. 'From Cosin to Shute

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1. See Hughes, North Country Life, p.306 ff.
 2. Warburton, Letters of a Late Eminent Prelate, quoted Sykes, op.cit., p.157.

Barrington with the single exception of Butler, all the bishops of Durham were men of family and influence, whose appointment was easier to explain than to justify'.¹ Henson was always an outspoken man and his comment is, to say the least, unfair. Nathaniel Crewe (1674-1721), was the fifth son of the first Lord Crewe of Stene and succeeded to the title on the death of his last surviving brother in 1697. He was a Jacobite and at one time fled to Holland, but returned and made his peace with the new regime. At best he is remembered for his will which left much to charitable purposes. The Forster property, which formed the basis of the Crewe Charity, was conveyed to Crewe about 1709 and was not, as is popularly thought, forfeited by General Forster (Crewe's second wife's nephew) for his part in the Fifteen, and then bought by the bishop.² William Talbot (1721-29), who succeeded him, owed his progress to Durham via Oxford and Salisbury, largely to his cousin, the Earl of Shrewsbury. The comment of the curate of Slaley, William Richardson, whose case of alleged drunkenness was heard in 1722, is worthy of note. He was supposed to have exclaimed, admittedly in his cups, 'What Blade is now come to be our Bishop of Durham. Some (?sluggish) fellow I suppose that Geordy King likes'.³ (Country clergy were mainly Tory and Jacobite in sympathy at the time). Talbot is remembered for his greed and

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1. H.H. Henson, *Retrospect of an Unimportant Life*, (1946), Vol.11, p.79
 2. See C.E. Whiting, *Nathaniel Lord Crewe*, p.242. The estates of most Roman Catholic gentry were heavily mortgaged before 1715. See Hughes, *op.cit.* p.XVII ff.
 3. Consistory Court Records, Durham, Box 1710-29.

extravagance though he had preached the Annual Charity Sermon in London in 1717 pleading for separate girls' schools. He argued that if girls were taught the Christian faith they were less likely to sin, and, having learned an honest trade, necessity would no longer drive them into 'the Hellish Brothel Houses'.¹ Kindly Bishop Edward Chandler followed (1730-50). He was a man of 'more learning than capacity', best remembered with Joseph Butler (1750-52), as stout defenders against Deism. Butler is best known for his Analogy, his great defence of revealed religion, but he was also a great supporter of charity schools. He began the practice, followed by succeeding bishops, of donating £10 annually to the Blue Coat school in Durham. His 1745 Charity Sermon in London, when he was Bishop of Bristol, argued that education should be essentially religious education, the best safeguard against atheism and immorality. Knowledge having increased he went on to say, 'If this be a blessing we ought to let the poor in their degree share it with us', quite a revolutionary suggestion for the time.² Richard Trevor (1752-71), was largely remembered for his 'example of Christian piety fortitude and resignation (he suffered greatly in his final years from blood poisoning, his toes dropping off one by one) which no human being ever exceeded, and few have equalled'.³ His patron was the Duke of Newcastle and inevitably his main preoccupation was with ecclesiastical

1. On Christian Love and Charity, preached on 13th June, 1717, p.29.

2. Annual Charity Sermon, Christ Church, Newgate Street, 1745.

3. W. Hutchinson, History of the County Palatine of Durham, Vol.1, p.583.

patronage and politics. John Egerton (1771-87) was the son of a bishop, grandson of the Earl of Bridgewater and nephew of the Duke of Portland. Surtees said of him, 'None ever exercised his Palatine privileges with more liberal discretion, or passed through his high office with less of blame or envy than Bishop Egerton'.¹ Thomas Thurlow (1787-91), owed his position to his brother the Lord Chancellor. He was shy, retiring and somewhat of a nonentity. Shute Barrington (1791-1826) was also the son of a lord. He looked upon 'fortune and patronage as trusts for which he must be responsible', and his 'episcopate was characterised by a fervent piety and pastoral zeal', achieving a reputation 'for the exemplary discharge of his duties, for piety and well-regulated benevolence'.² Barrington's educational schemes and his bringing Dr. Andrew Bell to Sherburn are dealt with in Chapter ten below.

Among the 'field officers' we must include the archdeacons and prebends. The twelve Durham prebends were in the gift of the bishop who might receive repeated solicitations from his 'political allies'. Newcastle, ever looking for more pasture on which to feed the beasts, wrote in 1764, 'He (Trevor) had but one prebend of so little value of £350 per annum and that is no small thing; all the rest are £500 per annum and upwards'.³ The value of the prebendal estates had appreciated between three and four times from the Revolution to the

1. R.Surtees, op.cit., Vol.1, p.123.

2. Quoted Sykes, op.cit., p.414.

3. Newcastle to Dr. L. Caryl, 6 Dec.1764, Quoted Sykes, op.cit.p.158.

accession of George III. By that time the richest stall was worth £700. When a vacancy occurred in their numbers a sort of general post ensued. Their duties were nominal. Indeed it was sometimes difficult to get a quorum for a meeting of the Dean and Chapter. Prebends were pluralists and the plum rectories were usually theirs. In 1783 the bishop's steward John Robson could write his brother seeking preferment, '...Prospects for any further advancement here are quite out of sight, as those who don't want them are quite ready to hold every vacancy for themselves'.¹ The example afforded the lesser clergy was admittedly not a good one. But by the standards of the time most of the prebends were worthy men, many of them scholars and much given to charitable works. The prebends en bloc subscribed to the Blue Coat school in Durham and were frequent preachers at charity school anniversary services locally and in the capital. William Lupton preached the London sermon in 1718 and Thomas Mangey followed in 1726. Mangey unlike Butler later, was a trifle reactionary and he warned against adopting too ambitious a curriculum. 'The Capacity to read, and a competent Instruction in the Principles of the Church Catechism, seem to answer the full intent of these charitable Foundations; and if such Education were carry'd much farther it might probably render Poor Children less fit for that low and laborious Station of Life, in which Divine Providence hath plac'd them'.²

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1. Letter from John Robson to Robert Robson, 30 May 1783, in Sykes p.205.
 2. The Gospel preach'd to the Poor, 2 June 1726, pp.19-20.

The ideal prebend of the period is undoubtedly Sir George Wheler, prebend of the second stall, 1684-1723, and rector of Houghton-le-Spring, 1709-23. Wheler, a scholar and High Churchman, was a considerable benefactor to the poor. He was one of the first members of the S.P.C.K., its clergy correspondent for Durham and was particularly interested in the education of girls. The minutes of the Society record 25th January, 1700, 'Sir George Wheler reports that he has begun a Free School in Spittle Fields for Poor Girls, and for their encouragement has given them a house'.¹ Wheler in 1716 founded a charity school for girls in his Houghton parish. Other prebends active in the educational field, many founding schools, include Theophilus Pickering, William Hartwell and the Sharps, father and son. Dr. Thomas Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, prebend of Durham, York and Southwell, rector of Rothbury (1723-58), was the son of an Archbishop of York. He was father of Granville Sharp, the abolitionist, and of John Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, prebend of Durham, and vicar of Hartburn.

We know much less of the 'subalterns' though some diaries have survived. There were some 174 parishes and parochial chapelries in the Durham diocese at the end of the eighteenth century. Whiting estimated 185 in 1720 but the number did not decrease in the century and this is certainly an over-estimation.² Early in the period new churches were built (Sunderland in 1719 and Stockton in 1711 became separate parishes with new churches) but very few in the later years.

1. S.P.C.K. Minutes of the General Board Vol.1, 25 Jan, 1700.

2. See C.E. Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, p.61.

Butler complained in his 1751 Charge that there was no longer any spirit for building churches. The building of a gallery was the usual method of coping with increasing congregations. Charity school children were more often than not relegated to a gallery. In the first half of the century a country cure averaged £30-40. Later stipends rose to an average of about £70. An act of 1796 fixed the maximum stipend at £75 for curates serving the parishes of non-resident pluralists. Rich livings like Stanhope, Houghton, Sedgfield and Brancepeth were reserved for prebends and their stipends have been exaggerated. The higher clergy as patrons were not unmindful of their poorer brethren. Crewe in his will provided for 'the Augmentation of 12 such poore Rectoryes Viccaridges small Liveings or Curacyes within the Diocesse of Durham', and one of the first acts of the first three executors was to endow the twelve parishes with an additional £10 per year.¹ The Dean and Chapter (they had presentation to 33 benefices) also helped out. On 27th July, 1717 they ordered £20 to be given to Patrick Robertson, vicar of Berwick 'sick and in want', and in 1729 they ordered that 5 guineas be given to Mr. Burne, curate of Heslenden, 'towards the Charges he is at in Educateing his Son at the University and in respect of his great Family'.² Tweedmouth was apparently the first living of the Dean and Chapter augmented under Queen Anne's Bounty. This was in 1728 following an order of 30th November, 1726 that 'the Sume of One Hundred pounds be reserved annually towards getting the Queen's Bounty

1. The text of Crewe's Will is printed in an appendix in Whiting, op.cit.

2. Dean and Chapter Acts Book, 1690-1729.

for the Augmenting poor Liveings within our Jurisdiction'.¹ The Sons of the Clergy to help impecunious clergy and widows and orphans of clergy was established in 1709. The 78th canon also helped the indigent cleric eke out his poor living by giving him a monopoly of teaching and 'training up of children in principles of true religion'. Many clergymen taught school, mainly for paying pupils of course. But occasionally they taught poor children gratis, like the subcurate at Sedgefield who 'teaches an Academy -also 20 Scholars for Mrs Davisons Ben(efaction)',² or at Denton where the curate kept a school 'where the Catechism is expounded once or twice every week'.³ Notwithstanding such charitable acts the lot of the country clergy was poor. In the main towns however lectureships could be held. These were primarily for preaching and were often well-endowed. That at St. Nicholas, Newcastle for example was worth £120 a year. Besides insufficiency of salary there was often insecurity of tenure. These often had unfortunate results for rural education. Because of plurality many parishes were without a curate. The poorer ones were often combined and curates were often condemned 'to a kind of vagrant and dishonourable life, wandering for better subsistence from parish to parish, even from North to South'.⁴

The bulk of the clergy had degrees. In Crewe's episcopate, excluding the prebends, 212 clergy out of 373 had degrees.⁵ Their

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1. Ibid.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 3. Ibid.
 4. N.Sykes, Church and State, p.206.
 5. C.E.Whiting, op.cit., p.249.

morals too were markedly better than is sometimes suggested. Drunkenness, a common eighteenth century vice, was perhaps their most common failing. Richard Parker of Embleton, who had a reputation as a classical scholar and was a friend of Steele was accused in 1719 of being 'so drunk that you could not get to bed without help', and two years earlier, 'was very drunk in your own house and abused Mr Cunningham (his curate) and followed him home to fight him'.¹ His parishioners apparently called him 'Drunken Davy'. He was condemned in costs. Alexander Cunningham himself was discharged shortly afterwards for his slandering Parker, saying he was mad. So the case against Parker was probably exaggerated. About 1716 Guthbert Swaiston of Bishop Middleham, having already suffered suspension by his archdeacon for 'ill behaviour towards your wife you denying her the common necessaries of Life and for your irregular living and incapacity', was charged with excessive drinking.² The case of Thomas Capstick, vicar of Newburn is interesting as showing the relationship between the priest and the parish schoolmaster. Capstick was charged in 1721 with being drunk and with malice against one Matthew Bell. Bell, a collector of window tax, had threatened to distrain Capstick after he had refused to pay his assessment. Then Capstick allegedly produced a register book to one Robert Barkley, a schoolmaster of the parish, who 'did score out the names of six of the

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1. Durham Consistory Court Records 10th June, 1717 and 27th Jan., 1719.
 2. Ibid. No date but most probably about 1716.

Children of the sd Matthew Bell'.¹ There was at least one case of deprivation for moral depravity. Ralph Eden, a minor canon, was first suspended and then removed in February 1726. He did not contest the accusation that he was the father of a bastard child.² Another minor canon, John Teasdale, had been expelled in 1709 being guilty of 'very scandalous crimes'. What these were is not known.³ Two cases of sequestration, both in cases of debt, have been noted before 1750.⁴ It is significant that all these cases are in the early part of the century. Consistory Court records disclose no cases against clergymen after 1723.

The diary of the young John Thomlinson, curate to his uncle John at Rothbury from 1717 to 1720, gives us a picture of clerical life, a picture of indifference to religion and preoccupation with money, matrimony and the pleasures of life. 'Uncle Robert would have me court Mr Ord's daughter, well-educated, religious and 2 or 3,000l fortune', he wrote in 1717. Or again, writing in the following August he commented, 'the clergy in Cumberland are near as vitious (as in the Bishoprick) Mr Gregory as bad as Mr Nicholson here. Jefferson lewd. Whittingale, lewd and drunken'.⁵ But there is another side

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1. Ibid. 1721.
 2. Dean and Chapter Acts Book 1690-1729.
 3. Ibid of Hughes p.335, "Yet I have found no instance of deprivation for moral depravity".
 4. E.Hughes, North Country Life, p.335.
 5. Diary of Rev. John Thomlinson. Surtees Society, Vol.CXVIII (1910) The Thomlinsons had Cumberland connections.

to the picture. Vincent Edwards wrote the Society from Embleton in 1701 that monthly meetings of the clergy were being held in Alnwick and that the nine members agreed to catechise young people, administer the Sacrament four times a year, frequently read prayers in church, disperse good books (Edwards requested 300 papers against swearing and profanation of the Lord's Day from the Society in the following year), visit their parishioners, and be exemplary in their own carriage.¹ Or again, Dr. Robert Thomlinson, rector of Whickham 1712-48, a prebendary of St. Pauls, and uncle of the John already mentioned, was another fine clergyman. He founded charity schools at Wigton, Allenby and Whickham, was instrumental in founding the Newcastle schools, founded a library at Newcastle, to which he bequeathed his own considerable library, and was a great benefactor of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. He left £100 in his will to the S.P.C.K. and a further £100 to Working Schools in Ireland. Near the end of his life he wrote to Henry Newman, secretary of the Society, concerning support for a West Indian mission, 'and my concern is greater because I am at ys time engaged in charitys wch exceed double ye net produce of all my preferments and are now dwindled to a sum not exceeding 220li, a year'.² In the same year, 1741, he wrote a letter to a kinsman in London which is an interesting commentary on the system of patronage and on Thomlinson's own selflessness, 'When my Charitys come to be known they will reflect

1. ALB 1. 250, 21st February, 1701.

2. Rev. Robert Thomlinson's Letter Books and Accounts (1720-48)
Copy of letter dated 23 November, 1741.

ye greater credit upon my worthy patron Bp. Robinson (Bishop of London 1714-23) who was much esteemed by King Wm. A very good guide of his great capacity and yet has had his reputation tarnished by ye impudent writer of Bp. Atterbury's Life'.¹ A final example gives us a picture of the fine pastor Thomlinson undoubtedly was. He wrote, 'I am now in the 76th year of my Age, have been blind near eight years and goes no wither but to the House of God'.² He apparently used guide ropes during divine service.

Divine service was usually held once each Sunday the parish clerk leading the singing. Often the offices of parish clerk and school-master were combined as at Norham where a man 'that understands so much of Psalmody as to be the Clerk of a Parish Church' was sought.³ The master of Berwick charity school had to be able to teach psalmody to the 26 charity school children who apparently helped out in the church singing.⁴ By law church attendance was still compulsory but a distinct falling-off took place as the century progressed. Secker no doubt spoke from his experience of his Houghton days when in his Charge as Bishop of Oxford in 1738 he deplored 'the greatly increased disregard to public worship'. The later comment of a foreign observer is worthy of note. 'They are not under an obligation to go to church every Sunday a very slight excuse will keep them away; but they

1. Ibid, copy of letter dated Feb. 1741.

2. Thomlinson to Newman, ALB 25, 16th February, 1743.

3. Advertisement, Newcastle Courant, 18th January, 1746.

4. Advertisement, Newcastle Journal, 13th July, 1765.

are under an obligation to read the Bible as often as they can. It is in this book that children learn and grown-up people perfect their reading'.¹

Little secular use appears to have been made of churches. The nave of Durham Cathedral might still in 1750 provide a thoroughfare and at times a fashionable promenade, but such misuse was rare, though we do hear of church porches and chancels being used as schools. Archdeacon Thomas Sharp was not at all keen on the use of parts of the church as schools however. He visited Felton church on 9th July, 1727 and again ordered the 'removing the School out of the Chancel'.² In a 1732 visitation of Cramlington church he was somewhat more lenient - 'I have allowed the school to be continued in the Chappel till Martinmas next, and no longer'.³

The 59th canon charged the clergy on every Sunday and holy day before evening prayer to 'examine and instruct the youth and ignorant' in 'the Ten Commandments, Articles of Belief, in the Lord's Prayer' and to 'here, instruct, and teach them the catechism as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer'. Most diocesans paid particular attention to this. Visitation articles enquire of the parish priest, 'Doth he diligently catechize the Youth of your Parish in the Church, upon Sundays or Holy Days, and especially in Lent?', and of the schoolmaster,

1. Quoted N.Sykes, Church and State, p.418.

2. Hunter MS 6a.

3. Ibid.

'Doth he teach his Scholars the Catechism set forth by Authority?'¹ Catechizing seems to have been confined to Lent or to an impending visitation and confirmation, and returns speak frequently of 'Catechized in Lent'. There is a most definite connection between such catechizing and the education of poor children. Priests rightly complained that such children needed to be taught reading before they could fully understand the catechism. Indeed Dr. Bray, sketching the principal objects of the S.P.C.K., suggested 'That they proceed to set up Catechetical Schools for the education of poor children in reading and writing, and more especially in the principles of the Christian Religion'.² At the very first meeting of the Society (8th March, 1699) it was agreed that the religious education of the children of the poor should be one of the principal objects of the society. Letters from the northern correspondents to the Society show that there was much catechising activity. Archdeacon Booth of Durham charged his clergy to be regular in this work, and from Newcastle Ellison wrote the Society 'that ye Town of Newcastle hath made ye Education and Catechizing of youth very easie and cheap and that many poor are taught gratis. That ye Town hath provided two Catechetical Lecturers'.³ As late as the 1730's there was a catechetical lecture provided by the town at the church of St. Nicholas which instructed

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1. Durham Visitation Articles XX and XXXI, 1788.
 2. Quoted in Allen and McClure. Two Hundred Years. The History of the S.P.C.K. 1698-1898, p.23.
 3. ALB 1. 23, 22nd January, 1700.

the boys of the grammar school and those of the charity schools.

Founders of schools often specifically insisted that the children be taught the catechism and throughout the century the catechism remained an essential part of the charity school curriculum.

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CHAPTER TWO.

FOUNDERS AND BENEFACTORS.

Professor Jordan in his exhaustive researches into Tudor and Stuart philanthropy distinguishes three broad motives for the great outpouring of charity in the period 1480 to 1660 - the Protestant social ethic, a national consciousness and obligation and simply the desire to emulate the charitable deeds of others.¹ The educational benefactions of that period were almost wholly devoted to the grammar schools. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries simply followed the earlier tradition with an added technique - a collective activity, or what has sometimes been called 'associated philanthropy',² and in the educational field charity schools, of one sort or another, were the main beneficiaries. There were still sizeable individual benefactions - some 104 for education other than to grammar schools are noted in the Charity Commissioners Reports for Northumberland and Durham for the period 1699-1810 - but the urban schools especially were to benefit mainly from this new style of associated philanthropy. Annual subscriptions and the many individual bequests without trust restrictions make it difficult to calculate the amount contributed and to say whether charitable benefactions for the period increased or subsided, but certainly in

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1. See especially: W.K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660.*
 2. This no doubt followed business precedents, especially the interest shown in joint stock ventures from the 1690's.

the provision of charity schools one can agree with Fielding's remark in 1749, that, 'Charity is the very characteristic virtue at this time. I believe we may challenge the whole world to parallel the examples which we have of late given of this sensible, this noble, this Christian virtue'.¹

Donors' motives were not dissimilar from those of the earlier period. The Puritan ideal remained strong. Dr. Jones has written, 'Conduct not dogma stamped the puritan of the eighteenth century',² and in his sermon at the opening of All Saints charity school, Newcastle in 1709 the Rev. Nathanael Ellison remarked that charity was an obligation, 'For God has made us so many Stewards, and Feoffees in Trust for our Estates'.³ Or again, Charles Ward two years later could say, 'Charity we all know is so much a Christian's Duty, that it is the Life and Soul, and Substance of Christianity'.⁴ The Evangelicals later in the century were to further emphasise similar social obligations. But dogma was not by any means absent. As the author of the Memoirs of Alderman Ambrose Barnes of Newcastle remarked, 'Charity schools were founded with a view to opposing and defeating the pernicious effects of the seminarie set up by papists in the reign of King James the second, first begun in this kingdom about 1688'.⁵

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1. H. Fielding, Works X, p.79.
 2. M.Gwladys Jones, The Charity School Movement, p.6.
 3. Rev. N. Ellison, vicar of Newcastle, in a sermon at the opening of All Saints charity school Newcastle, 1709.
 4. Rev. Chas. Ward, in Charity School Anniversary Sermon, All Saints, Newcastle, 1711.
 5. Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Ambrose Barnes, Surtees Soc. Vol.I. (1867) p.454.

Emphasising that the 'chief Regard in this Charity is had to their spiritual Good, to store them with necessary Christian Knowledge', the preacher at a charity school anniversary service went on to deplore the ignorance of the poor, 'which has made them more easily led away, by Schismatics of all Denominations, from the Communion of the Church of England, which they understood not, to other Forms of religious Worship, which they understood as little'.¹

There was also a philanthropy of benevolence which was truly humanitarian, a genuine compassion for those not so blessed with worldly riches. The preamble to Law 97 of the Law Book of the Crowley Ironworks emphasised this when it stated, 'The raising and continual supporting of a stock to relieve such of my workmen and their families as may be by sickness or other means reduced to that poverty as not to be able to support themselves without some assistance, the teaching of youth and other matters of so great concerns are so incumbent upon us that there is no avoiding of a general contribution for the same..... it is absolutely needful that they have a clerk, and that he be qualified to perform the sundry following offices'. (One of which was to teach workmens' children.)² Or again, Archdeacon Thomas Sharp spoke of the charity school as being the best possible form of charity, improving as well as relieving, for, 'It is a twofold Charity, that hath a pious and tender Respect to the Souls of our Brethren, as well

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1. Rev. Thomas Sharp, in Charity School Anniversary Sermon, All Saints, Newcastle, 1722.
 2. The Law Book of the Crowley Ironworks, edit., M.W.Flinn, Surtees Soc. Vol.167 (1952) p.154.

as to their Bodies'.¹

A third motive can be readily discerned. The mercantilist notions of the age could not abide an idle population and the age held the belief that the poor was in some way or other the country's secret weapon in the battle for world trade. The preacher at All Saints charity school anniversary sermon in 1756 summed this up when he declared, 'That the Number of the People is the Strength of a Nation is an uncontested Maxim'. He continued 'The Sober, the Frugal, the Industrious, and, as a Security of these qualities, the virtuous and religious People are the only Stay and Support of good Government'. He went on to call for some form of labour to be added to the curriculum, 'For, as they must expect to earn their Bread with the Sweat of their Brow, it must be prudent, as soon as may be, to inure them to Industry; and to let Labour and Learning keep Pace with one another'.² Quite a number of schools heeded the manpower requirements of the area, especially of the need for seamen, and taught navigation or 'mathematicks for the sea'.³

Finally, by the eighteenth century charity had become a recognised element in the pattern of English life - charitable works came to be expected, and one can almost speak of a 'richesse oblige'. Early in the century an entrepreneur like William Cotesworth no doubt felt

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1. Sharp, op.cit.
 2. Rev. Wm. Nowell, Charity Sermon for All Saints Charity School, Newcastle 1756.
 3. S.P.C.K. Annual Account, 1709, referring to the establishment of the Anchorage school at Gateshead.

obliged to bequeath £50 to the Gateshead school.¹ The 'middling class' felt it the 'done thing' to add their names to the subscription lists of the schools, especially when later in the century, as with the Durham Blue Coat school, the lists were published. M.A. Taylor when elected member for Durham City felt obliged to become an annual subscriber for five guineas to the same school and for the same amount to the town's Sunday schools.² In 1805 the Bosanquet family decided to add £120 to a sum already promised towards founding a church, for the endowment of a school to 'remove the reproach cast upon Rock (and doubtless on the owners of the estate) of having no place fit for divine worship, nor any means of education for the children'.³

It is extremely difficult to give even an estimate of the number of schools founded during the period let alone the dates of foundation.⁴ Rural schools especially were of an ephemeral nature; some schools were re-foundations; the records of most schools have been lost and what remain are far from being complete. The records of the S.P.C.K. for example, are useful for the earlier part of the period, but they omit Non-Conformist schools and after the first quarter of the century, when the work of the Society began gradually to be transferred to the overseas missions field and to its publishing interests, its records contain less and less on the charity schools and its annual Account, except for the London schools,

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1. E. Hughes, North Country Life, p.342.
 2. Newcastle Chronicle, 12th April, 1800.
 3. Quoted in Northumberland County History, Vol.11, p.150.
 4. See Appendix.

is nigh valueless for information and statistics on the schools.

Durham Blue Coat school was the last school reported as new in 1718, and from 1725 to the end of the century the Account simply repeated

'Durham 12 schools, 276 boys, 20 girls; Northumberland 10 schools, 430 boys, 40 girls'.¹ Nor are the Charity Commissioners Reports of

1819-37 anything like complete. Unfortunately some writers have

based their work almost solely on these reports with the resultant omissions and mistakes.² Remembering their incompleteness and

limitations it is nevertheless possible to gain some picture of the extent of charitable bequests to education during the period from

1. S.P.C.K. Annual Accounts.

2. e.g. A.F. Leach in his article on 'Schools' in Victoria County History of Durham, Vol.1 (1905). Leach, as one might expect of a scholar of Winchester and All Souls, concentrates largely on the county's grammar schools. On the county's 18th century charity schools he simply follows the Charity Commissioners Reports and even then omits many schools mentioned in them.

The dangers of using dates and other information from these reports without recourse to other sources can be seen in an article by M.G. Mason on 'The Development of Educational Institutions in Northumberland', Durham Research Review Vol.IV, Sept.1953. The writer follows the dates of foundation of schools (often the dates of wills) given in the Reports (see especially p.49). This has led to numerous errors. To take but three examples. Ponteland school we are told was founded in 1719 - the date of Richard Coates's will. But he did not die till the following year and the Archdeacon of Northumberland could report in 1723 'The Charity is not yet settled'. (Hunter MSS 6a). Again the date of the foundation of Berwick charity school is given as 1725 (the same date is given in the local histories) but the S.P.C.K. Account for 1715 reported, "Berwick Northumberland. A school for 60 children, supported by Subscription". Besides the local newspapers reported a charity sermon for its benefit in 1723. Finally Bothal school we are told was founded in 1736/37 - the date of the Rev. Stafford's will. But both the parish records (~~already quoted~~) and the Hunter MSS 6a show it had been founded earlier.

these reports. Charities for education received a sizeable share of the cake. If we take Newcastle for example, the majority of charities still continued on the old eleemosynary lines - bread, clothing and money for the poor, support for poor apprentices and housekeepers, support for 'hospitals' and so on. In money bequeathed these amounted in our period to £4,716. In the same period bequests in money to education amounted to £3,175. In the two counties for the period 1699-1810 there were 104 bequests for educational purposes (other than to the grammar schools). Of these 47 were for the period 1699-1736 (45%), 26 for the period 1737-73 (25%), and 31 for the latter period 1774-1810 (30%). This pattern of an outburst in the first period, a slackening off in mid-century, followed by a revival in the last period is similar to that found in other counties.¹ By the 1730's the religious zeal characteristic of the early decades of the century had died down, the enthusiasm of the S.P.C.K. was turned

1. See J. Lawson, Primary Education in East Yorkshire, 1560-1902 (1959), who found a marked decline in the Riding in the number of new educational charities in the middle decades of the 18th century.

A.Platts and G.Hainton, Education in Gloucestershire, (1954) found that there were 66 new endowments for charity schools in the first 30 years of the century and only 61 for the remaining years.

Local newspapers contain many more advertisements for teachers for newly-founded schools from the late 1770's. Also the records of the Crewe Charity show many more requests and more aid given for new schools from the same period.

to other fields and soon other charities, especially hospitals and lying-in charities, were to become strong competitors for the pounds and shillings of charity. The Durham, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Northumberland Infirmary for example during its first five years from 1751-56 averaged better than £2,300 per year in subscriptions and donations.¹ By the 70's the tide of educational charity was beginning to flow again and new schools were being founded. The reasons are not far to seek - there was an increase in population, a sharpening once again of social conscience this time through religious evangelicism, the increased need with the changes in industry for literate workpeople and accurate clerks, indeed the demand from certain sections of the working class for an education which could procure the better-paid jobs, and finally, after 1789, the feeling on the part of the propertied classes that social and political upheaval should be forestalled.

Who were the founders and benefactors of the charity schools? It is difficult to define classes in the eighteenth century but for our purpose we may speak of the nobility, the clergy - higher and lesser, the smaller landowners from the gentry down to the yeomen, the middling classes of the towns, and finally 'others' who include shopkeepers, tradesmen and their like. If we rely on the Charity Commissioners Reports, remembering they missed many benefactions and gave no account of the vast number of subscriptions to the schools, the following pattern, again not unlike that found elsewhere, emerges.

1. Rev. E. Tew, in a sermon, Frugality the support of Charity, 1756.

The nobility in the region gave surprisingly little. The largest number of benefactions came from the smaller landowners. Next came the clergy, mainly those of substance. The middling class came almost equal with the clerics. Only two of the 104 benefactors are definitely known to have been dissenters. Women comprised almost 40% of the total and made some of the greatest benefactions. Most benefactors, as elsewhere, endowed teachers rather than schools.¹

The northern nobility in the period did little for education. The Durham Blue Coat school could boast, at one time or another, of Lord Vane, Lady Darcy, Lord Barnard and later the Earl of Darlington as subscribers but the nobility are conspicuously absent from the lists of subscribers of the Newcastle schools. The Duke of Northumberland might grant the use of a school-house at Lesbury and might build the Shilbottle school but nothing more. In 1723 it was noted, 'The present Earl of Tankerville allows 101 p.ann. to the master of the Grammar School at Wooler', and later_l was to help build a school and a house for the master in 1759.² At one time he had supported a school at Chillingham which had ceased to function by the end of the century but he was still then supporting the Wooler school. It must be admitted however that the nobility were from about 1810 beginning to take a greater interest in helping to provide education especially on their own estates. Their ladies were certainly interested in the Sunday schools. Nobility non-resident in the

1. See A.Flatts and G.Hainton, Education in Gloucestershire, p.41.

2. Hunter MSS 6a.

region seem to have been more liberal donors. 'May 8th being Sat. 1725 the Rt.Noble and Hon.Edward, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, viewed his castle and ch of Bothall....His Lordship ordered then a schoolhouse and dwelling house to be built for the master & for the use of all schoolmasters that shall succeed the present schoolmaster'.¹ Later, 'A School, to ye Mr. of which the D. of Portland allows a House & four gns. p.ann. for teaching so many Children as his agent may appoint'.² Dorothy Lady Capel, widow of the first Baron Tewkesbury, by her will 18th August, 1719 (she died in 1721) left lands at Perry Court in Kent for the support of twelve charity schools - including one at Kew Green (the family lived at Kew and from their gardens there the Royal Botanical Gardens later evolved) and another at Haltwhistle. One of her maidservants named Featherstonehaugh had been born there and had made the request.³

The smaller landowners played a more important part in endowing and supporting schools than their social superiors. As a class they varied, from the Greys of Howick, soon to be ennobled, who supported the Howick school, to the yeoman Richard Walker of Harton who in 1768 left a small sum for educating poor widows' children of Monkton in

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1. Bothal Parish Registers.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793. The Portlands had succeeded to the estate.
 3. A copy of the will is found in the Church Wardens Accounts of Haltwhistle. Her husband, second son of the Earl of Essex, had been appointed Lord Deputy in Ireland in 1695. (Dictionary of National Biography IX, 17).

the parish of Jarrow. The local squires no doubt felt it incumbent upon them to provide schools or schooling on their estates often limited to their tenants' and workers' children. 'Sir Edward Blackett has built a school at Matfen for the Children of his Tenants, Workmen and Labourers; and has settled a handsome salary upon a Schoolmaster to instruct them in reading, writing and arithmetic'.¹ Henry Ogle by his will 16th Dec. 1760, left two acres of land and a rent charge of £15 for teaching 30 boys or girls belonging to tenants, farmers and servants of his Causey Park estate.² But most of the squires endowed a school 'for the benefit of the poor Children (boys and girls) in ye Parish at large'.³ Often whilst not endowing a school the local landowner would give it his support. A master was sought for a school at Coxhoe to teach the 3 R's 'and as further encouragement will have 5 guineas yearly paid him by John Burdon Esq.'.⁴ A school was reported at Alnham by Archdeacon Thomas Sharp after his 1723 visitation, '£10/ann. subscribed by the Impropiator (Alex. Collingwood of Little Ryle) & other substantial inhabitants of this Parish for the maintenance of a Schoolmaster'.⁵

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1. Newcastle Journal, 30th July, 1763.
 2. Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland, 1817-39 (1890) p.457.
 3. The phrase from the Durham Diocese Book 1793 refers to Howick School founded by the charity of Magdalen Grey (1709 will) and further endowed by Sir Henry Grey (1749 will), M.P. for Berwick 1723.
 4. Newcastle Journal, 20th April, 1765.
 5. Hunter MSS 6a.

That the clergy of the diocese played an important part in the encouragement, management and teaching of the charity schools is more than borne out by the records. The local clergy correspondents of the S.P.C.K. were especially active in promoting schools following the request of the 2nd Circular Letter of the Society for 'a zealous application of the Clergy to those of their Parishioners who are of ability, especially magistrates, to assist in such meetings (of clergy), and that they would subscribe liberally toward the setting up of Schools for poor Children'.¹ That the clergy, especially the well-to-do, were among the greatest benefactors to the charity schools is no less evident. Something has already been said about the part played by the bishops of the diocese. Bishop Crewe was somewhat lukewarm towards the efforts of the Society at first. Archdeacon Booth reported that the clergy were willing to form themselves into societies '& want nothing but ye Bishop's Countenance', and, a little later he 'Hath no encouragement to lay before his Diocesan ye papers of the Society', and, having distributed some 8,000 smaller books of the Society at his own charge, 'could not obtain one farthing of his Diocesan towards it'.² Sir George Wheler had a go at Crewe later in the year but again without much success. He had 'laid before the Bishop the printed Account and papers', but it was 'not thought meet to press the matter yet'. He did not despair however as both the archdeacons were well-inclined and 'great Charities are done by ye

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1. S.P.C.K. 2nd Circular Letter to clergy correspondents, 8th Feb. 1700.
 2. ALB 1.96 (3 May, 1700) & ALB 1.141 (19 July, 1700).

Prebendaries & believes Charitable Schools will be propagated'.¹

Crewe however made up for his lack of interest in his lifetime, though he did found a school at Newbold Verdon on his Leicestershire estate and some time after 1715 contributed towards the upkeep of a schoolmaster at Bamburgh,² by his posthumous charities. In his will dated 17th September, 1721 after numerous personal requests, and specific requests to charities including charity schools at Newbold Verdon, Daventry and Bishop Auckland, he bequeathed the residue 'To and for such Charitable use and uses as the said (Trustees) shall from time to time direct and appoint'.³ The Crewe Charity set up under the will was on a much smaller scale of course, something of a Nuffield Trust of the eighteenth century. It supported charities other than education but grants to schools and schoolmasters loom large in its order books and accounts. It gave help to extra-diocesan charities but the bulk of grants went to those within the Durham diocese. St. Andrews, Auckland (mentioned specifically in the will), Blanchland, Shotley and Bamburgh schools (within the Trustees' special jurisdiction) received the special attention of the trust. But in our period it afforded help to schools or schoolmasters in 47 places

1. ALB 1. 163 (14 Sept.1700).

2. Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, p.324.

3. ibid pp.332-358 for a copy of Crewe's will. The income of the trust appreciated considerably through time. By 1850 it was about £9,000/annum.

within the diocese and had to turn down many more pleas for aid.¹ Support might take the form of a grant towards the building or upkeep of a school, towards a schoolmaster's salary or even to a retired schoolmaster. Quite often conditions were attached as at Hurworth in 1771 when it was agreed by the trustees 'that the sum of £148.17.6 be paid towards the endowment of a School at Hurworth in the County of Durham so soon as the like sum shall have been raised by the Parishioners of Hurworth aforesaid and a proper purchase for that purpose can be had'.² In 1808 £5 per annum was to be given 'towards the establishment of a School at Hebburn in the parish of Chillingham (upon the representation of Mrs Eliz. Fletcher) on condition, Mr Maughan (Rev. Michael Maughan, master of the boys' school at Bamburgh) find, upon enquiry, that the establishment is in a progressive state'.³

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1. The following schools within the Durham Diocese received some form of help during the period:

Beadnell, Bedlington, Berwick, Bellingham, Bishop Middleham, Bishopwearmouth, Castron (Rothbury), Chester-le-Street, Coniscliffe, Cowpen Bewley (Durham), Cornsey, Durham (Blue Coat), Easington, Edlingham, Embleton, Fishburn, Frosterley, Great Stainton, Hartburn, Horwood, Hebburn (Chillingham), High Quarter (Hexham), Holy Island, Hurworth, Lanchester, Longnewton, Lucker, Middleton-in-Teesdale, Middleton St. George, Newcastle (St. Andrews, Girls), Newton on the Moor, Norton (Grammar), Ryton, Sadberge, Sherburn, Slaley, South Shields, Stanhope, Stockton, Tanfield, Thornton, Wearhead, Westgate, Whickham, Winston, Witton Gilbert, Wolsingham (Grammar).

From Minute Book, 1723-1823.

2. Crewe Trustees Minute Book 1723-1823, 1st February, 1771.
3. Ibid., 7th April, 1808.

In 1803 the village schoolmaster at Sadberge was to receive three guineas a year during pleasure 'provided he be a Protestant and attend Divine Service with his Scholars on Sundays and that Dr. Thorp (one of the four trustees from 1794) enquire as to the present master'.¹

The Dean and Chapter also played a part in running and supporting schools. In a letter to the S.P.C.K. Wheler reported 'that the Dean and Prebendaries do maintain 50 poor children in four Petty Schools in so many parts of Durham and that they think it more convenient to have them taught so than in one school'.² The Acts Books show much concern for education. In 1704 it was recorded, 'Granted wood to ye value of 40s. towards ye building the Schoole-house at fferyhill', and in 1720, 'Towards building a School at the Low Pitt houses 5li. to be apply'd by Sr George Wheler as he shall think fitt'.³ In 1727 it was ordered that the quarterly contribution to Mason the schoolmaster in the Palace Green be withdrawn 'on Accot of his haveing Declared himself a Dissenter'.⁴ Yet at Billingham in 1793 it could be reported, 'A School kept by a reputed Papist-to whom the Dn.&Chap. pay £4.p.an. He refuses to take out a Licence and does not bring the Childn to Church. The Curate regrets his residence in ye Par'. Times had certainly changed by then.⁵ A Record of Benefactions for

1. Ibid., 28th March, 1803.

2. ALB 1. 318 (25th Jan.1704).

3. Dean & Chapter Acts Book, 1690-1729.

4. Ibid.

5. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

the Improvement, Endowment and Support of Churches, Chapels, Oratories, and Schools made by the Dean and Chapter of Durham 1750-1857' was ordered to be made and was published at Durham in 1858. Under the heading on the building of schools, improvement of masters' salaries and other educational purposes £1449 was spent between 1751 and 1800 and between 1801 and 1810 £658. The total was not much less than that spent on the augmentation of livings and poor stipends (£2372).

Individual clergymen, especially those of substance with rich livings or prebendal stalls, were great benefactors of charity schools. The Charity Commissioners Reports, and they are by no means exhaustive, list 14 clergy benefactors, representing some 14% of the total. The prebends en masse subscribed to the Durham Blue Coat School as did at one time or another the bishops of Durham, and as prebends the bishops of Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, Lichfield and St Davids. The lists of subscribers to the Newcastle schools included many clergymen. The records speak time and again of clergymen erecting schools, often teaching in them, and frequently educating poor children at their own expense. In 1740 the rector of Bothal noted, 'Pd by me £40 to Hebburn Chapellry for supporting a school in that part of the parish. This is a voluntary allowance'.¹ At Witton-le-Wear later in the century there was 'A School Mar. to teach ye younger Children thro' the encouragement of ye prest. Incumbt. who gives him his board and has app'd him Par.Clk.',² or at Boldon,

1. Bothal Parish Registers.

2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

'The Rr. pays voluntarily for educating 10 poor Childrn'.¹ Boldon was not to have an endowed school for poor children till 1809 when the Rev. Henry Blackett left £200 for that purpose and a school-house was erected almost immediately.²

As one might expect the charity schools in the towns drew their support from the subscriptions and benefactions of the middling classes. Newcastle indeed 'furnished a remarkable record'.³ Bourne in his history of the town gives us lists of subscribers to the charity schools of St Johns and All Saints. At St Johns, originally endowed by the attorney John Ord, a list for the 1730's contains nineteen names including Ord's son and heir Thomas, the Postmaster, the master and usher of the Grammar School together with contributions from seventeen guilds who each gave £1 except the Bakers and Brewers who donated £1.10s.⁴ The original subscribers at All Saints numbered 76 and included the mayor and recorder in a total of £83.⁵ Later subscribers to the charity included men prominent in the government of the town, in business and in trade. Names like Sir Walter Blackett,

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1. Ibid.
 2. Boldon School Minute Book. £20 legacy tax was deducted in August 1809 but the new rector donated £20 to make up the original legacy of £200. It was immediately funded in the 5% Consols.
 3. Jones, op.cit., p.69.
 4. H. Bourne, History of Newcastle upon Tyne (1736) pp.28-30. Bourne was curate of All Saints. His second wife's father, Ellis Inchbald, was one of the original subscribers to the charity school there.
 5. Ibid. pp.102-103.

Matthew Ridley, Matthew Bell, Edward Collingwood, Rowland Burdon, Sir John Trevelyan and Matthew White figure in the lists of subscribers. Trinity House, which was situated in All Saints parish, was a regular and liberal contributor to the school. Up to 1792 it gave £6 annually and thereafter 12 guineas a year. The Surgeons, Butchers and Ropemakers guilds were also regular subscribers during most of the century. Bourne furnishes us with a list of Accidental Contributions from its foundation to 1729. Town aldermen figure prominently in the list and out of the forty entries eleven were women. Some curious benefactions came in 1717 - 'A Person who desired not to be Nam'd £50' and 'From Stockholm and Yarmouth, by Mr. Ja. Dawson £11'. In 1718 sixteen shillings came from 'Some Company at the King's-head by Mat.White, Esq.'¹

The preacher at the annual service for the London charity schools in 1710 remarked, 'I took Notice, that this Natural Propension towards Acts of Pity and Charity is usually strongest in Women'.² Women certainly played a major part in the foundation and support of charity schools in the area. Benefactions to at least two charity schools, at Ponteland and Hartlepool, were saved by the kindness of women intent on seeing the wishes of the original benefactors being carried out.³ Women were among the greatest benefactors. Mrs. Eleanor

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1. Bourne, op.cit., pp.103-104.
 2. Rev. Geo.Smalridge, later Dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Bristol, sermon 1st June, 1710, St Sepulchre's, Snow Hill.
 3. Charity Commissioners Reports Northumberland 1819-37 (1890) p.436 and Durham p.456.

Allan left a farmhold held of the Dean and Chapter of Durham at Wallsend for a charity school in St Nicholas parish, Newcastle. This was producing almost £62 at the time of her death in 1708. Dame Mary Calverly in 1713 left £1,000 for a charity school at Darlington. In 1764 Mrs Elizabeth Donnison left £1,500 for a school for girls at Sunderland. Women were also usually very specific in their bequests and very careful in drawing up rules and regulations for the schools.

Many of the 'lower orders' also contributed towards the schools. William Dent, a clockmaker of Brightwell in Berkshire, in 1706 left two messuages in Stepney, which later realised £133, towards the education of poor boys in the town of Barnard Castle.¹ One of the many benefactors to St Nicholas charity school in Newcastle was an inn-holder, Gilbert Campel, who in 1723 left it £20.² One Robert Hall, a shoemaker, in 1800 and again the following year, contributed five shillings to the Durham Blue Coat school.³ At Stockton Edmund Harvey, a pewterer who died in 1781, educated and cloathed six poor boys in his shop in Finkle Street. About 1769 he added six girls and employed a girl to instruct them in needlework. His petition to the Crewe Trustees for help was refused.⁴

1. Ibid. Durham pp.337-338.

2. Bourne, op.cit. p.80.

3. Account Books, Durham Blue Coat School.

4. This early example of a ragged school is given in Thos.Richmond Local Records of Stockton and the Neighbourhood (1868) p.81

Miss Jones maintained that the pit-boys in the Northumberland collieries contributed to schools¹ like Crowley's Crew 'who allow a Farthing for this and other Uses, out of every Shilling earned by their Labour'.² She was no doubt referring to the school at Benwell, for in 1712 the Rev. Ellison reported from Newcastle, 'That at Benwell, a village in the said parish (Newcastle) the proprietors of a Colliery there have set up a Charity School to instruct 70 children of the pitmen in the Xtian Religion as well as to read, write and cast Accts. the first settlement of wch has been considerable (sic) augmented by the vulluntary contributions of the fitters and others conserved in the said Colliery'.³ These latter are not necessarily pitmen. The term fitter was a North Country word for a person employed by the colliery owner to sell the coal to the ship masters.⁴

1. Jones, op.cit. p.67.
2. S.P.C.K. Account 1716.
3. ALB 3.3058 (24 April 1712)
No further record of this school has been found.
4. E.Hughes, North Country Life, pp.156-7.

CHAPTER THREE.

MANAGEMENT AND FINANCE.

Though charity schools existed in the area before the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1699 the great impetus to the movement for elementary education in the Durham diocese was provided by the London-based society, among whose earliest members were to be found many prominent Durham clergy.² The S.P.C.K. followed closely on the heels of the earlier Religious Societies and the Society for the Reformation of Manners which had tried, with little success, to reform morals and manners mainly through the sanctions of the law. The new society on the other hand was to rely mainly on Christian schooling to stem the 'Visible decay of Religion in the Kingdom, with the monstrous increase of Deism, Prophaneness and Vice.....The cause thereof they believe in great measure to arise from the barbarous ignorance observable among the common people, especially those of the poorer sort, and this to proceed from want of due care in the education of the Youth, who, if early instructed in the Principles of true Religion, seasoned with the knowledge of God, and a just concern for their everlasting welfare, cou'd not possibly degenerate into such vile and unchristian practices as they now generally do'.³ Late in 1699

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1. Examples of earlier charity schools are given in chapter four, p. 78 and five, p. 108.
 2. Sir George Wheler was the first (31 Oct. 1699) Archdeacons Booth of Durham and Morton of Northumberland were also early members of the Society.
 3. S.P.C.K. 1st Circular Letter to Clergy Correspondents, 16 Nov. 1699.

the Society agreed to establish a correspondence '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'.¹ The clergy correspondents of the Durham diocese were extremely active in the first two decades of the eighteenth century and foremost among their activities was the establishment and management of charity schools.²

The London Society with its headquarters in Bartlett's Buildings was essentially an advisory and co-ordinating body whose chief function was the 'welding together the separate and occasional charity of the benevolent into an organised movement for the education of the poor'.³ In its initial aim of exciting the interest and support of both clergy and laity in the founding of schools it was eminently successful in the northern diocese. For example, the Rev. Ellison, a Newcastle correspondent, wrote to the Society in July 1700 desiring they should write a letter to Sir William Blackett, a rich mine owner (both coal and lead) and prominent in local affairs - an alderman, M.P. for Newcastle 1685-1705 and twice mayor of Newcastle.⁴ Meanwhile Mr.

1. S.P.C.K. Minutes, 2 Nov. 1699.

2. Early diocesan clergy correspondents were Wheler, Booth (one of the most frequent and prolix of correspondents - even in the abstracts his letters are lengthy), Morton, Robt. Thomlinson (1700), Ellison (1700), Edwards (1701) and Bowes (1712). Alderman Whinfield of Newcastle (1700) was an early lay correspondent, though he did not wish his name to be mentioned.

3. M.G.Jones, Charity School Movement, p.38.

4. ALB 1.138 19th July, 1700.

Justice Hook, one of the original five founders of the Society and a firm supporter of charity schools, had talked with Blackett and Ellison was optimistic about Sir William's support 'who he believes may prove a Benefactor to the Society'.¹ By September Sir William had received two letters from the Society but Ellison reported that he 'Seems unwilling to engage till he knows the persons and their (?) Laws; but yt in the main he may be usefull to the Society, tho' not a Member, by pursuing the same Charitable Designs'.² The hope became a reality for when, in the following Spring Alderman Whinfield reported that the Corporation was taking ten boys and girls each month to teach them to spin and was appointing a schoolmaster to teach them to read, Sir William Blackett had 'taken upon himself to be overseer of this matter the first six months'.³ In 1702 Archdeacon Booth, chairing the meeting in London, again suggested approaching Blackett who this time 'might be induced by his authority and countenance very much to promote the Erection of a Charity School at Newcastle upon Tyne'. Booth, Ellison and Thomlinson were all to approach Blackett.⁴ Their efforts were rewarded, and though Blackett's school in St. Andrews parish was not the first of the Newcastle charity schools, yet in March 1705 the Rev.^XBates, minister of St. Johns, reported, 'That Sir Will. Blackett....at his Decease left 1000li. for promoting a free

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1. ALB 1.152 20th Aug. 1700.
 2. ALB 1.173 20th Sept.1700.
 3. ALB 1.275 7th April 1701
 4. General Minutes of S.P.C.K. 17 Dec.1702.

school at St Andrews, for the relief of Poor Householders, to bind Poor Boys Apprentices, or put 'em to sea'.¹

The Society received and replied to many requests for help and advice in the establishment and management of schools. As early as December 1699 correspondents had been provided with the methods for management of free schools, and in 1701 amongst other publications sent to correspondents were the Account of the Nature and Design of Charity Schools, Orders for Schools and a Form of Subscription.² These were later published in the Annual Account (from 1704) and formed the basis for rules of management of schools throughout the country including schools in the Durham diocese.³ The Society often received requests for rules when a school was in process of being established. George Bowes from Durham wrote to the Society in 1711 desiring 'to put him a method to promote a Ch.School at Durham, where he has proposed it to the Sevll.Gent & finds encouragemt. from some and Lukewarmness from others but that he is resolv'd to push the matter further and hopes for success'.⁴ A packet containing rules and advice was sent him. In 1715 Sir George Wheler of Houghton-le-

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1. Ibid. 14 Mar.1705.
 2. Wanley MSS pp.103-4. List of Books sent and to be sent to Correspondents (3 Mar. 1701).
 3. The rules for the management of St.Johns, Newcastle (the schools at St Nicholas, Newcastle and Ponteland were based on these) owe much to the Society's rules as printed in the Accounts. South Shields' school rules closely followed those of the Society.
 4. ALB 3. 2925 24th Nov.1711.

Spring wrote, 'That his parish is very well supplied with Petty Schoolmasters but a School for Girls is very much wanted, which he could be glad to supply, and desires a scheme for their Education according to the Rules in London & the directions of the Society'.¹ Henry Newman, secretary of the S.P.C.K., 1708-43, replied, 'You are pleased to desire the Society's advice about Erecting a School for Girls, and they have order'd me to acquaint you that you will find what they have to suggest on that head in the Rules prefix'd to the Annual Accot of Charity Schools, but especially the last Edition'.²

Besides advising on management the Society had almost from the beginning of its existence printed books for the use of schools, and up to 1703 had dispersed them gratis. From 1705 it began the systematic publication of Bibles and Books of Common Prayer and in 1706 had produced its first catalogue. Its prices were still well below market prices. In 1719 it could announce 'Bound books at ye Prime Cost-ye Society paying ye binding', and, 'the Books in Quires at half price'.³ Robert Thomlinson writing from Newcastle in 1712 complained, 'That the Booksellers there have revised the Price of Bibles for Charity Schools from 3 to 4 Shillings. That he should be glad to have a number of them at 3.6 & whole Dutys' of Man at 1.6 a piece'.⁴ The Society replied that it could supply Bibles with Common

1. ALB 4293 3 Feb 1715.

2. GS(2) 5. Newman to Wheler 1 Mar.1715.
S.P.C.K. Out Letters.

3. Quoted in W.O.B. Allen & E.McClure, Two Hundred Years, The History of the S.P.C.K. (1898) p.185.

4. ALB 4.3369 20 Nov.1712

Prayers and Psalms in calf for 3 shillings and Whole Duties of Man in sheep at one and fourpence. A penny rebate would be allowed per book if payment was made in ready cash. Durham Blue Coat School at its foundation purchased thirty copies of Lewis's Exposition of the Catechism from the Society.¹ Occasionally the Society might publish a book used locally. Thomlinson in 1744 drew the Society's attention to a book by the Rev. D. Fisher published in Newcastle, 'The Child's Christian Education or Spelling and Reading Made Easy being the most proper Introduction to the profitable Reading the Holy Bible' which had 'Met with universal approbation in these parts', and he sent fifty copies.² After much discussion the Society approved of it and wrote to its author at Whickham 'that ye Committee had recommended it to ye Society to take off 500 of the Child's Xtian Education'.³

Though the clothing of pupils was usually done locally the Society sometimes, following requests, despatched bundles of clothing to the North East. Having founded his charity school for girls at Houghton Wheler desired 'a couple of compleat Habits for 2 Girls of 7 & 9 years of age gray colour and also 20 spelling books may be sent to him to be paid for'. He must have been well-satisfied for he was writing the following year for 'a dozen Habits for Girls of between 7 & 10 years of

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1. ALB 8. 5588 (4 May 1718) The correspondence of the Society shows many requests for books for charity schools in the diocese.
 2. ALB 25 not numbered. 21 Aug. 1744.
 3. ALB 23. 21531 19 Jan. 1748. Fisher was curate and a private schoolmaster at Whickham. The 4th edition of the book announced in December 1752 added 'Recommended for the use of Schools and Families by the Bishop and S.P.C.K.' (Newcastle Journal 30 Dec. 1752).

age such as were sent him last year, to be sent by the Coal Ships to Sunderland'.¹ Wheler must have been a regular purchaser of clothes from London for in 1723, some years later, we find the following bill in the Society's records, 'Sent on board the Betty & Sarah William Wilson master a Sunderland ship Nov.8 1723 p.Richard Parker (the supplier) directed to the Reverand Sir George Wheeler at Durham. 12 Entire Suits of Charity Cloaths for Girls ye Shoes 2d p.pair advanced since the last Bill at p.suits 17s.04d. £10.08.00. Wrapper 01.00 (Total) £10.09.00.'.²

The Society could also help in matters of staffing, then as indeed now, a matter of vital concern, especially in the country districts. A school might easily fail for lack of a master. The Society was well aware of the problem and as early as 1703 a 'Training Institution for the Preparation of Masters' was proposed but nothing came of it.³ Twenty years later Dr. Waterland in the annual London sermon remarked, 'And they have some Thoughts of erecting a superior School, for the training up of School-masters and School-mistresses on purpose to carry on and more effectually secure the same good End',⁴ but again the design came to nought. Teacher training would have to wait till Kay-Shuttleworth and St.Johns, Battersea nearly one hundred

1. ALB 6.4699 19 Jan.1716 & ALB 8.5349 19 Sept.1717.

2. CS. 2. 13 (1723). S.P.C.K. Out letters.

3. S.P.C.K. Minutes, Oct.7, 14, 21, 1703.

4. Daniel Waterland, Annual Charity Sermon, St Sepulchre's Snow Hill, 6th June, 1723.

and forty years later. The Society had to be content to advise correspondents to recommend schoolmasters to associate together in their several districts for mutual instruction and assistance. From 1714 to 1718 the annual Account printed a 'List of Charity School Masters and Mistresses sent from London into the Country' whose main task was to inform on the methods used in the London schools. Not one came to either Durham or Northumberland, in fact Boston in Lincolnshire appears the farthest North they reached. The Society's records show no requests for teachers from the region. The more experienced masters and mistresses were most loathe to leave the metropolis anyway and an enquiry from the West Country for their services got the reply that schoolmasters in London were receiving £30 a year in salary and more than that were most reluctant to leave the company of their friends.

In matters of organisation there were two types of eighteenth century charity schools, - the endowed school and the subscription school. Endowed schools were legally governed by the terms of the trusts which established them and were administered by trustees who, in practice, were a law unto themselves. In the Durham diocese as elsewhere the most usual body of trustees was the incumbent (sometimes with other clergymen) and the churchwardens or four and twenty.¹ Occasionally the descendants of the original benefactor were the trustees or the later owners of the testator's estate.² At Frosterly

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1. E.g. At Black Callerton the minister and churchwardens were trustees; at Middleton-in-Teesdale the rector of the parish together with the rectors of Stanhope and Woolsingham; at Embleton the vicar was sole trustee.
 2. E.g. At Causey Park where Ann Ogle, the wife of the testator, was to appoint the master, and thereafter the owner of the estate.

'six of the principal freeholders within the said township were to be the trustees, but not the Lord of the Manor or his stewards until he should give another sum of £120 towards the school.'¹ The appointment of a master or mistress and the selection of the pupils were the two main tasks of the trustees. Often it was specifically stated that the teacher was to be a member of the Church of England. At Middleton-in-Teesdale the curate was not to be schoolmaster unless the rector paid him a reasonable stipend 'it being intended that the said endowment should not be made use of to ease the said rector of Middleton in the stipend to be paid his curate'.² Similarly at Howick, 'No curate of Howick should be master of the said School unless the Archdeacon of Northumberland should pay to such curate, so long as he should continue schoolmaster, 30 l yearly, at least, over and above the salary and profits of the school'.³ Most frequently the trustees chose pupils who were poor children of the parish. However, at Alwick, under Mark Forster's bequest, only children of freemen and widows of freemen were to be chosen.⁴ At Howick the master was to teach all children of the parish gratis who were to be either poor orphans or whose parents should not be seised of freehold

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, pp.364/5. John Hinks, the original benefactor, had bequeathed £120 by his will in 1735.
 2. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham (1869/70) p.773.
 3. Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland, p.432.
 4. Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland, 1817-39 (1890) p.444. This was not as restrictive as might appear. In 1750 there were some 300 freemen.

or copyhold land of the yearly value of forty shillings or farm any lands above the value of £5.¹ Rather exceptionally at Harbottle preference was to be given to children of the kindred of the founder.²

The foundation of the early subscription schools usually followed the method proposed by the Society. 'These Schools have been sometimes proposed by the Minister to some of his Parish and sometimes by 2 or 3 Persons of a place to the Minister of the Parish'. Thereafter they expressed 'The Necessity and Usefulness of the Design', and subscribed suitable sums. Others followed suit and a school might be established within seven or eight months. Finally they agreed upon settling 'certain Rules and Orders for the governing these Schools'.³ Something on this pattern occurred at Stockton. On 30th October, 1721 a sermon was preached in the parish church 'to introduce the Design'. A meeting was held on 6th December and a charity school was established. It was to be built as near the church as possible; the master's salary was to be £20 a year for teaching twenty boys to read, write and cast accounts; nineteen of the subscribers, including the mayor and the vicar, were appointed as trustees. By April 29th following the school was opened and a second sermon was preached, there being 'no Collection in ye Church but ye subscriptions settled in the Town, When

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland, p.432.
 2. Ibid. pp.512/13.
 3. Annual Account, 1704.

49.3.6. was Subscribed. Annually & 103.13.6. per Cash'.¹

All Saints is the best example of a Newcastle subscription school.² The initial moves were apparently made by two clergymen, the Morning and Afternoon Lecturers of the church-Rev. Leonard Shafto (also rector of Gateshead) and Rev. Charles Ward. They were no doubt prompted by the fact that the parish, the most populous in the town and one of the biggest in the country, was the only one lacking a charity school.³ Two years after the schools foundation the preacher at its anniversary sermon could remark, 'This was looked upon at first as so precarious a Foundation, that some declined to lend a helping Hand, from an Opinion that the Work would never be able to continue'.⁴ Nevertheless headed by the Mayor and the Recorder 76 subscriptions were received totalling £83.0.0., of sums ranging from ten shillings to five pounds,⁵ and on 10th October, 1709 (All Saints day) the children appeared at church in their new clothes where Dr. Ellison preached the sermon and a further £15.9.7. from the collection was added to the funds of the new venture.⁶

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1. Stockton Vestry Book. Later in the century pupils were chosen at Easter and Michaelmas by a committee of 5 trustees - always to include the vicar, mayor and treasurer of the charity. (Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham p.480).
 2. The schools in the other three parishes were all, at one time or another, subscription schools but they all started off with endowments.
 3. In the 1801 Census its population was greater than that of the other three put together.
 4. Chas. Ward, in a sermon at the Annual Publick Examination of All Saints Charity School, 1711.
 5. Bourne, op.cit., pp.102-103.
 6. ALB 1.1911 3 Dec.1709

Subscribers were to have the right to nominate pupils. 'Every Subscriber to this Charity may cloath and send either a Boy or Girl as he pleases'.¹ Trustees for the school were also appointed.

There were variations of course in the method of foundation. The first of the Newcastle charity schools, that of St. Johns, began in 1705 as an endowed school and subscriptions were originally raised to clothe the boys but were soon having to be used to pay the master. The founder, the attorney John Ord, with the help of Dr. Robert Thomlinson, a correspondent for Newcastle, drew up the rules which were based on those suggested by the Society. Ord's heir-at-law, the Mayor, vicar of the town, the Forenoon lecturers of St Johns, All Hallows and St Andrews, and the Afternoon lecturers of All Hallows and St Nicholas or any five of them were to appoint a master and choose the pupils, who were to be poor freemens' sons or daughters of St Johns. Unfreemens' children of the same parish might be chosen next and thereafter children of the other three parishes. The six ministers in turn were to visit the school every Monday and on the first Monday of each month at least four of the overseers were to meet and 'endeavour the progress of the design' and, 'to make such good order for the better government of the school as they shall think fit'.² The rules and trustees of St Nicholas charity school were based on those of St Johns except there was to be no preference given to freemens' children.

1. Annual Account 1710.

2. Common Council Books, Newcastle, 1699-1718, 18th Dec.1705.

The charity school of St Andrews had the vicar of Newcastle and the church-wardens of the parish as trustees and they appointed the master subject to the approval of the heirs of the founder. As late as the time of the Charity Commissioners Reports the owner of the Blakett estate was still appointing many of the boys. Of all the urban charity schools in the area St Andrews was perhaps the only parish school, that is a school controlled largely by the vestry. The others were managed by the voluntary subscribers and as the S.P.C.K. suggested, 'what shall be agreed on at such meetings by the majority of the subscribers there present, shall be observed'.¹

The Durham Blue Coat school was run by governors who chose the teachers and pupils. Subscribers to the charity might attend the meetings which were usually held in the Town hall. From time to time there seems to have been difficulty in obtaining a quorum, though as many as fifteen might attend, and in 1774 it was ordered 'that for the future that no business shall be done concerning this Charity unless there shall be Three or more Governours present'. The clerk of the charity was to give two days notice of every meeting to both governors and subscribers. Governors consisted of prominent townsfolk, mainly members of the council, and clergy, usually the prebends. There were usually two treasurers. In 1805 it was agreed that greater attention was to be paid to the management of the charity and a committee of ten, including five clergymen, two aldermen and the treasurer, was to superintend its affairs. Meetings were to be held

1. Annual Account, 1704.

at the Town hall at eleven on the first Monday of each month and the schools were to be visited monthly too. All the meetings were to be open to subscribers.¹

At Berwick there were seven trustees - the vicar of Berwick always to be one. The trustees, who usually met at the Cock and Lion in Bridge Street for the occasion, chose the master. The annual meeting of the trustees was to be in the week before Michaelmas when the scholars were examined. Nominations to vacancies were made by the trustees who were summoned specially for the occasion by the treasurer. At South Shields regulations were drawn up for the recently established school on 24th April, 1772. These were based on the S.P.C.K. model. The management of the school was in the hands of the vicar and four others chosen by the subscribers. Pupils could be nominated by the subscribers. Two children from the workhouse to attend the school were to be chosen by the overseers.²

The urban subscription schools, with the exception of Darlington Blue Coat School, quickly flourished and though subscriptions were still important, benefactions soon flowed in and a school was not likely to fail for lack of subscriptions. At Berwick in 1790 only £10.1.0 was donated by 22 subscribers³ but by 1794 the charity had £1,600 in the bank, soon to be invested. At Stockton the Charity Commissioners could report that since 1721 £2,686.10.0 had been left

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1. This paragraph is based on the Account Book of the Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808.
 2. South Shields Parish Registers. Also see an article in Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries, Vol.X, pp.189-197 (1902)
 3. Berwick Charity School Book, 1757-1860.

the school most of which had been used to purchase property producing by the time of the Reports £250 a year.¹ At All Saints school in Newcastle by 1802 income was £271.13.0. but only £117 of that came from subscriptions.² St Nicholas school in Newcastle by the time of the Charity Commissioners Reports had only one subscriber - Sir Nicholas Ridley for two guineas. Durham Blue Coat School provides the exception. Annual subscriptions always composed by far the major portion of its income. It had had benefactions left it but even in the year 1807/8 out of an income of £242.11.11. subscriptions accounted for £206.2.0.³

Charity schools endowed with property or land, and especially with the latter, were to benefit from the rise in rents and land values in the later years of the period. Returns from such endowments were able to meet rising costs particularly salaries. The leasehold land at Wallsend assigned to the support of St Nicholas charity school was producing at the beginning of the century almost £62. By 1827 this had appreciated to £250 a year.⁴ Haltwhistle school whose share of Lady Capel's bequest from land in Kent in 1763 was £8.6.0., was receiving £35 by the time of the Charity Commissioners

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, pp.476-80.
 2. Cash Book for All Saints Charity School, 1787-1807.
 3. Account Book of the Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808.
 4. W.Parson and W.White, History, Directory and Gazeteer of the counties of Durham and Northumberland, pp. lxxv-vi.

Reports, a fourfold increase.¹ Income from property rents did not appreciate by anything like as much. Property owned by All Saints charity school, which included glass houses and the Rose tavern, was producing almost the same return for 1752 and 1802.² Indeed the Durham Blue Coat school, which owned property in Gillygate, a house and garden, and a bakehouse, decided to sell its property. That in Gillygate was sold for £147 in 1799 and the money invested in New South Sea annuities. An attempt was made to sell the by now disused bakehouse in 1800.³

In both endowed and subscription schools surplus money was at first lent at interest to individuals and sometimes to corporations. The four Newcastle charity schools invested money with the Newcastle corporation usually at 4%⁴ and so did the Anchorage school at Gateshead, the Jarrow school and the school at South Shields. Durham Blue Coat school in its early years invested money in the hands of its own subscribers. In 1723 £450 was so invested at 5%. However, from 1750 it began to invest in New South Sea stock at 4% and by the end of the century had over £1,000 so invested. From 1795 Berwick Charity school, from 1800 Darlington Blue Coat school, Donnison's Girls' Free School, Sunderland, and, to a lesser extent All Saints, Newcastle all invested in the 3% Consols. Other forms of investment included the new turnpike trusts and, rather exceptionally, in 1793

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1. Information from Hunter MS 6a, and Charity Commissioners Reports. The big increase came near the turn of the century. In 1786 it was producing £10 (Abstract of Returns).
 2. Cash Books, 1747-86 & 1787-1807.
 3. Account Book, 1718-1808.
 4. Common Council Books, Newcastle.

the Blue Coat school loaned 50 guineas to the commissioners acting under the Paving Act for Durham City.

For the urban charity schools charity sermons could add considerably to their incomes. Between the years 1709 and 1732 Bourne relates that £496.18.11 $\frac{3}{4}$ was collected at the annual sermons for All Saints school.¹ The highest collection recorded was at Berwick in 1806 when the Hon. and Rev. Grey preached and £44 was collected.² At Durham and All Saints, the two essentially subscription schools, charity sermons on average contributed about one tenth of the annual income. No wonder then the meeting of the governors of the Durham school in March 1806 requested that the ministers of each parish in the city preach a sermon for the benefit of the charity and that the mayor and aldermen attend.³ Most schools had annual sermons though at Berwick for a time they were quarterly. At the beginning of the period there was an insatiable appetite for sermons, more than paralleled in the later years of the eighteenth century. Clergy found it therefore at once pious and business-like to preach the occasional sermon for charity. The occasion would often be the annual public examination of the school children such as at All Saints on All Saints day, or at St Johns usually in June. Sometimes the children sang special hymns or an anthem and at Durham in 1771 the cathedral choir performed at the

1. Bourne, op.cit., p.105.

2. Newcastle Chronicle, 18th Oct.1806. Grey later became Bishop of Hereford.

3. Account Book, 1718-1808.

Blue Coat school annual sermon. Occasionally the incumbent preached but usually a special preacher was invited. The Durham school was fortunate in having the dean and prebends at hand. Other schools made demands on the archdeacons, like the Sharps, father and son, or other well-known diocesan preachers. Berwick appears the most fortunate in its preachers. Bishop Butler confirmed and preached there in 1751 and Trevor in 1754.¹ Dr. Andrew Bell in 1808 preached the sermon for the Durham Blue Coat school. Most of the sermons emphasised either the necessity of charity or the necessity of a religious basis in education. The most popular text appears to have been Proverbs XXII, 6 - 'Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it'.²

Miscellaneous receipts of the charity schools were many and varied. Since the time of the Reformation the collection of alms for the poor had been part of the communion service. This offertory money could be disposed of as the minister and churchwardens thought

1. Newcastle Journal, 21 July, 1751 : Ibid. 21 July, 1754.

2. This paragraph is based largely on information contained in local newspapers. The following schools had charity school sermons and the dates given are those for the earliest known sermon:

Newcastle: All Saints (1709); St Johns (1712); St Nicholas (1733); St Andrews appears to have done without; Berwick (1723); Sunderland (1752, regularly from 1769); South Shields (1769); Durham Blue Coat (1718, regularly from 1763); Stockton (1721); Hartlepool (1799); St Johns Chapel, Sunderland (1780 - irregular); Hanover Square, Newcastle (1756).

fit. In 1714, before the foundation of the Blue Coat school, it was reported '13 more Childn. are taught at Durham out of ye offertory money in St Nicholas's Parish'.¹ Offertory money was also applied to the Blue Coat school at Sunderland and to the school in St Johns chapel in the same town.² Commutation money was twice given by *Esqre* Archdeacon Thomas Sharp, in 1725 £5 towards erecting a school at Bamburgh and a sum in 1739 towards a new roof for the school house at Rothbury.³ In March 1740 Rev. Robert Thomlinson received a copy of the excommunication order for John Allinson and Susannah Hill found guilty of fornication. He noted, 'Received from the Court 5 li. Commutation Money to be Laid out in Books for ye Charity Children'.⁴ Interesting receipts of the Durham Blue Coat school are worthy of mention. In 1772 and the following year it received the proceeds of a benefit play. In 1805 it was noted 'Rec'd of Coloni Seddon being a penalty paid to him by the keeper of a Toll Gate for an overcharge and Insolence of Conduct, 1.1.0.'. Two years later it was recorded 'John Nesham Esq. being a Moiety of £5 recovered as a fine for shooting without Licence, 11/6 ordd. for the expences, 1.18.6.'.⁵

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1. ALB 5.4113 16 Sept.1714. Part of the offertory money was still being used to teach poor children in St Nicholas parish towards the end of the century. (Durham Diocese Book, 1793). Offertory money does not appear in the accounts of the Blue Coat School however.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 3. Hunter MSS. 6a.
 4. Dr. Thomlinson's Letter Books & Accounts (1720-48).
 5. Account Book of the Durham Blue Coat Charity School 1718-1808.

A financial problem which beset the charity school movement throughout the century and certainly limited its success, was that of lost and misappropriated endowments and legacies. The S.P.C.K. was well aware of the problem and, 'There having sometimes happen'd much Difficulty in obtaining a LEGACY given to the Charity Schools, by reason of some defect in expressing such Bequest', went on to lay down a set form for such bequests.¹ Several bills supported by the Society were introduced into Parliament for 'the more easie recoverie of small gifts and legacies' but without success. No doubt would-be benefactors hesitated to leave bequests to the schools for fear of their being lost or misappropriated. Vincent Edwards obviously had this in mind when he wrote from Embleton in 1711, 'He thinks it would encourage Benefactions to Ch.Schools if they were secur'd to Posterity by Act of Parliament'.² The Society could simply suggest the age-old device of inscribing benefactions on a board in the parish church as a protection against misappropriation. This became quite common practice in the schools and in 1711 Thomlinson could report of Newcastle 'All the legacies and benefactions to the poor are put into tables kept in the vestry of every parish'.³

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1. Annual Account 1716.
 2. ALB 2.2542 29 Mar.1711.
 3. ALB 3.2910 3 Dec. 1711. All Saints Charity School Cash Book 1747-86, records, "1754 Pd Matt.Bell for putting Mr Mills Legacy on the Board in the Church 2.3."

Most of the trouble came from monies placed in the hands of individuals. At Merrington about the year 1728 £5 had been left by Ann Morgan for teaching poor children. The money was lent on a promissory note to a person who later left the district and 'is not likely to be recovered'.¹ At Wooler there was a more serious loss. Mrs Chisholme's bequest of £100 had been placed in the apparently secure hands of the Rev. Cleeve. (It was there at the time of the 1786 Returns). But by the time of the Charity Commissioners Reports it was stated, 'This sum appears to have been lost by Cleeve's insolvency'.² Fortunately the Bishop of Durham made up the loss by donating £5 annually to the school from 1805.³ An assiduous school overseer might attempt to recover a lost legacy as at Embleton in 1798 when the new incumbent found that two sums of £20 left to Rock and Rennington schools were lost. That of Rennington was lost by the failure of one Andrew Hunter. He managed to recover that of Rock with interest.⁴ There appears to have been little deliberate chicanery in the management of school finances though in 1740 the rector of Kirkhaugh was presented, '£30 of School Charity wch the Rector will not allow the use of to a School-Master',⁵ and at Wark at the beginning of the nineteenth century the trustees of Giles Heron's charity caused scandal by the amount spent on their annual dinner.⁶

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, p.355.
 2. Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland, 1819-37 (1890) p.522.
 3. Newcastle Chronicle, 7 Dec. 1805.
 4. Vestry Minute Book, Embleton (1727-1822).
 5. Notes on Bishops Visitations, 1740.
 6. Northumberland County History, vol.XV p.190. In 1811 the curate was said to have died suddenly after one such banquet.

It was possible to take action for the recovery of lost endowments under the Elizabethan Statute of Charitable Uses.¹ But, for reasons not entirely clear, the device had fallen into disuse.² It was also possible to seek a remedy in the Court of Chancery but the difficulty here was the cost, particularly if the action was lost, and of course the interminable delay in Chancery proceedings. In 1719 Richard Coates of Newcastle, who was a native of Ponteland, bequeathed property in Newcastle towards supporting a charity school in the village. Sometime after his death in 1720, his widow erected a schoolhouse but the charity remained unsettled because of a defect in the will. Meanwhile the property had been sold to Ralph Trotter. In 1758 Thomas Robinson, Archdeacon of Northumberland and Vicar of Ponteland, preferred a bill in Chancery against the trustees of the

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1. 43 Eliz. C4 (1601). This proposed to prevent the misapplication of trust funds by means of special commissioners empowered to enquire into abuses and to take the necessary measures to return the charity to the intention of the donor.
 2. Brougham asserted that between 1746 & 1760 only 3 commissions were issued, and only 6 in the 75 years before 1818. (1 Hansard 38: 606-7). There are no instances of the use of a commission for the recovery of charity school endowments in the Durham diocese in our period. It was sometimes suggested though. The Rev. George Ritschell in his 'An Account of Certain Charities in Tynedale Ward (1713) pleaded for parishes to contact him so that a Commission for Pious and Charitable Uses for Northumberland might be instituted. He wrote that of £18 (donor unknown) in the parish of Kirkhaugh the interest of which was to be applied to the maintenance of a petty schoolmaster. "£8 is utterly lost, the remaining £10 in great danger to follow the same Fate, if timely Care be not taken thereof".

In 1724 the Justices of the County, in considering a bill for the recovery of revenues belonging to Morpeth Grammar School, "have just cause to believe other charities are being misappropriated", and they sought information. Whatever was forthcoming nothing came of the matter (Newcastle Courant 14 Mar. 1724).

Charity School. Robinson noted, 'but after an expence of above 50 l. (he) was obliged to desist an acct. of the delay & intricacy with wch the suit was attended. The founder left to the School his houses in Newc. worth 60 l. pr. ann. & his personal estate, of wch the greatest part has been embezzled, & 27 l. p.ann. is all that is applied to the use of the School. This injury can only be redressed by a Commission of charitable uses, wch might extend to the whole Diocese'.¹ No such commission was sought but there was a happy ending to the affair. Jane Trotter whose family had purchased Coates estate made a will leaving the trust property to a friend, a small sum to be paid to the school annually. Hearing of this Ralph Carr, who in 1755 founded the first bank in Newcastle, together with the Vicar of St Johns, Newcastle and the town Recorder, 'paid a visit to the young lady (who was dying) who does not seem to have had any dishonest intention, and the result was that the endowment was saved to the charity'.² By 1786 the charity was receiving £75 yearly.³ Successful Chancery proceedings were however undertaken on behalf of the charity schools at South Shields and Darlington, both in 1800.

In 1736 Parliament introduced the Mortmain Act⁴ which was not one of their more inspired decisions in the charity field. Nor was it

1. Hunter MSS 6a.

2. Northumberland County History, Vol.XII, p.442.

3. Abstract of Returns (26 Geo 111, (1786)).

c 4. 9 Geo 11, § 36.

readily intelligible and its intricacies had often to be explained by the Society to its correspondents. The Act had apparently two objects in view - to prevent the large-scale accumulation of land in the hands of corporations as the land buying operations of the Queen Anne's Bounty had given rise to fresh fears and to protect the rights of legal heirs as there had been much talk of disinherited kinsfolk at the time of Thomas Guy's great bequest. Under this act, gifts and settlements of land were henceforth illegal unless they were made by deed a year before the donor's death and were enrolled in Chancery within six months. Such gifts were to take place immediately and were irrevocable. The courts tended to place a rigid construction upon the act. Its severity was somewhat moderated by late 19th century legislation but it was not till the 1960 Charities Act that it was finally repealed. Bequests to charity schools at Alnwick, Bywell St Andrews, Elsdon, Hartlepool, Newton-on-the-Moor and Woodhorn (in 1815) were declared void under this act.¹

Gilbert's Inquiry of the 1780's, incomplete though it was, drew attention to the need for the better administration and supervision of charities, and was the first link in the chain of events which led to the Charity Commission.² The reports of this Commission, though it found few instances of outright peculation and breach of trust, did draw attention to the need for a jurisdiction more summary than that

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports Northumberland 1819-37, (1890) and Durham.
 2. Abstract of Returns, 1786-88 (Reprinted 1810 & 1816).

of the Equity courts in such matters as the appointment of trustees. It made practical suggestions too. For example, at Houghton it suggested that the income of the charity (Wheler's) was sufficient to provide for the education of a greater number of girls.¹ Similarly at St Johns charity school, Newcastle it suggested that the charity was more than sufficient to provide for 25 scholars.² (There had been a suspicion here for some years that the funds were being misappropriated).

1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, p.439.

2. Ibid., Northumberland, 1819-37 (1890), p.613.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE URBAN SCHOOLS.

Charity schools existed in the towns of the Durham diocese well before the activities of the local correspondents of the S.P.C.K. in the early years of the eighteenth century. At Sunderland for example under an act "for the better propagating of the Gospel in the four northern counties, and for the maintenance of godly and able minds and schoolmasters there" on the 4th of March, 1652 an elementary school was ordered to be set up because "there is exceeding great want of a schoolmaster in the port of Sunderland to teach children to write and instruct them in arithmetique to fitt them for the sea or other necessary callings". £5.6.8 was duly settled on George Harrison as schoolmaster.¹ But this school, like the others set up under this act, did not survive the Restoration.

A corporation like Newcastle also felt it to be its duty to provide some form of elementary education and in 1682 a school was begun in the restored St Ann's Chapel in the Sandgate, the most populous part of the town. Its purpose was primarily religious as the preacher at its opening remarked, "You have erected a School, and a Catechetical Lecture, for the instructing poor ignorant people in the principles of Piety, Loyalty and Conformity. And indeed Catechizing is the surest foundation of future Loyalty, and the best expedient to secure the Protestant Religion both against Papists and Sectaries".² Our information on this school is scant. It had a staff of two before 1703 when Samuel Perceval, the assistant, succeeded the deceased

1. Victoria County History, Durham, Vol.1. p.365.

2. John March, Th' Encaenia of St Ann's Chappel in Sandgate, 3rd May, 1682.

Andrew Liddell as master.¹ The poor salaries paid the staff, £20 to the master and £4 to the assistant, might account for the frequent changes in staff throughout the eighteenth century.² In 1794 the Common Council ordered an investigation into the management and conduct of the school and the subsequent report was referred to the mayor, styled the governor of the school, and the governor of the Hoastman's Company, its assistant governor.³ Affairs improved and by the 1820's one hundred children were being taught under the Madras system.⁴

However it was the work of the diocesan correspondents of the Society in the early years of the century which saw the foundation of most of the urban charity schools of Northumberland and Durham. Outside London few towns could rival the example of Newcastle. In the decade after the founding of the first parochial school of St Johns in 1705 six further schools were founded and 300 children were being educated in them, a large number of these being clothed.⁵ The key figure in the movement appears to have been the Rev. Robert Thomlinson, later rector of nearby Whickham and afternoon lecturer of St. Nicholas.

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1. Common Council Book, 1699-1718, 5th April, 1703.
 2. Chamberlains Accounts 1709. The same salaries were being paid in 1727/28. The undermaster, as he later became known, was later paid £10 per annum for collecting the pew rents.
 3. Common Council Book, 1785-99, 18th December 1894 and Common Council Book, 1800-1807, 18th January 1802.
 4. E. Mackenzie, Newcastle upon Tyne (1827), p.449.
 5. 1715 Annual Account.

In 1744, nearing the end of his eventful life, Thomlinson, bemoaning the fact that the zeal for founding charity schools was then "at a stand", wrote to the Society, "And I ought never to forget the remarkable Charity and Assistance of my good friend Mr. Jn. Ord then a very rich Attorney for he was the first person, whom I prevailed upon to set up and endow a Charity School in that Town and to his Interest and persuasion it was chiefly owing that Mrs Allan (wid. of a Freeman) left an Estate for the Endowment of 2 Charity Schools more. Mr. Ords School was set up in 1705, my ever hon'd friend Sr. Wm. Blacket's Bart 1707 and Mrs Allans 1709: And by the Interest and Solicitations of Two of my intimate Friends, 2 Charity Schools more were set up by Subscription that year in All Saints".¹

Attorney Ord, who wished to remain an anonymous donor, with Thomlinson's help drew up the rules for his school of 34 boys and girls. Thomlinson petitioned the Common Council who agreed to "provide a house fit and convenient for that purpose in St John's parish and that one be rented and hired there until a convenient house can be built or purchased".² A house was ordered to be bought in 1708 but little appears to have been done for the accomodation of the master till 1717. In that year the Council agreed that Prideaux Errington "being now provided with a Room to live in according to the Agreement made by the Town when the said School was Founded. It's therefore ordered that ten Pounds be paid him in full of all Demands

1. ALB 25 dated 21st August, 1744.

2. Common Council Book, 1699-1718, 18th December, 1705.

for his lodging before the said Room was made fitt for him to live in".¹ By the 1730's the school contained only boys. These numbered 44, 34 under Ord's bequest and the ten more allowed by the rules. Financially it was in a flourishing state, Ord's bequest of property producing £21 and subscriptions amounting to over £30.² In 1793 it was reported "the School flourishes"³ and by the time of their report the Charity Commissioners suggested that it could support more than the twenty five pupils then being educated.⁴

St Nicholas charity schools owed their foundation to a Mrs. Eleanor Allan, daughter of a Newcastle goldsmith and widow of a merchant who died in poor circumstances. By dint of hard work she and her two children built up a flourishing tobacco trade and purchased a farmhold of 131 acres held under lease of the Durham Dean and Chapter at Wallsend. She was apparently persuaded by John Ord sometime in 1705 to leave this for the endowment of schools for 40 poor boys and 20 poor girls.⁵ The Account for 1707 reported, "An Ancient Gentlewoman here (she was then eighty) hath settled 60 l per Annum after her Decease, for two other Charity Schools".⁶ She died in January 1708 and the school was opened May 1st, 1709.⁷ In 1718 a

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1. Ibid 3rd September, 1717.
 2. H. Bourne, History of Newcastle upon Tyne (1736) pp.28-30.
 3. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 4. Charity Commissioners Reports, 1819-37 (1890) Northumberland, p.411.
 5. S.P.C.K. General Minutes 1, 14th March 1705.
 6. 1707 Annual Account.
 7. From an article on the school in the Newcastle Daily Journal, 23rd January 1908.

subscription was opened for clothing the pupils.¹ Thomlinson, one of the original subscribers, as late as 1737 was subscribing £2 annually at every Mayday.² By the time of the Charity Commissioners Reports in the early nineteenth century there was only one subscriber and the £20 per annum they reported arising from property in the Side bought in 1722 was purchased with £500 left the school for boys by the Rev. John Chisholme of Wooler and his wife. In 1720 the Corporation had agreed to pay Mrs Chisholme £25 per year for life and then the principal was to be used to purchase property for the support of the boys' school.³ At first the pupils were taught in a building near Hanover Square and it was not till 1786 that a schoolroom and dwelling rooms for the master and mistress were erected in the Manor Chare. The previous year the Common Council had ordered "That the site fixed on for St Nicholas Charity School and the buildings thereon be conveyed to the trustees of the said school for ever under the yearly rent of 1s. and subject to the payment of £300 with interest for the same at the rate of £4 per annum to the Mayor and Burgesses who are to expend the aforesaid sum in building the said school".⁴

St. Andrew's charity school for thirty boys founded by Sir William Blackett was opened in January 1708. In 1719 it was reported

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1. Bourne, op.cit., p.79.
 2. Thomlinson's Letter Books and Accounts, 1720-48.
 3. Common Council Books 1718-43, 23rd May, 1720.
 4. Ibid, 1766-85, 30th July, 1785.

to the London Society "That Sir Wm. Blackett began last year to cloath the children of St Andrews School wch his Father founded".¹ Indeed the school was very much 'Blackett's School', parish records in the 1740's referring to it as "Walter Blackett Esq's School".² The £1000 left by the founder was not, as intended, invested in land, but Blackett's heirs paid £60 annually to the charity. In 1758 for example the total income of the charity was £70, including £10 from Alderman Hewit's legacy of £250 left in 1738. This was distributed as follows: the master received £22 (including £2 for Hewit's charity boys); the clothing of three charity boys £2.17.0.; five boys placed out apprentice £25; and £20 to the poor, leaving a balance of three shillings.³ Originally the master was responsible for hiring a schoolroom out of his own salary but by 1746 the parish was paying £2.10.0 yearly for this purpose.⁴ Sometime later Sir Walter Blackett had provided a schoolroom and dwelling house for the master but this ceased with his death in 1777. The meagreness of the salary out of which, once again the master had to pay for a schoolroom, meant that the trustees found great difficulty in procuring the services of a master and in 1789 they petitioned the Common Council to grant them the lease of "the east part of the malthouse at the foot of the gaolhouse yard, which has been long unoccupied, (and) would

1. ALB. 10.6210 10th November, 1719.

2. St Andrews, Newcastle, Churchwardens Accounts.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

with some little attention and repairs make a proper and convenient dwelling house and schoolroom for the master and boys". A lease of twenty one years was granted at the yearly rent of one shilling.¹

An attempt to found a charity school for girls in the parish was first made in 1784 and the Crewe Trustees ordered twenty guineas to be paid towards its establishment.² However it was not till 1792 that the project materialised largely through the efforts of the ladies of the parish. A schoolhouse was erected in Percy Street and a school for forty girls began under a mistress with a salary of £20. The Crewe Trustees, who had employed the twenty guineas already promised towards rebuilding Netherwitton chapel, gave twenty guineas³ and the corporation subscribed a like sum.⁴

The last Newcastle parish to establish a charity school was the populous one of All Saints where a subscription school for 37 boys and 15 girls was opened in October 1709.⁵ From the beginning the Corporation gave its support to this, the largest of the Newcastle schools which was situated in the town's poorest quarter. In 1709 they granted a piece of land in the Artillery Ground for a schoolroom and dwelling house for the master which were built from legacies left the school. In the following year and again in 1712 they contributed towards the cost of a gallery in the church for the charity children.

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1. Common Council Book, 1785-89, 18th June, 1789.
 2. Crewe Trustees Minute Book, 1723-1823, 16th December, 1784.
 3. Ibid., 29th February, 1792.
 4. Common Council Book 1785-99, 12th April, 1792.
 5. ALB 2.2011 25th February, 1710.

The master, together with the master of the grammar school and the town clergy, were to have free coals from the Town Moor, a privilege reserved for the free burgesses.¹ By the 1730's, when Bourne was writing his history of the town, there were 41 boys and 17 girls, all clothed, under a master and a mistress, and the Corporation had provided a schoolroom for the girls near the Surgeons Hall.² During the century the real expansion took place in the girls' school. In the early 1790's the schools contained 47 boys and 42 girls.³ The girls' school was extended in 1790 and again in 1806.⁴

At Berwick in the northern part of the diocese as early as 1646 the Corporation had ordered the appointment of a master to teach the children of burgesses reading, writing and arithmetic at an annual salary of £10.⁵ By the end of the eighteenth century a system of schools, all for freemens' children had developed from this humble beginning and in 1798 the corporation began to build a schoolhouse of five rooms - one for a writing school, another for the mathematical school and the other three for reading schools. All these schools had previously existed in separate buildings in the town.⁶

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1. Common Council Book, 1699-1718 - 29th June, 1709; 2nd May 1709; 18th Dec. 1710; 19th July, 1712.
 2. Bourne, op.cit., p.106.
 3. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 4. Cash Account Book for All Saints Charity Schools, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1787-1807.
 5. J.Scott, Berwick-upon-Tweed; history of the town and guild (1888), p.397.
 6. Ibid., p.407.

All the local histories date the foundation of the church charity school at Berwick from the year 1725 but S.P.C.K. records show that one existed some ten years earlier. Patrick Robertson, vicar of the town and a newly-appointed local correspondent, wrote to the Society in 1713 mentioning the difficulties he had encountered in this parish which contained mainly dissenters. He commented on the smallness of his stipend which, however, was being augmented by the Dean and Chapter and by his being placed on the garrison's establishment as a chaplain. Despite such difficulties he was endeavouring to set up a charity school.¹ The Society's packet of literature had been distributed in the town and his curate had written him "that several persons are inclineable to contribute towards Charity Schools".² A charity school was founded in 1715 and an entry appeared in the following year's Account "Berwick, Northumberland. A School for 60 Children, supported by Subscription". Despite difficulties of Jacobites Thompson could write in 1717 "That notwithstanding the sufferings of that part of the Country during the late Rebellion, the usual number of Charity Children are still kept at School, but they have only their Learning".³ This school probably kept going for a charity sermon was preached for its benefit in April 1723, and three more the following year.⁴ The 1725 school was therefore a refoundation. Little is known of its early history except it was

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1. ALB 4.3428 22nd January, 1713.
 2. ALB 4.3581 26th January, 1713.
 3. ALB 8.5282 6th July, 1717.
 4. Newcastle Courant, 13th April, 1723.

not as ambitious as its predecessor. Its numbers were fewer. In 1736 only eighteen pupils were noted and by the end of the century only twenty six were being taught and clothed - twenty boys and six girls.¹ It was a fairly successful school and was usually full. Between 1757 and 1810 299 pupils entered, 230 of them boys, an average of about six a year. The school's leading light was a Captain Bolton, its first treasurer, and its greatest benefactor in the eighteenth century. Officers of the Berwick garrison seem to have played an important part in its support and management. A Major Pratt was treasurer after Bolton's death and the school records show that officers often recommended children for admission, including a Major Jeffrey who obtained his own son's admission in 1770.² Subscriptions never played a major part in its finances. They amounted to £5 annually at the time of Chandler's visitation in the 1730's and only £10 in 1790. The Crewe Trustees gave £5 annually from 1728.³ The income of the school came mainly from invested capital. £1600 had accrued in the Berwick Bank by 1794 and this was then invested in the funds. In 1725 property had been bought in Rotten Row and part of it was used as a school. This property was sold in 1771 except for the schoolhouse and a master's dwelling.⁴

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1. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 2. Berwick upon Tweed Charity School Book, 1757.
 3. Crewe Trustees Minute Book, 5th October, 1728.
 4. Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland, 1819-37 (1890) pp 624 ff.

The Tanners in Alnwick as early as 1676 had engaged a schoolmaster to teach children of members of the guild "every man and woman towards this paying into the trade, their month money, and Is for every childe at the schoole".¹ We hear nothing more of this arrangement and it was presumably of a temporary nature. It was not till 1727 that a school providing elementary education, but limited to freemens' children, was opened. The previous year a well-known Alnwick merchant, Mark Forster, prominent in the government of the town, left an annuity of £10 and a house in Clayport Street for the use of a master to teach ⁵ the children of poor freemen and the widows of freemen, to be nominated by the Chamberlains, the English tongue. Unfreemens' children were soon to be provided for by the bequest of a native of Alnwick, Captain Benjamin Barton, who died at Edinburgh and by his will of 1737 left £50 for the schooling of unfreemens' children. The corporation had difficulty in recovering the £50 but were soon paying fifty shillings annually to the master appointed under Forster's bequest who taught a few children of unfreemen.² Clearly the provision of elementary education was not adequate and in 1783, on altering the grammar school in Pottergate, the corporation agreed to set aside the ground floor for a writing and arithmetic school. It

1. G. Tate, The History of the Borough, Castle and Barony of Alnwick, Vol.11, p.97.

2. Tate, op.cit., p.98. By the time of the Charity Commissioners Reports only two or three children were being educated under Barton's bequest (Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland 1819-37 (1890) p.445). Eight were being schooled under it in the 1750's (Hunter MS 6a).

was not till 1790 that a suitable master was appointed for what came to be known as the Borough School.¹

The master of the grammar school at Morpeth, the Rev. Mordecai Cary, had attempted to found a charity school in the town but by 1718 his efforts had "miscarried for want of money".² The Free Infantile School mentioned in Hodgson's "History of Northumberland" whose date of foundation is uncertain, must therefore have been founded sometime after 1718. It was for the sons and daughters of burgesses and free brothers from the age of four to fourteen who were taught gratis by a master and mistress.³ The corporation also supported a school for freemens' sons which was held in the town hall till a schoolhouse was built in 1792.⁴ This English Free School was a petty school for the free grammar school and late in the century subscriptions were being paid towards its upkeep.⁵

Durham City was the first entry for the diocese in the very first Account of the S.P.C.K. of 1704 which reported, "Durham - Four Schools for 50 children". From later Accounts we learn that the four schools were maintained by the Dean and Chapter. It is likely that one of

1. Ibid., p.99.

2. ALB 8.5621 5th June, 1718. Cary was master at the grammar school from 1718-22. He was later Bishop of Clonfort and then of Cloyne and Killala.

3. J. Hodgson, A History of Northumberland, Part 11, Vol.11, p.401.

4. Ibid., Part 11, Vol.11, p.401.

5. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

these schools was that on the other side of the Palace Green to the grammar school. This was an old foundation "for the bringing up young children, and to be instructed in the catechism and further made fit to go to the Grammar School and likewise to be taught their plain song".¹ The other schools were situated in various parts of the city for in 1704, after a suggestion that they should be amalgamated, Sir George Wheler reported "that the Dean and Prebendaries do maintain fifty poor children in four Petty Schools in so many parts of Durham and that they think it more convenient to have them taught so than in one school".² Earlier in 1701, the deprived vicar of the suburban parish of St Oswalds, the Rev. John Cock, a Non-juror, had left £600 for, among other things, the teaching of poor boys to read, write and cast accounts and of poor girls to read, spin, knit and sew.³ The foundation date of the school is not known but in 1717 land was purchased with the money and by the end of the century twenty eight boys were being taught by the parish clerk who was receiving £6 per year from Cock's charity and another £8 from the Dean and Chapter. No girls, other than in a Sunday School, were being instructed at the time.⁴ The Victoria History of the County of Durham suggests that it was probably jealousy of this suburban scheme which led to the foundation of the Blue Coat Charity School in St Nicholas parish in

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1. Victoria County History, Durham, Vol. lll, pp.43-44. The exact relationship of this school to the grammar school remains a matter of controversy.
 2. S.P.C.K. General Minutes 1, 25th January, 1704.
 3. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, pp.390-2.
 4. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

1718, the year after the purchase of the land with Cock's bequest.¹ Certainly the corporation lent two rooms in the Bull's Head Inn in the Market Place and contributed £5 at the foundation. Many members of the council were among the original subscribers but a scheme to found a charity school in the parish had been set on foot many years beforehand. In 1711 George Bowes Esq. a prominent citizen was writing to the Society for advice on promoting a charity school in the city.² After his appointment as a corresponding member he wrote from Durham in February 1712 that "he has been endeavouring to sett up a Charity School there & hopes to effect it by the assistance of some friends and the Countenance of the Society".³ At first he met with no success and wrote late in the following year that "the design of setting up a Charity School is come to nothing, but they are erecting a Wollen Manufacture". He hoped however to "put in a word for that Necessary part, the Schools".⁴ The best that could be done was to use part of the offertory money of St Nicholas for the teaching of thirteen children.⁵ Bowes kept on trying but by 1717 he was resigned to the fact that "if his designs cannot be accomplished, he shall content himself with disposing of his charity either at London or Hull".⁶ In the following February he triumphantly reported "that

1. Victoria County History, Durham, Vol.111, p.44.

2. ALB 3. 2925, 24th November, 1711.

3. ALB 3. 2969, 5th February, 1712.

4. ALB 4. 3743, 5th November, 1713.

5. ALB 5. 4113, 16th September, 1714.

6. ALB 7. 5095, 17th January, 1717.

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| By balance of last years accounts | 90 14 4 1/2 |
| By George Baber Esq. Subscription | 4 4 |
| The Earl of Darlington £. 1754 P. 1765 | 5 2 |
| Henry Simons Esq. P. 1754 P. 1755 | 4 4 |
| The Rev. Dr. Lupton P. 1754 | 2 2 |
| The Rev. Dr. Sharp P. 1755 | 2 2 |
| The Rev. Dr. Withingfield P. 1754 P. 1765 | 4 0 |
| The Rev. Dr. John Tolson P. 1755 | 4 0 |
| Mr. Lewis Medicine P. | 1 0 |
| The Rev. Dr. Chapman P. | 2 2 |
| John Temple Esq. P. | 2 2 |
| Mr. Whartons Legacy | 3 0 |
| John Sweetell Esq. | 2 0 |
| The Corporation of Durham | 3 0 |
| David Milton Esq. | 1 1 |
| Mr. Tunn Alder. W. & The Tunn Sec. & C. | 1 1 |
| Mr. Forster Alderman. | 1 0 |
| Dr. Robinson 2 years Rent due May 1755 | 1 10 |
| By 2 years Rent of 100 due Michaelmas last. | 12 3 |
| The Rev. Dr. Knatchbull | 2 0 |
| 17.14 Mr. Tho. Reid | 1 0 |
| The Dean of Durham | 3 3 |
| The Rev. Dr. Boyd | 2 2 |
| 20 Lady Barry by Mr. Bealby | 2 2 |
| The Rev. Dr. Sterne by Mr. Hoag | 2 0 |
| Richard Wharton Esq. | 1 1 |
| Sube Titchburn 3 years Rent due Sept. 16 | 3 10 |
| Mr. Edward Inyison | 0 3 |
| Miss Archer | 0 10 6 |
| 17.36 The Rev. Mr. Guburne | 1 1 |
| 17.36 The Rev. Mr. Forster | 1 0 |
| March 17 Sube Titchburn 3 years Rented | 3 10 |
| 2 0 years Rent of 800 due. 2 was last | 14 0 |
| The Rev. Mr. Spence by Mr. Hoag 1755 | 2 2 |
| Mr. Ald. Richardson for 1755 | 0 10 6 |
| Robt. Spearman Esq. for 1755 | 2 0 |
| | <u>195.12 4 1/2</u> |

| | |
|--|-------------|
| 175.3 Cash paid for the use of the Charity School by | |
| Mr. Tho. Turner and Mr. John Richardson | |
| June 2. Mr. Ridley making Cloaths p. Recd. | 2 10 0 |
| Mr. Ant. Turbel for Shoes p. 2 ^o | 2 2 0 |
| Mr. James Summers p. 3 ^o | 1 17 0 |
| Mr. Tho. Miller P. 4 ^o P. | 1 12 6 |
| Mr. George Bone P. 4 ^o P. | 1 15 2 |
| Mr. John Kerron for 30 pair of Shocks | 0 8 0 |
| Mr. M. Forster 50 p. Hose p. 5 ^o | 1 18 10 |
| Mr. Rich Wharlen Esq. Cloth p. 6 ^o | 3 12 9 |
| August 1 Mr. M. Wharlen a Sum. Salary & Coals | 7 5 10 |
| Mr. Forster her Quarters Salary p. 7 ^o | 2 10 0 |
| Mr. M. making Shirts &c for the Children | 1 13 4 |
| 16 Mr. M. Tho. Turner p. Recd. | 10 14 6 |
| 27 Mr. M. Ald. Forster for Linen p. 8 ^o | 8 12 8 |
| 1760. 1 Allowed Jas. Robinson. Sepes | 0 0 10 1/2 |
| 1760. 3 Mr. Forster per Receipt | 2 10 0 |
| Mr. M. Wharlen a Quarters Salary &c | 5 16 5 |
| Mr. M. for 100 Shocks in new South. Sea | |
| purchase by Mr. Ald. Forster p. Recd. | 9 17 6 |
| Mr. M. Having the Garden front in Giltgate. | 2 4 0 |
| 1760. 26 Mr. James Summers for 12 p. of Shocks | 1 18 0 |
| Mr. Ant. Turbel for 14 pair of Shocks | 2 3 9 |
| Mr. Tho. Miller 9 pair of Shocks | 1 10 4 |
| Mr. George Bone 14 pair of Shocks | 2 1 6 |
| 1760. 6 Mr. M. Forster her Salary | 2 10 0 |
| 1760. 3 Mr. M. Forster her pair of Hose | 1 15 2 |
| 1760. 3 Mr. M. Wharlen his Salary & Books p. Recd. | 5 13 10 |
| 1760. 2 Mr. M. Wharlen | 5 16 3 |
| Mr. M. Forster her Salary | 2 10 0 |
| 2 1/2 Mr. M. Ald. Richardson p. Recd. | 2 8 7 |
| 1760. 7 Mr. M. Ald. Richardson & Co. Recd. | 157 9 7 1/2 |
| 1760. 7 Allowed this acct. | 5 2 8 1/2 |
| paid over the Mr. Richard Wharlen | |
| and Mr. John Richardson | |
| Tho. Sharp | |
| John Richardson | |
| David Milton | |
| Tho. Reid | |

Page from the Durham Blue Coat charity school account book, 1718-1808 for the year 1755 showing that its main support came from subscriptions

they have at length prevailed for the establishing a foundation for a school there for 30 Boys", and the 1718 Account duly printed "Durham. A 5th School erected in this City for 30 Boys cloathed, upon Subscription of 50 Pound per Ann. and Collections after Charity Sermons twice a Year".¹ Girls however were educated almost from the school's foundation as the accounts for 1718 mention clothes for boys and girls and those for the following year contain a sum of £7.10s. for a mistress, a Mrs Downes, who taught 20 girls.²

The Blue Coat School was essentially a subscription school and though from 1719 legacies were quite frequently left it, its main support came from the annual subscriptions. Over £100 was initially subscribed and the lowest recorded income from that source was in 1747/8 when they amounted to £63.1.6. - what would have been a princely sum for most diocesan schools. In 1805 an 'improved plan' of subscriptions was introduced and a female school of industry opened with Bishop Barrington's wife as patron. The following year over £190 was received in subscriptions, the main increase coming from the wives of subscribers and other ladies numbering altogether forty four. The school held property in the town. Jane Finney by her will 13th January, 1728 left the school and garden in Gillygate producing £3.16.5½. yearly to the charity from 1730. The house was pulled

1. ALB 8.5507, 6th February, 1718.

cf. Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, p.283 who dates its foundation 1708.

2. Account Book of the Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808.

down in 1744 and the garden finally sold in 1799 for £147 which was then invested in Old South Sea annuities. The charity also owned a leasehold common bakehouse, first mentioned in 1759 when £70 was borrowed from a subscriber Alderman Dunn, towards paying the fine and fees for the renewal of the lease from the bishop. In 1760 the rent from this property amounted to £24 annually but by the 1780's it was producing only £8 and in 1800 it was put up for sale. The charity preferred to invest its money at interest. At first money was invested with subscribers - £890 by 1749, but the following year the charity began to place it in the New South Sea Stock at 4%.¹

The parish of St Giles set up a charity school for boys and girls with the £60 left by Jane Smith in 1785² and within a few years it was reported as "A School endowed with £5 p.a. in Land & £50 in the 3% Consols for 13 Children".³

Mention has already been made at the beginning of the chapter of an elementary school at Sunderland at the time of the Commonwealth. This did not survive the Restoration and it was not till the early years of the eighteenth century that another was founded. In 1708 Sir George Wheler, a local correspondent, reported to the Society that a schoolhouse had been built at Bishopwearmouth and in the Account for 1709 an entry appeared "Warmouth, in the Bishoprick of Durham. A

1. This paragraph is based on details from the Account Book.

2. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, p.389.

3. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

Schoolhouse built by the Rector and Parishioners".¹ There must have been trouble over the scheme which appears to have competed with that for building a new parish church at Sunderland. An advertisement against the rector had appeared in the "Postman" and Wheler wrote to defend him. He argued that instead of "hindering the building of the church he was the first man that proposed it to them with the loss of £40 p.a. of his own income for ever. And as to the school, though he did not contribute to the fabric, he gave £10 p.a. to the master". Dr. Smith, the rector, was advised to drop the matter relating to the school and the article concerning it was to be left out of the Account.² Smith wrote to the Society in 1714 that there was no charity school at either Bishopwearmouth or Sunderland. A schoolhouse had been built at Sunderland "but for want of a Master with University Education & in orders, that whole Project is now swallowed up in a greater namely the building of a New Church & turning the Schoolhouse into a Minst. house and making Sunderland a distinct Parish from Warmouth".³

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1. ALB 1. 1499, 25th November, 1708. In the Account for 1707 the entry "Sunderland. Here is a considerable School-house well built by the worthy Rector, and the well disposed Persons of his Parish", appears. The 1709 entry must be a duplication of that of 1707 as Sunderland did not become an independent rectory of Bishopwearmouth till 1719, and probably refers to the completion of the building.
 2. ALB 1. 1550, 21st January, 1709; ALB 1.1566, 3rd March, 1709; ALB 1. 1692, 9th August, 1709. After 1710 it did not appear in the Annual Account again.
 3. ALB 5. 4113, 16th September, 1714. In 1712 a subscription list was opened for building a new parish church at Sunderland. The church at Bishopwearmouth was half a mile away from the new centre of population (some 4,000 at Sunderland) and was inadequate.

£100 had been left by Smith's successor, Dr. Bowes, for a charitable purpose in the parish and a hospital was built on Wearmouth Green for twelve poor persons. The new rector, John Laurence, wrote to the Society that he 'has reserved one room for a School; but it being but in its infancy has not yet got a Maintenance for a Master".¹ It didn't apparently get one either for in 1736 Bishopwearmouth was reported as having no endowed school.² Early attempts to found charity schools in Bishopwearmouth and the new parish of Sunderland had been unsuccessful though petty schools certainly flourished.³ Attempts were made again in the 1750's. A Sunderland Blue Coat Charity School is nowhere mentioned in the local histories yet in 1752 the Newcastle Journal advertised a charity sermon for the benefit of charity boys in Sunderland.⁴ This may have been yet again an unsuccessful venture but certainly from 1769 such a school had a continuous existence.⁵ In 1775 it had twenty-four pupils who were poor boys of the parish⁶ and the Durham Diocese Book later in the century reported "A School for 24 blue Coat boys who are cloathed every yr. supported by volunty subsccon". The offertory money was also applied towards its support.⁷ The same source mentioned the

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1. ALB 13. 8523, 19th October, 1725.
 2. Notes of a Visitation, Bishop Chandler (1736).
 3. Masters were licensed to teach there in the 1720's and 1730's. Subscription Book, Durham, 1662-1837.
 4. Newcastle Journal, 11th January, 1752.
 5. Ibid, 26th February, 1769.
 6. Ibid, 16th July, 1775.
 7. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

offertory money being applied by the churchwardens of St Johns Chapel in Sunderland "for the support of a few Children who are cloathed and educated".¹

A charity school for girls in Sunderland known as Donnison's Girls' Free School was founded under the will of Mrs Elizabeth Donnison whereby trustees, after the death of her husband, James Donnison owner of High Ford estate, were to apply the interest of £1500 towards founding a school for poor girls to be taught the English tongue, spinning, sewing and knitting. The salary of the mistress was not to exceed £10 per annum and the girls were to be clothed.² Though not specifically mentioned in the terms of the bequest the school was very much a church school, two of the trustees were to be the rectors of Bishopwearmouth and Sunderland. When the school began to function is not known, probably sometime in the 1770's but up to 1828 a schoolroom and residence for the mistress were rented. Thirty girls were being educated in it near the end of the century.³ In 1778 the annual income was said to be £75 and by the time of the Charity Commissioners Report over £2,600 was invested in 3% consols and the charity was just managing to pay its way, the bulk of the income, £48, going on clothing.

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1. Ibid., Occasional charity sermons were preached for the school at St John's Chapel, a chapel which had been built by subscription in 1769.
 2. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, pp.445-46.
 3. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

In 1792 we find the first instance of the Freemasons of the region taking an interest in education. The master of the Sea-Captain's Lodge in Sunderland, Michael Scarth, "brought into execution a charitable scheme of giving education to twelve poor children". In 1819 the master was William Robinson "who was himself one of the first boys educated out of their fund".¹

The history of the Darlington Blue Coat school is an unfortunate one. In 1713 Dame Mary Calverly, widow of Sir John Calverly, assigned a bond of £1000 due to her from one Edward Pollen, which, after her decease, was to be laid out in the purchase of land or property towards the support of a charity school about to be established in Darlington for the instruction of poor children in the principles of Christian religion according to the Church of England, in reading, writing and casting accounts and in apprenticing them. A subscription was commenced in 1714 and in the following year Lady Calverly gave £150 towards the support of the school. Its foundation was reported in the 1717 Account "Darlington. 23 Boys taught and cloath'd here at the Charge of the Inhabitants". In 1719 Robert Noble, a Darlington apothecary, bequeathed to the school a yearly sum of £2 out of property in High-row, provided the master was a member of the Church of England and licensed by the bishop. In 1722 Pollen's bond produced £650 which with £250 raised by

1. G. Garbutt, History and Descriptive View of the parishes of Monkwearmouth and Bishopwearmouth and the Port and Borough of Sunderland (1819), p.300.

contributions was lent to George Allan Senr. in 1729, the same year in which subscriptions appear to have ceased. By 1750 the money in the hands of George Allan Jnr. amounted to £1280, the original £950 loaned his father together with the accrued interest. This suggests that the school after such a promising beginning had been suspended.¹ We certainly hear nothing more of its activities till 1793 when it was reported as "A Charity School for boys endowed with a certain sum of money. It formerly cloathed & educated 20 but ye number now diminished. They regularly attend church".²

Three years earlier a move to recover the money from the Allan family was begun but without much success.³ A meeting of the vestry was held on 11th December, 1792 "for the purpose of taking into further consideration the state of the Charity School and that Enquiry may be made into the Fund appertaining thereto". It was further agreed to begin "an amicable suit against them for the purpose of having their accounts brought before a Master in Chancery".⁴ Little else was done till 1797 when it was proposed at a vestry meeting that new trustees should be appointed consisting of the officiating minister (the vicar was non-resident) and the churchwardens. The

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1. This paragraph is based on the Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, pp.322-3. Also on an article by C.P. Nicholson, Darlington One Hundred Years Ago, in the Darlington and Stockton Times, May 12th 1923.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 3. Darlington St. Guthbert. Vestry Minutes 1775-1867.
 4. Ibid. 11th December, 1792.

parochial affairs of Darlington were at this time in a difficult state and the churchwarden for Blackwell, George Allan the antiquary, objected to the scheme mainly on the ground that "the poor children of their respective Townships having always had the benefit of the said school and still are equally entitled thereto, but whom the above persons seem intentionally to exclude, and confine to the town of Darlington only".¹ Therefore in 1798 it was agreed to elect a committee of five of the inhabitants by ballot to manage the school for a year. Of these three were to go out of office annually and three trustees were appointed for the charity school's money.² The scheme was submitted to Chancery and in 1800 a decree was obtained, the money recovered from the Allan family and £1392.9s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ consols were purchased and transferred into the names of the three trustees. There never had been a schoolroom and sometime after 1814 the interest from the investment was applied towards educating and clothing twenty boys in the new National school. These were known as the Blue Coat boys, chosen by the trustees, and up to 1822 they wore a distinctive uniform of Christs Hospital style - a blue coat to the knees with yellow collars and cuffs and a blue and yellow cap.³

Compared with Darlington's the history of the Stockton charity school was an uneventful yet successful one. Some account has

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1. Ibid. 19th January, 1797.
 2. Ibid. 21st January, 1798.
 3. Nicholson, article quoted.

already been given of the foundation and management of this subscription school in 1721/2. By 1729 it had purchased two leasehold meadow closes for £670 from the Bishop of Durham and was wealthy enough by 1759 to add sixteen girls to the original foundation of twenty boys. In 1767 six copyhold closes were purchased for £1635. A good deal of the purchase money came from the considerable sums donated to the charity during the century. At the time of the first land purchase Nicholas Swainston gave £100 and £310 came from other donations.¹ A year later, in 1730, the Crewe trustees donated £100.² By the 1830's the annual income from land was £250 and a further £30 to £50 was coming from subscriptions and charity sermons. In 1786 new buildings were erected on waste ground on the Norton Road consisting of a dwelling house for the master and mistress and two schoolrooms. By the 1790's twenty boys and twenty girls were being educated in the school and thirty of these were clothed.³

A parish school had existed in the early seventeenth century in Gateshead where an entry in the vestry book in 1628 mentions "Lyme for the schoole 5s.6d."⁴ The first mention of a school in the Anchorage occurs in 1651 when £2.18s. was paid for "seats for the boys", and where in 1658 the master was a minister, Mr. John Thompson.⁵ The

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, pp.476-80.
 2. Minute Book, 5th August, 1730.
 3. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 4. Gateshead Vestry Book.
 5. Ibid., The Anchorage, thought to have been the cell of an anchoress was an apartment above the vestry of St Mary's, approached by an outside staircase.

school probably had a continuous existence till the end of the century for on November 2nd, 1693 John Tenant a schoolmaster was discharged by the vestry for teaching school there "without the consent of and in opposition to Mr Geo. Tullie Rector of ye said Parish, whom we conceive to have a right to place a Schoolmaster in ye room above".¹ When therefore the rector of Gateshead, Dr. Theophilus Pickering, by deed dated January 9th, 1701 gave £300, received out of his coal workings on Bull's Acre, to be laid out in the purchase of land for the support of a free school, then the Anchorage was the obvious place for such a foundation. The only other known income of the school came from the rents of a shop on the Tyne Bridge producing 40 shillings a year but this was lost when the bridge fell down in the great flood of 1771. The school was first reported to the Society in 1709 as "A School-House and 16l per Ann. allowed by the late Rector there, for teaching poor Children to Read, Write, and the Catechism, and Mathematicks for the Sea".² Pickering's original intention had been for the schoolmaster, always to be a poor curate, to teach "all the children of the parish of Gateshead the Latin & Greek tongues, and also to write and cast up accounts, and also the art of navigation, or plain sailing".³ To say the least this was a tall order and what exactly was taught in the school is not known. In 1736 one William Alderson was licensed to teach in the "Free Grammar and English School" in the town and this suggests it was performing a dual function - the

1. Ibid.

2. Annual Account, 1709. In 1705 Pickering became rector of the rich living of Sedgfield where he was to die in 1710.

3. Brand, op.cit. Vol.1, p.669.

classics for some, and the 3 R's for most others.¹ That this was most likely is borne out by what details we have of the school in the early nineteenth century. In 1809 the local newspapers reported the death of a Mr. Woodhouse, parish clerk and assistant master of the Anchorage School and earlier in the same year the Rev. John Tyson, previously an assistant master at York Grammar School, had become master of the school.² The school had obviously expanded since 1793 when it had been reported to contain only fifteen pupils who were nominated by the rector.³ Tyson in his advertisement in the local papers mentioned the teaching of the classics and geography and quoted fees.⁴ He must have been allowed to take in extra scholars above the fifteen free ones. These would be taught the classics while others would receive an elementary education from the assistant master. The intentions therefore of the founder were being fairly closely adhered to though there is no record at all of navigation having been taught in the school.

The original bequest of John Crookes in 1742 for a charity school for twenty four boys in the town of Hartlepool became void under the Statute of Mortmain. His sister, Ann Crookes, by deed of gift dated the 21st of November, 1755 bequeathed her part of the estate,

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1. Subscription Book, Durham, 1662 - 1837.
 2. Newcastle Chronicle, 1st April, 1809 and 15th July, 1809.
 3. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 4. Newcastle Chronicle, 1st April, 1809.

amounting to some 37 acres, to her brother's intentions. Three quarters of the rental, never more than £30 yearly, was to be applied to teaching the boys the 3 R's and the catechism and the remaining one quarter to providing books and clothes.¹ It is likely that the school was founded some years after her death in 1776 and a schoolhouse, built out of the savings of the rents, was not erected till 1789 on land leased from the corporation at the nominal rent of two shillings a year. By the 1790's twelve boys were being educated in the school.²

South Shields was late in the field in establishing a charity school. In answer to visitation articles in 1732 the incumbent of St Hilds reported, "We have no Charity School: there are 2 Private Ones, wherein is taught reading & writing ye Scholars instructed in ye Principles of ye Christian Religion, & brought regularly to ye church".³ To remedy the lack of a charity school Christopher Maughan, a shoemaker, left by will in 1750, £100 to be paid after the decease of his nephew, and property, after the death of his sister, towards the foundation of a free school in the town. Ann Aubone, who died about 1760, left a further £100 to the same end, provided a school was founded within seven years of her death.⁴ Not to miss such encouragement a subscription list was opened and a charity school began on October 2nd, 1769 for two pupils and held in a rented house. By the

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, p.456.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 3. Parish Registers of St Hild's, South Shields.
 4. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, p.409.

end of the year it contained fourteen boys and girls under a master named John Bulman. It did not remain a subscription school for long because in 1772, when rules were drawn up for its management, it was agreed to loan benefactions, Maughan's and Ann Aubone's included, to the corporation of Newcastle at 4%. In the same year subscriptions ceased. The school quickly flourished and in 1771, when it contained thirty boys and ten girls, it moved to the Market Hall, paying a nominal out-rent to the Durham Dean and Chapter. At a meeting of benefactors on July 21st, 1778 "it appearing upon examining the Annual Accounts that the Fund is considerably increased" it was ordered that the number of boys admitted should be raised to forty, including, as at its foundation, two from the workhouse, and that a mistress be appointed to teach the ten girls, including two from the poor house. The following year a move was begun to build a school, a subscription was set on foot about £40 being raised, and in 1783 a school was erected near the ferry landing at No.1 Tyne Street. It was built on Dean and Chapter land and cost £130. A third storey was added in 1803 at a cost of over £300 and this was used as a public library producing a £10 annual rental to the school.¹

Financially the school was always in a flourishing state though it had to weather the occasional crisis. In 1792 £400 in 3% consols was left the school by Ralph Redhead but the husband of Redhead's executrix, Christopher Thompson, refused to hand the legacy over. In 1794 the trustees began long and expensive Chancery proceedings

1. The rest of this paragraph and the following one are based on the Minutes and Account Book of the school, 1769 - 1839.

against him (it cost £37 in fees) but by the annual meeting on the 1st of May, 1800 it was reported that the affair was finally settled in the school's favour. By 1795 the charity had £1000 invested with the Newcastle Corporation producing £40 per year, which, together with the collection at the annual charity sermon, formed the bulk of the school's income. Interest was withheld and by the annual meeting in 1796 it was decided to begin proceedings against the corporation. However, the following year the principal was repaid with the accumulated interest and the trustees purchased £2004.15.5. 3% consols, a much better investment producing over £60 a year.

During the eighteenth century all the towns in Northumberland and Durham, with the exception of Hexham,¹ had at least one charity school. By the end of the century, with the notable exception of Darlington, these urban charity schools were all flourishing, many having started off as subscription schools and becoming endowed with numerous bequests as the century progressed. Most of these schools had a continuous history and many functioned well into the next century and beyond; some to our own day. As elsewhere in the country the charity

1. Hexham was an important market town and it is difficult to find an explanation why no elementary school was opened till 1813. In 1662 Sir William Fenwick of Wallington gave £3/year out of the Intacks of the Middle and High Quarter of Hexhamshire for the use of a schoolmaster at Whitley Chapel but this was five miles from Hexham. In 1746 Archdeacon Sharp noted that it "had been used times out of mind as a schoolhouse". Northumberland County History Vol. IV. p.27.

It was not till 1813 that a subscription school was begun in Hexham. Northumberland County History Vol. III, p.225.

school movement was essentially urban in character. The S.P.C.K. Account for 1724 lists twenty two schools in the two counties. Fourteen of these were in the towns and they contained over half the pupils. The town schools were fortunate in enjoying the benefits of the new associated philanthropy, of the continuing middle class interest and management, often of direct support from corporations, of being able to attract the better teachers and of being able to attract and keep pupils who saw in them an education of increasing market value. The country schools were to be less fortunate.

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CHAPTER FIVE.

THE COUNTRY SCHOOLS

In its "A Form of a Subscription-Roll for Advancing a FUND For Teaching Poor Children in Small Villages to Read, Write and Cast Accompts" the S.P.C.K. drew attention to the many problems facing country schools. It noted "The Parish.... is so small that it cannot furnish a sufficient Number of Children for a Charity School", and, continued "the poor people of the Parish at several particular Times of the Year (especially in Harvest) are unwilling to spare their Children at School-Hours". It went on to suggest the employment of part-time teachers to instruct poor children "at such Times as their Parents can best spare them". They were to be paid half a crown when the child could name and distinguish the letters of the alphabet, a like sum when he could spell well, five shillings for reading well and saying the catechism, ten shillings when he could write a legible hand and a further five shillings for casting accounts. The money was to come from "well-dispos'd Persons" who were to be asked to contract to pay yearly, by quarterly subscriptions.¹ Little use, if any, appears to have been made of this method in the villages of Northumberland and Durham but the same problems had to be faced there. These problems of finance, staffing, the hostility of employers, especially of farmers, the unwillingness of parents to send their children to school, the many small parishes and, especially in this northern diocese, the remoteness of many parishes, were to limit severely the success of the rural charity school movement.

1. Annual Account, 1712.

Elementary schools in the countryside had been set up between 1650 and 1653 under the "Act for the better Propagating and Preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the Four Northern Counties". Leach records the foundation of schools or the provision of schoolmasters under this act at Nether Heworth, Whickham, Stanhope, Staindrop, Brancepeth, Easington, Shincliffe and Lanchester in Durham.¹ In Northumberland a parish school was founded at Tynemouth with £10 of the Allerton tithes, and at Earsdon and Corbridge with £5 and £6 respectively out of the Bywell tithes.² Nothing further is heard of these schools and it was not till the nineteenth century that the state was to take such an active role in the provision of elementary education again. The charity schools of the late seventeenth and of the eighteenth centuries were to rely entirely upon voluntary support for their upkeep.

Despite the failure of the Commonwealth experiment schools where an elementary education was provided were founded after the Restoration.³ There were six of these in the Durham diocese before 1700, but it was not till the second decade of the eighteenth century that the attention of the S.P.C.K. local correspondents, already

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1. Victoria County History, Durham, Vol.1 p.368.
 2. Northumberland County History, Vol.VIII, p.312, footnote; Vol. IX p.22; Vol.X p.215.
 3. Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland & Durham. Schools at Wark and Stamfordham in Northumberland; and at Gainford, Westgate (Stanhope), Trimdon and Dinsdale in Durham.

active in the town parishes, was turned to the more difficult problem of the provision of rural schools. Here they could not count on the generous support and continuing interest of the urban middle classes. On the contrary, they were to meet opposition, especially from farmers who resented the loss of child labour and objected to a parish rate or cess being levied towards the support of a school. In 1709 one of the earliest of the diocesan rural schools reported to the Society was that at Rothbury where "Twenty Pound per Annum for ever is settled by the worthy Rector, for teaching poor Children".¹ The attitude adopted by the local farmers to the school was well summed up by the rector's nephew, the Rev. John Thomlinson, "When one tells these men of uncle's charity in building the school, etc, they reply what is that? he made us pay for it, he has raised the rent, and squeezed it out of us".² But not all farmers refused to support the schools. Near the end of the century it was reported "Ld Crew's Trustees give £6 p.an. to ye School at Thornton in this Par. and two farmers £7 p.an. each to make up £20 p.an. to ye School Mar. for teaching their own Childn. and Servants".³

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1. Annual Account 1709. The Rev. John Thomlinson, who died in 1720, spent a further £100 building a schoolhouse. All children of the parish were to be taught the English, Latin and Greek tongues, to write, cast accounts and the Church catechism. 100 children were being educated in the school according to the 1711 Account. Though the school is sometimes referred to as a Free Grammar School (e.g. Thomas Oliphant was licensed on 22nd Sept. 1755 to teach such - Subscription Book, Durham, 1731-59) yet it was primarily a charity school. It was reported to the Society as such and the Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland, 1819-37 (1890) p.454 reported "it does not appear that any boy has ever been sent as an exhibitioner to either of the Universities".
 2. Diary of Rev. John Thomlinson, 20th August, 1717, Surtees Society Vol. CXVIII, p.102.
 3. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

The driving force behind the rural charity school movement was the country clergyman. It is dangerous to generalise about the eighteenth century parson but what records we have in the diocese show him often as founder, benefactor, manager and occasionally teacher of the village school. That poor clergymen took paying pupils to augment their stipends is a well known fact. Records do show them also teaching poor parish children as at Mitford, for example. An advertisement appeared in the Newcastle Chronicle of July 30th, 1791 for a curate and, "It will be expected that whoever undertakes the cure will also teach School, for which he will have extra payment". Clergymen like the rector of Kirkhaugh who refused to allow the £30 of school charity money to a schoolmaster were fortunately few.¹ More typical of the richer clergy were men like Robert Thomlinson of Whickham, Sir George Wheler of Houghton and Vincent Edwards of Embleton, all early supporters of the Society and founders of charity schools, two of which still flourish today.

Thomlinson, already noted as the key figure in the foundation of the Newcastle schools, on becoming rector of Whickham in 1712 was anxious to found a school in his new parish, particularly after the success of the Newcastle ones. At first he was unable to do so "by reason of a law suit which divides his parishioners".² However, in

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1. Durham Visitation Books, 1740. According to Archdeacon Thos. Sharp most of the money had been left by a previous rector, Rev. Stephenson who died in 1637, for supporting a schoolmaster (Hodgson op.cit. Part II, Vol.III p.65).
 2. ALB 4.3770, 19th November 1713.

1711 a gentlewoman of the parish, a Mrs. Jane Blackiston of Gibside, had left £100 towards teaching poor children of the parish and Thomlinson approached her executor and promised to add to the sum towards the foundation of a school. The school for thirty six children was opened on October 19th, 1714.¹ Thomlinson later wrote to the Society suggesting that it be "recommended as a proper example for many of his wealthy Bretheren, who sometimes suffer such legacys to be lost rather than make an addition of 8 l or 10 l p.ann."² He could well afford to support the school but most of the country clergy, existing on stipends of £30-£40, were in no position to follow his example. Thomlinson was most active in supporting the school, paying the master £2.10 each quarter, renting a schoolhouse, purchasing books, often from the Society, and meeting other incidental expenses.³ His letter to Henry Newman, Secretary of the Society, is worth quoting in detail because it is one of the few descriptions remaining of what a country charity school building looked like. He wrote, "I have founded the Charity School here after the Plan of one I had built at Wigton in Cumberland in wch Parish I was born; its a handsome stone building 19 yds in length, the Front is Ashler Work with Rustic Cours, the School abt 12 yards in Length, at the End of wch is a Stair Case, a Parlour 2 Closets and Kitchen and milkhouse all

1. ALB 5.4281, 27th January 1715.

2. ALB 6.4756, 22nd March 1716.

3. Thomlinson's Letter Books and Accounts, 1720-48.

below; above are 5 Lodging Rooms, there are behind it a Garden a Cow house with other Conveniences, it stands in a good Air, and has a pleasant Prospect. The Master is obliged to teach 36 poor Children. The Endowmt arises chiefly from the Proffits of 2 Galleries wch I have erected in the Parish Church by Licence at my own Expence and am endeavouring to obtain a further Endowmt of 10 l a year of Lands in Mortmain¹.

Few country schools, however, were as well endowed or possessed such a building as that at Whickham, or at Embleton where the Rev. Vincent Edwards had erected a school reported to the Society in 1711,² or at Houghton where the rector, Sir George Wheler had founded a school for twenty girls in the Gatehouse in 1716.³ But even in the poorer parishes throughout the century parish clergy were founding and supporting schools. At Alnham Archdeacon Sharp reported in 1723 that twenty pounds a year had been raised by subscriptions "and £10 allowed to the Curate who is Schoolmaster by the Vicar who resides at Ilderton." After a later visitation it was reported in 1758 "There has been no

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1. Ibid. 28th April, 1742. The proceeds from the galleries and two pew rents were part of the Master's salary. The building, enlarged in 1825 and again in 1889, still houses the parochial school. (see plate one).
 2. Annual Account 1711. Edwards died the following year and bequeathed the schoolhouse in trust to the warden and fellows of Merton college together with land and £40 for the support of the school. (Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland, 1817-39 (1890) p.497). It is known today by the name of Vincent Edwards Church of England Primary School.
 3. ALB 7.4839, 28th June, 1716.

School kept up for many years past".¹ Unfortunately here as elsewhere, a school could quickly fail with the change of incumbent, and clergy were frequently on the move in attempts to better their meagre stipends. Sometimes the parson was alone in supporting a school, as at Coniscliffe where in 1782 the Crewe trustees ordered a benefaction towards the school should be paid "to Mr Warcop the vicar of that place he having undertaken to defray the other Expences attending the said erection".² Usually however there was co-operation between the incumbent and his parishioners as at Chester-le-Street, where the Crewe trustees gave £25 towards the repair of the schoolhouse for which £99.3.0 had already been subscribed by the parishioners including £20 from the incumbent.³ But occasional examples of the indifference of the parish are to be found. In 1782 the same trustees ordered a benefaction of five guineas towards building a schoolhouse at Bedlington.⁴ Yet ten years later visitation records reported, "A school house was built by subscn but not completed for want of insuffict ffund. The Vr. is willing to be at half the Exp. Abt. £20 is wanted".⁵

Something has already been said on the foundation and support of schools on their estates by local landlords. Such a landlord was Sir

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1. Hunter MS 6a.
 2. Crewe Trustees Minute Book, 22nd January, 1782.
 3. Ibid., 8th March, 1798.
 4. Ibid., 19th July, 1782.
 5. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.



Plate Two. Hartburn village school, Northumberland built c.1750.
Stables formed the lower storey with the school above.

Henry Liddell who, at Whittingham, it was reported "has built a Schoolhouse and gives £10 a year for to teach 16 poor Children. He has done ye same in this Neighbourhood near his seat at Raven's Worth in the Chapelry of Lamesly and County of Durham".¹ Often in districts where there was no landlord support the villagers themselves, particularly in the last twenty years of the eighteenth century, subscribed towards the erection of a school, often built on the waste, and the support of its master. At Kirkwhelpington for example, a schoolhouse was built in the churchyard partly by subscription and partly by church rate in the year 1772. The building also housed the parish hearse!² In the neighbouring parish of Hartburn it was earlier reported, "There was lately erected, by voluntary contribution a building of wch the lower part is a Stable - the upper part is a school and a convenient habitation for the master".³ A church rate could be ordered towards erecting or repairing the school. At Kirknewton it was recorded, "We the vicar churchwardens and principal inhabitants in vestry this 4th day of June 1794 do agree to lay on a church rate equal to defray the expense of building a Schoolhouse and Clerk's house upon such part of the Vicar's glebe as he shall think convenient - the house to be in length not less than forty feet within the walls - the walls eight feet high - and t'is requested that the vicar will order the above and contract for the same - and t'is ordered that a cess and a half be

1. Thomlinson's Letter Books and Accounts, 1720-48.
2. Hodgson, op.cit., Vol.1, Part 11 p.207.
3. Hunter MS 6a. 1758 entry. The stable was for the use of parishioners' horses while they attended divine service. This substantial building still stands. (See plate two)

collected immediately for the above purpose".¹ Churchwardens' accounts of many country parishes show many payments for the repair and upkeep of the schools. Glaziers' bills are frequent entries. Yet instances occur of the parish vestry displaying enthusiasm at first and then refusing to support the school. At Stamfordham for example, a school had been endowed with land by a one-time Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and a schoolhouse and dwelling house for the master had been erected at the time of the bequest, about 1663. Archdeacon Sharp reported in 1764, "Mr. Baxter the present schoolmaster has put the school into fine repair and made seats and desks round it, it has cost above £40. The parish promised to be at the expence, but as this order was never entered into the parish book; he has got but £6 hitherto and it is not likely he will get any more".²

A country school having an endowment or being supported by voluntary subscriptions - and these could vary greatly from one year to the next - still had the problem of attracting a suitable teacher. The meagreness of the salary, the unsuitability and in some cases the lack of accommodation, and, especially in the western parts of the diocese, the remoteness of parishes, all these added to the difficulties of attracting staff. Robert Thomlinson wrote to Henry Newman, Secretary of the S.P.C.K. on 28th April, 1742, "Some parishioners lived 20 miles from the Mother Church (Simonburn), the

1. Kirknewton Vestry Minutes and Accounts 1758-1944. A cess and a half was about £27.

2. Hunter MS 6a.

Parish is ye largest and wildest in all England and was in Mr. Cambden's Time the Habitation of Moss Troupers! You may guess by this wt. a Charity it was to erect a School at Bellingham".¹ In 1715 Henry Newman had written to Wheler who was hoping to start his girls' charity school at Houghton, "I need not add to them that the success of either Boys or Girls Schools depends very much on the Choice of a good Master or Mistress who are the Pole Stars of those little Seminarys".² Wheler evidently found his Pole Star for in 1718 he reported that his school was going on well but he realised the twin problem of most country charity schools, not so fortunate as his own well-endowed school at Houghton - lack of money and, largely because of this, the failure to obtain a suitable teacher. Therefore we find him writing to the Society, "That it would be a Charity worthy of our parliam. to make an act to cause the Education of the poorest Childn. of Parishes to be payd out of the poors Rate and taught by the Clerk of the parish which would be the Cause of having a better Clerk in most parishes. That the Spiritual relief of poor Souls deserves more care than their Bodys and if Candidates for Holy Orders were obliged to serve in such a Capacity some years it would make them better Deacons and Parish priests. That its usually too soon that men mount from the first degree of Arts into the pulpit and Care of parishes, before further progress in Learning and Experience. That all other

1. Thomlinson's Letter Books and Accounts, 1720-48.

2. S.P.C.K. Out Letters. CS.(2)5. 1st March, 1715.

callings have longer time allow'd 'em for Learning their Arts and if such Care were taken in educating to Holy Orders, the Services of the Church would be more devoutly and orderly perform'd than too frequently they are. That 30 years of Age he thinks is soon enough for entering upon priesthood. That it would be worthy of the Societys serious Consideration to endeavour such a pious Establishment for the amendment of this and future ages".¹ Nothing came of this ingenious proposal and the success of the rural charity school movement was severely hampered throughout the century by the lack of teachers, at any rate of suitable teachers.

The more remote parishes of the diocese, which were usually poor as well, found great difficulty in finding and keeping a schoolmaster. The inhabitants of Welhope and Kilhope in remote Weardale seeking financial help from the Crewe trustees complained, "As for learning to our dear Offspring, of this (Melancholy to say it!) they must really be destitute; as we cannot send them to a distance, and no man will come amongst us for this end, from the small encouragement that we ourselves can afford him".² More often than not they had to be content with what they could get, and a poor schoolmaster was little better than none. A correspondent writing of the schoolmaster at Westgate in Weardale remarked to the Crewe trustees, "The one we have there never was capable of making a school....I wish his licence was

1. ALB 5508. 27th January, 1718.

2. Lord Crewe Charity Manuscripts. Correspondence. July, 1782.

stopt. The country is shamefully used by him".¹ At Blanchland school, which came under the special care of the trustees, the schoolmaster, Thomas Willey, who had been there from about 1760, was said to be of "no use to the place, nor has he ever made a scholar".² In the same year of 1778 the inhabitants of Blanchland petitioned the trustees who increased the schoolmaster's salary to £10 a year in an attempt to procure a better master.³ But frequent vacancies still occurred, as at Blanchland and elsewhere there was little chance of supplementing the stipend. "The country is but poor and I understand that the late master hardly made £8 or £9 more than what was given by the Trustees".⁴ The richer, more populous lowland parishes might attract a suitable master by allowing him to take private pupils. At West Boldon for example, a master was advertised for in 1758 and he was to be allowed to have thirty or more paying scholars. "The schooling of the poorer Children of the Parish, not exceeding 20, will be paid for quarterly, to a succeeding Master, who may have the Dwelling and Schoolhouses". The vacancy was immediately filled by a Robert Emmerson who offered, amongst other subjects, Latin and book-keeping.⁵

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1. Ibid., 1778.
 2. Ibid., 1778. He had already been released from Morpeth gaol, where he was serving a sentence for wrongful distraint of a neighbour's property, largely through the intervention of Archdeacon John Sharp one of the Crewe trustees.
 3. Crewe Trustees Minute Book, 23rd July, 1778.
 4. Crewe Trustees Correspondence, May 1787.
 5. Newcastle Journal, 25th November, 1758 and 6th January, 1759.

Lack of suitable accommodation added to the troubles of procuring suitable teachers. One of the main difficulties in keeping a master at Blanchland for example was the state of the master's house. It was reported to the Crewe trustees of the wife of the only candidate for the mastership there that, "She has been to Blanchland, and the house there is in a miserable and imperfect condition. Cannot there be a better house procured for them? Can any other house be had? She represents the house as far too small, and what makes it worse, it is inhabited by two families".¹

Being
Having obtained the services of a competent schoolmaster the question was often how to keep him and problems of salary and accommodation might not be the only ones. In 1761 an office was promoted in the Durham Consistory Court by one Thomas Ridley, a schoolmaster in Chester-le-Street,² against two men who taught school there without licences. The inhabitants were not to be deprived of two teachers who were obviously competent at their jobs and a petition to the court was signed by the curate and one hundred and sixteen inhabitants. It read, "We the principal Inhabitants of Chester le Street do hereby certify that Edward Barrass and John Buddle have taught Writing, Reading, Arithmetick and the Mathematicks for sometime heretofore in this Town with great Diligence and peaceable Behaviour to the universal Satisfaction of everyone under their Care: and being

1. Crewe Trustees Correspondence, May 1787.

2. Ridley had been licensed sometime between 1755 and 1760 (Subscription Book, Durham, 1662-1837)

fully satisfied that the said Edward Barrass and John Buddle are thoroughly qualified to teach Writing, Reading, Arithmetic and the Mathematics; do earnestly desire that they should continue to instruct the Children & Young People of the said Town and Neighbourhood and do therefore pray the Ordinary of the Diocese that they may continue unmolested, and also may be licensed by the said Ordinary; otherwise many of the Inhabitants of the said Town will be obliged to send their Children to remote Schools for their Education".¹ Whether they were licensed or not, and whether they continued to teach school, is not known as we hear no more of them.

A problem of a different nature faced the vicar of Embleton, Vincent Edwards, in his newly-founded charity school there. He was already complaining to the Society about Quaker schoolmasters in his parish who had "engross'd the greatest part of his Schollars", when a worse disaster befell. Petty schoolmasters in his parish who "were serviceable to the Church in teaching ye Childn. to read, and instructing them in the Church Catechism had been lately taken up as vagabonds and pressed into Service for Flanders under pretence of their wanting Licences".² Such petty schools had no doubt been useful in feeding Embleton charity school but now that school itself had lost its master "the most usefull, diligent and religious of 'em all notwithstanding he had a Licence at Durham before he was condemn'd,

1. Durham Consistory Court Papers, 1761-66.

2. ALB 3.2999, 6th March 1711.

was just now condemn'd as a vagabond".¹ The master was Robert More of Rennington, who had been licensed at Durham on 12th February, 1711 and had been pressed into service by Ensign Martin Fenwick of Colonel Wynne's Regiment.² Edwards wrote to the Society hoping they would obtain his release, but requesting the affair might be settled without prejudice to the officer concerned. Dr. Nicholas Stratford, Bishop of Chester and a prominent member of the Society, immediately took up the matter with the War Office who replied that enquiries had shown there was no such officer as Fenwick in the regiment mentioned nor had any of its officers been in Northumberland to recruit.³ Further influence was brought to bear and Lord Lansdowne, Secretary-at-War, ordered More's discharge. But the army authorities in Flanders wanted to know who was to pay the expences incurred by Fenwick before More joined the regiment, the cost of sending the impressed man back to England and they went on to argue "that the circumstances of ye man have not been truly represented to his Ldp."⁴ Unfortunately we have only Edward's account of the incident. Secretary Newman went on to suggest that More remain in Flanders till the outcome of the peace negotiations were known "unless he complains to his friends of an intollerable uneasiness in his way of Living". He requested Edwards

1. Ibid.

2. Subscription Book, Durham, 1662-1837.

3. ALB 3.3021, 25th March, 1712.

4. S.P.C.K. Out Letters. CS(2)2. Newman to Edwards, 14th June, 1712.

to give him the full details "to convince his Ldp. that ye Case of ye Man was as you represented it that he may not be discouraged from granting ye like favour another time".¹ Whether Robert More returned to Embleton we do not know but in the August of 1712 Edwards wrote that Ensign Fenwick had died in Flanders and, that being so, he would say no more on the matter but, "That the School there is still in a useless state".² However, James Watson was licensed at Durham to teach in the Free School of Embleton in January, 1719³ and visitation records show that the school continued throughout the century. Later in the century a schoolmaster at Stokesley visiting Stockton to see a lawyer about his having been balloted to serve in the militia, was pressed and put aboard H.M.S. Achilles lying in the Tees. He was more fortunate than Robert More as he was discharged immediately by the regulating captain.⁴

Another difficulty which caused particular trouble to country schools was that of attendance. Throughout the century parents were increasingly dependent on their childrens' earnings. The situation was well summed up by the inhabitants of Welhope and Kilhope in Weardale when in 1782 they petitioned the Crewe trustees for a grant towards a school, "We ourselves as soon as we could be of the least service to our Parents in bringing in some little Aid for the family

1. Ibid.

2. ALB 3.3163. 22nd August, 1712.

3. Subscription Book, Durham, 1662-1837.

4. Newcastle Chronicle, 3rd July, 1779.

from the Mines, we were set to work therein - our children must follow the same Method - their Offspring must do the same, and so on to future generations. And all this (in the present circumstances) without knowing anything more than even some of the first Principles of Natural Religion".¹ A similar situation existed in the coal mines and Henry Newman wrote to Robert Thomlinson at Whickham about the care "taken in the education of the Children belonging to the Coale Pitts in those parts".² Thomlinson's reply was far from encouraging. Children, especially those of widows, were being employed in the mines from the age of six or seven and all he could do was to prevail upon them to attend school when they had finished work.³ Harvest time meant a great drop in attendance in the rural schools though even a town charity school like the one at South Shields, where usually absence for one day led to instant dismissal, made exceptions to the attendance rules "in time of Harvest" subject to the permission of the trustees.⁴ Complaints like that of the incumbent of Stainton le Street where "A free school for all ye poor Childn. of the Parish - But too many are kept from School to go to work", or that from the curate at Haydon Bridge, "The School is very numerous in Winter," were all too frequent in country parishes.⁵

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1. Crewe Correspondence, July, 1782.
 2. ALB 11.7931 (out-going), 23rd November, 1721.
 3. ALB 11.6979, 20th February, 1722.
 4. Rules, Orders, Articles & Etc. For governing the Charity School at South Shields, Additional Articles, 29th August, 1783.
 5. Both examples from Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

The survival of at least two fairly comprehensive records of episcopal visitations containing much educational material permit us to assess the extent of the provision of education in the diocese in the 1730's and again near the end of the century. The first was Bishop Chandler's Notes of a Visitation in 1736.¹ This is quite full of information on the Northumberland parishes but contains very little educational information for the parishes in Durham. In the Northumberland archdeaconry of the eighty country parishes reported on forty seven had schools of some sort or other. It did not necessarily follow that because a parish was populous it had a school. Bellingham for example was reported as having 475 families - a population of probably 2500 - and yet had no school. On the other hand a small village like Ingram with only 54 families, a population of say 270, had a school and the parish of Edlingham, with a population of about 450, could boast two schools teaching forty children. However most villages with populations under 750 were without a school. The notes tend to confirm that the more remote parishes in the west of the county found difficulty in founding schools. The temporary nature of many rural schools is also noted. At Bolam it was reported "No school but occasionally for summer season", and at Wooler "no school now but £4 p.a. to teach a few children by the curate Jo. Soulby". It would be dangerous to draw too many conclusions from these visitation notes but they do show that educational provision in the Northumberland archdeaconry was far

1. Bishop Chandler's Notes of a Visitation in 1736.
Manuscript in Newcastle Central Library.

from being inadequate and that the established church played an important part in this provision. Indeed there was probably more activity than Chandler reported on for there must have been many Presbyterian teachers on the borders. Besides the notes often report "No Free School", suggesting that there might be other schools in the parish, and the note "no school" does not necessarily mean that there was not a schoolmaster active in the parish. For example as at Whalton where the Charity Commissioners Reports show that money had been left for a schoolmaster.¹

When one turns to the material collected from the 1792 visitation one would expect to find a marked increase in the number of schools.² But of the 81 country parishes in Northumberland reported on 48 had schools.³ This is almost exactly the same figure as for the earlier visitation and at first sight might suggest that little development in the provision of schools had taken place in the intervening fifty or so years. However, this would be a false inference. Fortunately we have the visitation queries which asked amongst other questions, "Is there (or has there been founded) any public School in your parish? Is there a Charity School in your parish? How is it supported; by voluntary subscriptions or by settled Endowment?".⁴ Incumbents appear to have stuck to the letter of the queries and

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Northumberland, 1817-39 (1890) p.444.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 3. Durham had 71 rural parishes, 41 with schools.
 4. There is a copy among the parish records of Bothal, Northumberland.

therefore seldom reported on private schools and schools of other denominations, except Roman Catholic schools. Moreover from other sources such as the Charity Commissioners Reports, local histories and especially local newspapers, we know that a great number of schools were founded in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. Again, as in the earlier visitation, the impression gained is one of much educational activity. Of the schools reported on just over half were endowed, the rest relying in the main on subscriptions, support from local gentry or, in some cases, small fees.

Beset by the many difficult problems already discussed, the country charity schools in the diocese were nothing like as successful as the schools in the towns with their increasing endowments, continued support from the middle classes, their ability to attract the better teachers and to keep their pupils at school. Nevertheless it would be wrong to suggest, as some writers have done, that the eighteenth century was a "century of sleep", especially in the provision of rural education. What records we have of the country schools demonstrate a continuous concern by squire, parson, parishioners and others for the education of poor children of the village.

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Plate One. Whickham charity school, Durham built 1742 and enlarged in 1825 and 1889.

CHAPTER SIX

NONCONFORMIST AND CATHOLIC CHARITY SCHOOLS.

Whether Nonconformists, as elsewhere, supported the early charity schools of the Durham diocese reported to the S.P.C.K. is not known. Few early lists of subscribers survive and these do not show the religious backgrounds of the donors. The High Anglican campaign against the dissenting supporters of the schools culminated in the Schism Act of 1714. This act (13 Anne c.7) was promoted by the Tories and Anglicans to weaken the political and social influence of the Dissenters and Whigs. Nonconformists were forbidden to teach or keep a school. One Low Churchman, an ardent supporter of charity schools, went so far as to claim "that there is not now a dissenter within my knowledge who has not withdrawn his subscription to the schools or can be induced to renew it".¹ The death of Queen Anne in 1714 brought the Whigs to power and the act became ineffective. The Schism Act was repealed four years after its introduction and dissenting charity schools began to be founded but never in great numbers. The number of endowed eighteenth century charity schools belonging to the Nonconformist churches was only thirty eight for the whole country and three of these were in the county of Durham - all Quaker schools.² That there were many more dissenting schools cannot be doubted but most of these were subscription schools, such as the

1. Quoted Jones, op.cit., p.112.

2. Digest of Schools & Charities for Education, 1842, in Jones op.cit., Appendix 1, Section 3. Actually there were five schools - two in both the parishes of Auckland and Basington and one at Sunderland.

Unitarian school in Newcastle, and the records of such schools are few. It has been suggested that lack of associated effort, the apathy of eighteenth century Nonconformist churches, no longer persecuted churches, and the concentration of subscriptions on the dissenting academies as nurseries of future ministers, prevented the foundation of dissenting charity schools in great numbers to rival the record of the Anglican church.¹ The absence of central bodies like the S.P.C.K. meant that efforts were sporadic and not at all well-organised.

That Quaker schoolmasters were active in the diocese early in the century can be seen from a number of letters from its local correspondents to the London Society. Archdeacon Booth apparently had trouble from Quakers in his Durham archdeaconry who were quite numerous in the trading towns of Stockton, Darlington and Sunderland, for in 1700 he complained against "Some Papists and Quakers that teach school having set him at Defiance".² The Society wrote back advising that "The Papists and Quakers who teach School will be easily suppress by Actions brought against them upon ye Stat. I Jac. I, for 40 li. p. Diem which they forfeit by teaching School without Licence of ye Bishop or Ordinary".³ It is doubtful whether Booth took any action under this statute for no case of a prosecution for teaching without licence against a Quaker schoolmaster appears among the Consistory

1. Jones, op.cit. pp.132-134.

2. ALB 1.182, 8th October, 1700.

3. S.P.C.K. MSS. Wanley, p.62. 19th October, 1700.

Court Papers for the period 1700-1729. Quaker schoolmasters continued to teach in the diocese. For example in 1711 the Rev. Vincent Edwards who wrote from Embleton seeking to encourage benefactions to charity schools, proposed an act of Parliament that would secure such benefactions to posterity and see that "Quakers are incapacitated for teaching school where a Ch. School is erected as is ye Case of Embleton at present".¹ Having spent about £100 on his charity school he complained "that all his charge was like to be lost, by a Quaker's means who has engross'd the greatest part of the Schollars".² Clearly this man was teaching not only Quaker children in the parish but children of other denominations as well. John Glenn, a Quaker schoolmaster at Durham, was not licensed and continued unmolested till his death in 1762.³

Early Quaker concern for education is shown in the Epistles from their Yearly Meetings. In 1690 it was suggested, "It is our Christian and earnest advice and counsel to all Friends concerned to provide schoolmasters and mistresses who are faithful Friends, to teach and instruct their children", and in 1695, "that care be taken that poor Friends children may freely partake of such education". The Yearly Meeting of 1701 advised against "schooling children with non-Friends and in company with other children whose example

1. ALB 2.2542, 29th March, 1711.

2. ALB 3.2999, 6th March, 1712.

3. Newcastle Journal, 4th December, 1762. Bishop Chandler in 1736 had reported "Jo Glen a Quaker teaches English also Greek". Notes of a Visitation in 1736.

occasions their losing the plain language and excites them to vanity".¹ Local records of the Society of Friends show an equal concern for the education of their children. The Monthly Meeting at South Shields in May 1709, following the directions of the Quarterly Meeting, appointed six Friends to "visit the School Masters and Mistresses belonging to this meeting". They reported on the "want of a School Master or Mistress that is a friend at Shields for the Education of friends Children there". The Shields Friends asked the Monthly Meeting to recommend a suitable master.² At the 1718 Monthly Meeting held at Newcastle it was ordered that "Each Meeting make Inquiry into the Number and State and Education of the Children of such amongst them whose parents are not well able to send them to School". Newcastle and Shields reported back that they did not find "any among them that need their assistance".³

The earliest known foundation of a Quaker school for poor children in the area was that at Hawthorn in Easington parish. Robert Forster, a Newcastle merchant who had purchased an estate in the parish, in 1736 left £200, the interest of which was to be applied by the Durham Quarterly Meeting towards the education of twenty four poor scholars. Forster apparently also left a School and dwelling-house for

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1. Epistles of Yearly Meetings, 1675-1759, Newcastle Record Office.
 2. Records of Monthly Meetings of Newcastle, Sunderland and South Shields, 12th May, 1709; 13th July, 1709; 11th September, 1709. Newcastle Record Office.
 3. Ibid., 14th May, 1718; 8th July, 1718.

the master who was to be chosen by the same meeting.¹ In 1792 the school was reported as being endowed with £20 per annum for sixteen boys or girls.²

In 1760 there appeared the Report of a special Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings which painted a gloomy picture of the state of education of Quaker children. Few teachers could be found, their pay was inadequate and children were apparently not staying long enough at school. The report suggested placing the main responsibility for financial aid to poorly-paid teachers on each Quarterly Meeting and that, if necessary, Quarterly Meetings should combine for such a purpose.³ Prompted by this the local Quarterly Meeting sent queries to the Monthly Meetings. The Newcastle, Sunderland and Shields meeting replied, "The poor amongst us are provided for and proper Care is taken of the Education of their Offspring".⁴ The Durham Monthly Meeting no doubt made similar reply as the school at Hawthorn was functioning.

It was probably this report which led to one Edward Walton leaving £1000 in 1768 for the support of four schools, at Sunderland under the Newcastle, Sunderland and Shields Monthly Meeting, at

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, p.437.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793. £20 was probably an exaggeration. The Charity Commissioners Reports noted an annual income of £12.4s.
 3. W.A. Campbell Stewart, Quakers and Education, pp.47-48.
 4. 1761. Replies to Queries of the Quarterly Meeting. Records of Monthly Meeting, Newcastle, Sunderland and South Shields.

Shotton under the Durham Monthly Meeting and at Bishop Auckland and Shildon under the Raby Monthly Meeting.¹ There are some references to the Sunderland school in the minutes of the Newcastle, Sunderland and Shields Monthly Meeting. The school was set up in 1772 for educating twelve poor children, buying them books and putting them out apprentice. Thomas Priestman was appointed the first schoolmaster and he remained there till his death in 1777. Eight trustees were appointed and their main task was to nominate the pupils. Preference was to be given to Friends children and "next those whose Parents may have belonged to our Society but now do not". The trustees were to report yearly each February to the Monthly Meeting on the progress of the school and their report was to be carried to the Quarterly Meeting. If the trustees thought fit they were to apply the "whole or any part of ye money appropriated for putting out Children apprentices, to ye Schoolmaster for teaching a greater Number of Children - provided they do not allow the Master above twenty shillings a year for each of the additional scholars".² Clearly they hoped to provide the master with a decent salary and in 1793 it was further ordered "That in future any number (not exceeding 20) of suitable poor Children may be admitted to receive their Education in the School under Edwd. Walton's Donation at Sunderland, the Teacher being allow'd as at present, 20/- /Annum for each".³

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham p.300.
 2. Records of Monthly Meetings, Newcastle, Sunderland and Shields, 11th May, 1772. The number of trustees was later reduced to four, all from Sunderland. In 1804 the Hawthorn school also came under the same direction.
 3. Ibid., 10th June, 1793.

The school at Shotton was reported on late in the eighteenth century as being "endowed with £12/annum and a house, for 12 poor boys or girls, and furt. endowed with £40 laid out in ye purch. of 3 or 4 Cotts for teachg 4 more Children".¹ This school, together with those at Bishop Auckland and Shildon was functioning at the time of the Charity Commissioners Reports.

Ackworth School was founded in 1779 and from its foundation the local meetings gave financial support. In 1780 the Newcastle, Sunderland and Shields Monthly Meeting contributed £24 and in the following year £36.17.6.² The same meeting could on occasion pay for childrens' education. In 1806 it was ordered "This meeting being informed that two of the children of Hannah Storey now at Ackworth will want tickets for another years education. David Sutton is requested to pay for the same from the funds of this Meeting".³

One of the earliest eighteenth century Nonconformist charity schools in the area was that of the Unitarians in Hanover Square, Newcastle. The Unitarians had had the first public Nonconformist meeting house in the town, built near the Close Gate in 1681 and its first minister was Dr. Richard Gilpin. Gilpin had been ejected from his Greystoke, Cumberland living in 1662, and was a grand-nephew of the great Bernard Gilpin. On March 26th, 1727 a new meeting house

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1. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 2. Records of Monthly Meetings, Newcastle, Sunderland and Shields, 10th January 1780 and 8th October 1781.
 3. Ibid., 8th September 1806.

was built in Hanover Square then a backwater in the town. Originally the idea was to erect a square of houses for members of the congregation but only two such houses were built and the project was abandoned. When the charity school attached to the meeting house was founded is not known. A note in the Unitarian records for 1846 refers to "The Boys Charity School (which) has been in existence for at least a century".¹ It was not founded before 1732 because that was the earliest possible date for the foundation of the school attached to the Presbyterian Castle garth Meeting, the first dissenting charity school in the town. But it was functioning some time before 1749 for in that year an advertisement appeared in the Newcastle Journal announcing the opening of a private school by a Robert Cay, who added, "I some time ago taught the Charity School belonging to the New Meeting".²

It is surprising that only one bequest seems to have been left the school, especially as the Hanover Square congregation included wealthy and influential people. The only known bequest was that of Mrs. Ruth Airey, a grand-daughter of Alderman Ambrose Barnes, who in 1767 left £100 towards its support. The school was mainly supported by the subscriptions of the congregation and by charity sermons.³

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1. Unitarian Minute Book, 1845-52.
 2. Newcastle Journal, 29th April, 1749.
 3. The first sermon was noted in the Newcastle Journal, 10th October 1756. These annual sermons were of considerable benefit to the charity. In 1764 for example, the sermon realised £15.7s. Parents of children in the school were expected to attend.

The school's curriculum was that of the other charity schools in the town. An advertisement for a master in 1761 read, "Whoever can produce undeniable Testimonials as to his good Moral Character and is capable of instructing boys in Reading, Writing and the Rudiments of Arithmetic may deliver in his Proposals in writing to the Committee.If the Person knows something of Psalmody it will be no inconsiderable Recommendation".¹

In 1782 the Rev. William Turner became the minister of the Hanover Square congregation. Turner was a most energetic man, founder of the first Sunday schools in the town, one of the founders of the Literary and Philosophical Society and later of the Mechanics Institute. Turner found the school in financial difficulties, and he noted that "the permanent subscriptions for the support of the Charity School are at present far from adequate to the object proposed". On the 7th November, 1796 he called a meeting which drew up new rules for the school and placed the charity on a firmer financial footing. Subscribers were advised that pecuniary aid was not enough but "that the utility of charitable institutions for this important purpose, must, in a great measure, depend upon the personal superintendence of the contributors". A committee of six subscribers was to meet at one o'clock every Monday following the Sacrament Day in each month to examine the proficiency of the scholars and to enquire after their attendance and behaviour. Turner himself was to assist this committee and was to give the pupils

1. Ibid., 21st February, 1761.

religious instruction. Each annual subscriber of a guinea could fill up a vacancy in rotation. A novel proposal was that subscribers should "send the children whom they mean to propose, to the Sunday School, for some time previous to their admission to the Charity School; in order that the Committee may have an opportunity of forming a better judgment of their qualifications and behaviour from the reports of the master and visitors of that institution". School began every morning at eight with a boy reading a short passage from scripture and lessons commenced again at one in the afternoon. Attendance at Sunday morning service was obligatory. The boys were to be given a monthly order of merit, depending on their proficiency in lessons, attendance, behaviour and the result of their examination before the committee. The boy placed highest in the list had the dubious honour of calling the morning roll for the next month. On leaving a boy was given by the committee a "character impartially proportioned to his conduct and proficiency". Furthermore committee members were to interest themselves "in the procuring of proper masters".¹

Despite the renewed interest taken in it from the end of the eighteenth century, the school was never large or very flourishing. In 1827 there were only fifteen boys in the school² and as late as

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1. This paragraph is based on a publication entitled *The Charity School Hanover Square Chapel, Newcastle, 1796*.
 2. Parson & White, *History, Directory and Gazeteer of the counties of Durham and Northumberland 1827*. Chapter VII.

1845 only seventeen boys were being taught there, subscriptions amounting to only £24.1.0. There was no girls' day school till 1846.¹

Of the educational activities of the other dissenting congregations in the two counties we have little surviving record. In 1738 John Wesley had visited Hermann Francke's Poor School at Halle and was very impressed by the Orphan House there with its 650 boarders and 3,000 children under instruction. Wesley commented, "Surely, such a thing neither we nor our fathers have known, as this great thing which God has done here",² and he soon determined to emulate Francke's experiment, on a smaller scale of course, at Newcastle. Wesley first visited the town in 1742 and in the December of that year ground was purchased at a cost of £70 and a foundation stone for his Orphan House laid.³ A deed of 1745 spoke of a school that "shall consist of one master and one mistress and such 40 poor children as the said J.Wesley.....shall from time to time respectively appoint". The master was to teach the boys reading, writing and arithmetic and the mistress the girls reading, writing and needlework.⁴ But the Orphan House never contained orphan children though it was later used as a Sunday school. The main trouble appears to have been the cost. Wesley himself directed that charity should be done "in as secret and

1. Unitarian Minute Book, 1845-52.

2. Wesley's Journals (Everyman Edition 1906) Vol.1, p.112. 24th July, 1738.

3. Ibid., 4th, 7th & 20th December, 1742.

4. W.W. Stamp, The Orphan House of Wesley (1863), p.16.

unostentatious manner as is possible",¹ which might explain the lack of organised effort in founding and supporting schools for the poor. Besides Methodism from its earliest days concentrated its efforts on adults, and, as one writer has commented, "The House fitted up with pulpit and forms and classrooms, and used as a preaching house, demonstrates the switching of interest from the infant to the adult poor".²

There were other Methodist schools in the area but these were usually of a temporary nature. Christopher Hopper, a preacher, kept a school in the old preaching house, Sheep Hill, near Burnopfield between 1746 and 1748, and one of his pupils, the Rev. Edward Jackson, kept a school at Collierly.³ Reference has already been made to the school at Hartlepool⁴ where in 1792 it was reported that the trustees, mainly Methodists, had chosen a master of their persuasion in opposition to the curate.⁵

Presbyterianism was of course strong in the north of Northumberland where from the late seventeenth century meeting houses and chapels had been licensed. Schoolmasters were usually to be found among such

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1. J. Wesley, Collected Works, Vol.V, p.330.
 2. Jones, op.cit., p.139. A Sunday school however was held in the building much earlier than Miss Jones suggests (1799). The Newcastle Journal for February 27th 1790 reported a charity sermon preached in the Orphan House for a Sunday school opened there on 28th February, 1790.
 3. J.W. Fawcett, History of the Parish of Dipton, p.5.
 4. Supra pp.102-3
 5. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

congregations and in the 1730's schools were reported at Lowick, which taught both the Presbyterian and Anglican catechisms, at Ford and at Norham which had "petty Schools taught by Scotch Presby".¹

Presbyterian records show the presence of masters attached to congregations in the 1740's at Harbottle and Hallystone.² The earliest dissenter school at Newcastle belonged to a congregation attached to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland which had a meeting house in the Castle Garth.³ The local newspapers reported the death of the Rev. Edward Aitkin in 1771, who had ministered to the congregation for thirty nine years. The Newcastle Journal reported "He founded the first Charity School amongst the dissenters in this place, which, under his care and protection, has been a great relief to many poor families, and of great public benefit".⁴ Unfortunately the only other reference we have to this school is to the death of its master, Joseph Richardson, in 1769.⁵

In 1688 there were two Jesuit schools in the North East, one at Newcastle, at the back of the White Hart in the Flesh Market, and the other under a Father Pearson in Old Elvet, Durham City. Neither of these survived the Revolution, that at Durham being burned by the mob.⁶

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1. Bishop Chandler's Notes of a Visitation in 1736.
 2. D.D. Dixon, Upper Coquetdale, p.208.
 3. J. Brand, History & Antiquities of Newcastle upon Tyne, Vol.1 p.168, note.
 4. Newcastle Journal, 26th October, 1771.
 5. Ibid., 9th September, 1769.
 6. C. Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, pp.361-2.

According to the author of the memoirs of the Newcastle alderman, Ambrose Barnes, charity schools were first set up "to defeat the pernicious effects of the seminaries set up by papists in the reign of King James the Second".¹ This "papist scare" persisted into the early years of the eighteenth century and was, as we have seen, one of the main reasons for Anglican militancy and the founding of so many charity schools. Catholicism, as it had done so many times before, survived especially in the remoter parts of the diocese where there might be the protection of a local Catholic squire such as the Haggerstons at Ellingham in Northumberland. By the 1730's Catholic families, often with a nearby mass house, were quite numerous at Ancroft, Netherwitton, Longhorsley, Kirkwhelpington, Whittingham, Rothbury, Ellingham and Stamfordham in Northumberland and at Elton, Chester-le-Street, Gateshead, Brancepeth, Gainford, the Durham City parishes of St Nicholas and St Oswald in Durham county.²

That such Catholic families received education cannot be doubted for there is plenty of evidence to show the presence of Catholic schoolmasters in the diocese in the earliest years of the eighteenth century. Archdeacon Booth's letter to the Society in 1700 for advice on how to deal with Quakers and Papists teaching school has already been noted.³ The following year the archdeacon was still

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1. Memoirs of the Life of Mr Ambrose Barnes, Surtees Society Vol. L, p.454.
 2. Bishop Chandler's Notes of a Visitation in 1736.
 3. Supra p.128

experiencing trouble for he reported to the Society the Presentments of the Grand Inquest for the County of Durham which mentioned, among other things, one Ralph Mair of the parish of St Giles, Durham, who had an "Alter, Crucifix over it with severall Cushions laid round the Alter in order for their Popish worship". Mass was apparently being frequently said at other parishes under his jurisdiction, especially at St Oswalds, Durham and at Gateshead. Fear of the spread of popery had led the magistrates to order that "the overseers of the poor in every parish do diligently take care of poor Children that they may be put in time to Schools and be brought up in the fear of God".¹

Despite such efforts Catholic schools began to appear and to survive. In 1702 schools were noted at Durham and at Bishop Middleham where twenty six boys were "taught openly" and Booth "was publickly Slighted & affronted for takeing notice of them and endeavouring to suppress ye Schools & Chappels & Discouraging their perverting protestants".² One of the schools, at least, continued for in 1705 it could be reported, of Bishop Middleham, "Smith, a School Mr. now dwelling with the said John Hildreth but as to schollars I (cannot) learn their names".³

Two letters to the Bishop of Durham show that education for poor children was being given, probably by priests. Both letters concerned

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1. S.P.C.K. MSS. Wanley, p.166. 15th January, 1702.
 2. Popish Chappels within 7 miles of ye Bpp. of Durhams Palace at Durham, 1702 (?). Mickleton & Spearman MSS 91 f.135 (item 41)
 3. Return of Papists, 1705. House of Lords MSS. Hildreth was the priest.

children of mixed marriages. In 1736 the incumbent of Gainford reported the case of a convert to Roman Catholicism, one Francis Jakes, a poor man, and he went on to complain "That the said Jakes sends two of his children to be brought up Papists, on consideration (as the report is) of their being taught to read and write gratis". Later in the century the Rev. George Smalridge, rector of Bothal in Northumberland, wrote of a hind who had married a Catholic and had permitted his children to be baptised in that faith by a priest in the parish of Hartburn who had assured him "that nothing should be wanting, in the way of good Education for his Children at free cost". This argument, according to his own account, turned the scale.¹

Evidence of bequests of money for the education of poor Catholic children is rare. One such bequest was for schooling at Sunderland Bridge, near Durham. The accounts of the Salvin family of nearby Croxdale Hall record this bequest of one of their retainers, Laurence Liddell, a gardener, who died in 1727 and who left "£5 to put poor Catholic Children of Sunderland to the School". Bryan Salvin gave his steward the interest of this sum, some ten or twelve shillings annually, for this purpose from 1737 to 1750, some of the children staying four years at the school.² At Esh a school was endowed and supported by the Holford family about the year 1795.³

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1. I am indebted to Father Smith of Lanchester for this information. Letters dated 25th August, 1736 and 15th September, 1780. Jakes' children went to school at Cliffe, on the opposite side of the Tees, the seat of the Catholic Witham family.
 2. Salvin MSS. Select MSS bundle 10. County Record Office, Durham.
 3. Archives of Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle. Esh bundle.

In 1778 Saviles Act took away the disabilities that had been imposed on Catholics by an act of 1700 which, amongst other things, had prescribed life imprisonment for "any Papist or Person making Profession of the Popish Religion (who) shall keep Schools or take upon themselves the Education or Government or Boarding of Youth in any Place within this Realme".¹ In 1791 the Catholic Relief Act meant that Catholics were able to teach school provided they took the prescribed oath. These measures no doubt, as elsewhere, led to an increase in the number of Catholic schools and schoolmasters but in any case the 1700 act and other anti-Catholic legislation had been hard to enforce, especially in this remote northern diocese. In the Return of Papists for 1767, for example, the names of five teachers, let alone priests who must have been performing some educational functions, were given for Durham. These were at Esh, Bishopwearmouth, Bishop Auckland, and St Oswalds and Gillygate, Durham City.² Significantly four of this number were women, either widows or elderly spinsters, and they apparently continued to teach unmolested by the authorities.

Ten Catholic schools or schoolmasters were returned in the 1792 visitation, six in Durham and four in Northumberland, and they were to be found mainly in the same Catholic centres that Chandler had commented on over fifty years earlier.³ Only two of these definitely

1. 11 Will. III, c.4.

2. Report of Papists, 1767, House of Lords MSS.

3. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

refused to admit Protestant children. One was the school of the Rev. Arthur Storey at Tudhoe which was fee-paying and certainly not a charity school. The other was in St Oswalds parish, Durham. The others admitted Protestants. Indeed at Whittingham, the seat of the Clavering family, the Protestant children were taught the Anglican catechism while at Billingham the papist schoolmaster was reputed to receive four pounds annually from the Dean and Chapter. One French emigre priest kept a school in the parish of St Mary in the South, Durham and by the end of the century he was followed by more in the diocese who, however, kept mainly private schools.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SPECIAL SCHOOLS.

The charity schools of the Trinity House, Newcastle, of the Crowley Ironworks at Winlaton, Winlaton Mill and Swalwell and of the Crewe Trustees at Bamburgh, are for a number of reasons, worthy of special consideration. Trinity House school was exceptional because of its vocational bias and of the quality of its teachers, most of whom were able mathematicians. The Crowley schools were part of a wider scheme of industrial welfare, one of the earliest examples of such in the country. The schools of the Crewe Trustees at Bamburgh, again part of a larger scheme of social welfare, were exceptional in that Latin was probably taught in the boys' school, which was rare in eighteenth century charity schools,¹ but more especially because of the girls' school. This was for a time a successful school of industry. Mrs Sarah Trimmer found fit to print an account of it in the later editions of her OEconomy of Charity, and it was the only example of a boarding charity school in the diocese.

The Trinity House had begun as a medieval religious fraternity, the Guild and Fraternity of the Blessed Trinity. It first acquired property in the Broad Chare, Newcastle in the late fifteenth century and received a charter of incorporation in 1536 which said they were to be governed by a master and four wardens and were to be allowed to erect two lighthouses at the mouth of the Tyne, for the support of which they were to receive fourpence for every foreign ship and two-

1. For a detailed discussion of this point see J.J. Grant, The Schools of the Crewe Trustees in Bamburgh, Northumberland. Durham Research Review, Vol.3, pp.25-26.

pence for every English vessel entering the river. In 1584 a new charter designated them The Master, Pilots, and Seamen, of the Trinity House of Newcastle upon Tyne, consisting of nineteen elder brethren and the remainder, younger brethren. A charter of James I further widened their powers and defined the tolls they could levy for such purposes as pilotage, the upkeep of buoys and the two lighthouses, and the relief of shipwrecked mariners.

On May 9th, 1712 the Master and Brethren observed "We find a Free School wou'd be of great advantage to the Brethrens Children and Apprentices, to learn to write, Arithmetic, and the Mathematicks", and the large cellar below the chapel was converted into a school. It was to be partly financed from apprentices' fees: "all Apprentices bound and inrold in the Trinity House Book of Enrolmt, in order to have their Freedom shall pay Five Shillings over and above what was paid formerly. And all Apprentices and others that take their Freedoms in the abovesaid Trinity House, shall pay Five Shillings over and above what was formerly paid for and towards maintaining of the abovesaid Free School".¹ Increasing costs in maintaining the school and supporting other charities² led to a further order by which brethren, who lived in other parts of the country, had to pay an extra

1. Trinity House Order Book, 1665-1818.

The school at Trinity House, Hull was not founded till 1786. It was essentially a vocational school as the Newcastle Chronicle of 1st February, 1787 reported its foundation as a "Marine School at Hull for 36 boys for the sea service only".

2. Trinity House was a regular subscriber to All Saints Charity School of £6 annually. This was increased to 12 guineas a year from 1792.

ten shillings for each apprentice indenture and a further five shillings when apprentices took their freedom.¹ In 1721 the guild had decided to build a new meeting room and the room previously used for this purpose, known as the Long Gallery, was ordered to be repaired "and kept up for a Mathamatticall school-house".² This Long Gallery was rebuilt in 1753. The term mathematical school suggests that by this time mathematics and navigation had become the main subjects taught and that the school had become a vocational one, training apprentices to free mariners. Advertisements for masters in the local newspapers frequently called for "a person skilled in the branches of the Mathematics, Navigation, etc", and masters appointed after mid-century were usually men of considerable mathematical ability. Robert Harrison, appointed master in 1757,³ was already known as a "teacher of the mathematics at the foot of the Side", and a few years earlier had given a course of lectures on geography and astronomy.⁴ He taught at the school for ten years and then found it more profitable to open a private school at the Head of the Flesh Market.⁵ John Fryer, appointed master in 1771, had been an assistant of Charles Hutton⁶ in his Westgate Street school, and William Drysdale,

1. Trinity House Order Book, 1665-1818, 17th September, 1720.

2. Ibid., 5th June, 1721.

3. Trinity House Minute Book, 1755-62, 14th January, 1757.

4. Newcastle Journal, 20th October, 1753 and 26th January, 1754.

5. Ibid., 31st January, 1767.

6. Charles Hutton (1737-1823) famous mathematician.
Later professor of mathematics at Woolwich Academy & F.R.S.

appointed in 1778, was also a mathematician of some note. He was author of *The Mosaic Theory of the Earth*, published in 1798.¹

At the school's commencement the master's salary was fixed at £16 per annum, paid quarterly, with free house and coals.² The smallness of the salary meant that from the beginning the master was allowed to take up to twenty private pupils. Two of Robert Harrison's private pupils were later to achieve fame - William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, became a great maritime and international lawyer, and his more famous younger brother John, afterwards Lord Eldon, became Lord Chancellor in 1801.³ A recent writer has claimed that Admiral Lord Collingwood was a pupil at the school about the same time.⁴ However there is no evidence to support this claim.

Collingwood went to sea on board a frigate at the age of eleven and learnt his seamanship on the job. By the end of the century the master's salary had risen considerably. He was paid £80 a year and received a shilling for the writing of each petition to be presented

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1. E. Mackenzie, *Descriptive and Historical Account of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1827) pp.443-4.
 2. *Ibid.*, p.443.
 3. R. Welford, *Men of mark 'twixt Tyne and Tweed Vol.11*, p.458. Both attended the grammar school under the Rev. Hugh who sent them to Harrison for instruction in mathematics.
 4. D.R. Moir, *The Birth and History of Trinity House Newcastle upon Tyne* (1959) p.28. The author's accuracy in other parts of his book leaves much to be desired. On p.27 for example, he correctly gives the name of the school's first master in 1712, a Mr. Manell, but goes on to say, "He lasted four years and was succeeded by Mr Robert Harrison, a profound mathematician of his day". Harrison, as we have seen, was appointed in 1757.

to the board. His status was that of a younger brother and he occupied a seat in the third row of the gallery, purchased by Trinity House for 500 guineas in 1789, in the new All Saints church.¹

From what little evidence remains it appears the number of pupils at the school was never great. In 1725 there were seven charity boys and in 1738 only four. The age of entry was between eleven and twelve for in 1739 it was reported "Rec'd in note from Charity School Master that John Henzell aged 11 years was entered into his school in Feb in room of Will Martin gone out & John Kidger aged 10 entered Mar in room of Paul Kidd gone out".² Just over six years appears to have been the full course of study. There appears to have been disciplinary trouble in the school in 1756 for it was then ordered: "Resolv'd Orders be wrote and put up in our free School, which we direct shall be observ'd by the Master & scholars".³ In the following year the Master, William Turnbull, had obviously not followed his orders for he was ordered to quit his house and school on the Mayday following for "not having behaved himself as becomes him, and not haveing takeing that due care of the Freemens Sons and apprentices as he ought".⁴ He was replaced by Robert Harrison.

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1. Trinity House Order Book 1665-1818, 9th October, 1789.
 2. Extracts from Trinity House Records, Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, 9th March, 1739.
 3. Trinity House Minute Book, 1755-62, 3rd May, 1756.
 4. Ibid., 6th January, 1757.

Ambrose Crowley had set up a nail factory at Sunderland in the 1680's but local opposition, mainly on religious grounds, to the Catholic foreign workers he introduced made him move the factory to Winlaton in 1691. The move proved successful, he became a regular contractor to the navy and with the expansion of business new factories were built at Winlaton Mill, sometime in the late 1690's, and at Swalwell in 1707. Soon the business could claim to be the largest ironworks in Europe employing at its peak a labour force of over one thousand. Sir Ambrose died in 1713 and was succeeded by his son John who managed the firm till 1728. His widow carried on the business till her death in 1782 and then it passed into the hands of the Millington family who had previously occupied managerial posts. The decay of the firm dates from 1816 and the post-war slump from which a firm like Crowleys, dependent on government contracts, never really recovered.

The Crowley industry has long attracted the interest of economic and social historians because of originality in business management and organisation but more especially because of its welfare schemes. These aimed to provide conditions in which its workers would be "quiet and easy amongst themselves and a happy and flourishing people amongst their neighbours".¹ As the latest writer on the history of the firm has concluded "the real significance of Crowley's experiment lies not so much in his contribution to the evolution of large-scale

1. The Law Book of the Crowley Ironworks, edit., M.W. Flinn, Surtees Society, Vol. CLXVII, p.8. These laws were composed mainly before 1700 but were revised from time to time during the eighteenth century.

organisation, as in his belief - amply translated into practice - that it was possible to combine successful capitalist enterprise with a concern for the well-being of his employees".¹

Law Number 97 of the Crowley Ironworks ordered a general contribution to, amongst other things, the teaching of youth.² This was to be done by the Clerk for the Poor who was to receive for this and the performance of many other duties, the weekly wage of 5s.6d. with a further shilling each week for showing diligence and care in the concern of the poor. He was "carefully to teach and instruct the workmen's children" during winter months between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning, and in the afternoon from one to four, and in the summer months from six to eleven and from one to five. The school was to be in session for six days in the week. Sundays, holy days, the twelve days of Christmas and Court days³ were the only times when it was to be closed. Though not the first school to be established by an industrial concern - there was one at the alum works at Kirk Leatham in the 1630's⁴ - nevertheless it was one of the earliest and certainly more successful than that started in the 1760's by the Quaker Richard Reynolds, Abraham Darby's son-in-law, at

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1. M.W. Flinn, Men of Iron - The Crowleys in the Early Iron Industry (1962), p.255.
 2. Law Book, pp.154-162.
 3. See below p. 153
 4. E. Lipson, The Economic History of England, Vol.11, p.181, footnote 6.

Coalbrookdale in Shropshire where parents would only let their children go on condition that they were paid for their attendance.¹

Ambrose Crowley, originally a Quaker, had become a member of the established Church early in his career and verse five of Law 97 ordered the schoolmaster to "carefully teach all his scholars that are capable of learning the Catechism of the Church of England as contained in the Book of Common Prayer". The works also had a full-time chaplain who was to hear the scholars say the church catechism in public. Crowley's Quaker background and outlook is plainly seen throughout the Law Book. The schoolmaster, for example, "shall not upon any account of races, cock-fightings, rope-dancers or stage-players dismiss his scholars", and he was, "to take care to make his scholars shew due respects to their superiors and especially aged persons, and to correct such as he finds guilty of lying, swearing or such like horrid crimes, but above all things set a good example before the children himself, example availing more than precept".²

The financing of the welfare schemes which included sickness, unemployment, old age and funeral benefits, the services of a doctor³

1. Ibid., Vol.11, p.167.

2. Law 97, op.cit.

3. The Newcastle Journal for 27th February, 1762 reported the inoculation of the children at Winlaton Mill by a surgeon from Newcastle Infirmary. Forty three children had died from the small-pox.

and a minister, as well as the provision of schools, was most novel. Most of the money came from what was known as the Poores Stock which was administered by a committee of which the Clerk of the Poor was secretary. Workers contributed a fixed weekly sum to this fund, originally a farthing in the shilling of all their earnings. This later in the century doubled to ninepence in the pound. The employer's contribution varied. The fund had other sources of income. Fines for infringements of the Laws were generally divided between the informer - informing was encouraged by the employers - and either the employer or the Poores Fund. Crowley had attempted in the Laws to place the responsibility for honesty among his workmen on the community and any dishonesty discovered could lead to a deduction from the Poores Fund. Workmen at the factory were supplied with a weekly stock of iron enough for the week's work. Their output of ironware had to correspond closely to the amount supplied, with suitable allowance for waste. If it did not then they had "run out of stock".¹ Losses thus made were to come out of the Poores Stock. Running out of stock was therefore an injury to the whole community, though it is doubtful if this scheme was really effective.

Crowley had set up a Court of Arbitrators for the punishment of offenders against the laws. This court, which originally met monthly on a Wednesday, and included workers' representatives, also dealt with welfare business including school affairs. Law 97 verse six read "Every Court Day when the Unite is 8,² he (the clerk of the poor)

1. Law 8, op.cit.

2. A unit was a week. The works had a ten week accounting period.

shall upon demand bring two or three lines of the writing of such of the workmens' children as are under his care and lay the same before the Governors that his conduct may the better be judged of".

Fortunately the Court Book for the early nineteenth century has survived and this shows the court dealing with educational matters. It handled the dismissal and entrance of pupils. For example, in 1807 we read, "Stephen Hebburns Note requests to have his Grand-daughter Educated at the Free School, Gratis - Rejected".¹ The day-to-day running of the schools also came under its supervision. In 1810 for example it recorded "Hen Allison Schl.Master requests that the Slates for the use of the School may be plated. Granted".²

The exact dates for the foundation of the three Crowley schools are not known. The earliest was at Winlaton for in the Society Account for 1707 it was reported, "Winleton, Yorkshire (sic). The Workmen of an Iron-Work who are about 4 or 500, allow one Farthing and a half per shilling per week, which together with their Masters Contribution, maintain their Poor, and affords about 17 l.p.ann. for teaching their Children to Read & etc".³ The schools at Swalwell and Winlaton Mill were reported in the 1716 Account: "Swalwell. A School for 30 Children", and "Winlaton Mill. A School for 30 Children, both

1. Court Book 1806-1843, 7th October, 1807.

2. Ibid., 14th February, 1810.

3. 1707. Annual Account. This differs from Law 8, verse 7, which mentioned a farthing in the shilling.

these Schools are maintained at the Charge of the Workmen in the Iron Manufacture, who allow a Farthing for this and other Uses, out of every Shilling earned by their Labour, and only Workmens Children are admitted into these Schools".¹ This would confirm the suggestion made by the editor of the Surtees Society volume of the Law Book that there was an expansion of educational services during John Crowley's period of management between 1713 and 1728.²

The schools functioned during the whole of the century and seem to have attracted favourable comment from the frequent visitors to the works. One such in 1788 remarked "What eulogy can be equal to the benevolence and virtues thus displayed".³ Law 97 had ordered the schoolmaster "to carry it with an even hand to all his scholars, and not despise any for their poverty, but to encourage ingenuity and virtue in all of them and not discourage any by showing more than ordinary favour and care to such children whose parents may be able to be gratefull". However, times had changed by the late eighteenth century and a visitor in 1793 found "an error in the conduct of the proprietors", who, "suffer their pedagogue to make terms with the parents of children that belong not to the works; and thus at the time

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1. 1716 Annual Account. This mentions forty children being educated at Winlaton thus making one hundred in all in the three schools.
 2. Op.cit., footnote 1, p.154.
 3. Universal Magazine, August 1788, p.58.

we visited the factory, his attention was divided among more than a hundred pupils".¹

When the schools closed is not known. The Durham Diocese visitation of 1792 reported, "Two free Schools at Winlaton for ye Childn. of the Workmen at Crowleys Manufactory". No school however was reported at Swalwell in Whickham parish.² Thus only the schools at Winlaton and Winlaton Mill survived into the next century. These two appear to have been functioning as late as 1810 when £2.7.6 out of the Poors Fund was ordered to be paid to the Schoolmaster and Clerk, William Bett for "Having purchased Slates and Boards for the Use of the Schools".³ Winlaton school was the last to survive and appears to have been closed when the works there were abandoned in 1816.⁴

Bishop Crewe, when he died in 1721, left, with other properties, the castle and lands at Bamburgh in trust to be used for charitable purposes. Archdeacon Thomas Sharp believed that Crewe had left £6.13.4. a year for the maintenance of a schoolmaster at Bamburgh and, "£5 towards the erecting of a School-house but this sum being not yet advanced by the Parish there is yet no house built".⁵ Sharp was mistaken for neither sum was mentioned in the bishop's will.

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1. Quoted Flinn, Men of Iron, p.228.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 3. Court Book, 1806-1843, 25th October, 1810.
 4. Flinn, Men of Iron, p.232.
 5. Hunter MS, 6a.

Crewe had paid a gratuity of twenty nobles a year to Matthew Forster for teaching poor children of the village and the first educational order of the trustees was to continue this yearly payment and allow him the sum of £18 for having taught the village children since the bishop's death.¹ Forster was still teaching in the village school till 1761 when the trustees granted him a yearly pension of £3.6.8.² The school at Bamburgh castle was not founded till 1758 when the trustees ordered "that the old castle at Bambro' be turned into a Court Room which may upon occasion be used as a Schoolhouse".³ The Rev. John Sharp, a trustee, from 1762 Archdeacon of Northumberland and from 1772 till his death twenty years later, Vicar of Bamburgh, was determined to put the largely ruined castle to good use. As he wrote later to a friend, "the children wanted education, therefore schools were necessary; and where so proper as under the eye of the trustees?"⁴ There were separate schools for boys and girls; the former under a master paid the same salary as Forster had been, and a girls' school, established in 1760, under a mistress whose annual salary was £5. For a time husband and wife filled the positions. In

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1. Crewe Trustees, Minute Book, 1723-1823, 5th March, 1723.
 2. Ibid., 31st January, 1761.
 3. Ibid., 26th October, 1758.
 4. Northumberland County History, Vol.1, p.168. Sharp was largely responsible for the restoration of the castle and the other schemes at Bamburgh which included a public library, an infirmary and dispensary, the provision of cheap corn and help for ship-wrecked mariners.

1765 for example the Rev. Henry Elliot, the sub curate, and his wife were given seven guineas by the trustees "to fit up and furnish the House for themselves and successors in the two schools".¹ Elliot found the twin duties of curate and schoolmaster too onerous, resigned, and continued as curate only.² But the idea of having a clergyman as schoolmaster was attractive to the trustees and in 1770 the Rev. Sandwich was appointed.

The schools soon expanded. In 1768 the master was to be paid two shillings and sixpence per quarter "for each Child of every poor person within the parish of Bamburgh which he shall teach exceeding the Number of Twelve", and a similar sum was to be paid for any exceeding the number of ten that the mistress taught.³ Four years later John Dial was appointed second master under Sandwich to teach "Writing Arithmetic Mathematics and Navigation" at one shilling and threepence a quarter for each scholar taught.⁴ Sandwich's abilities as a schoolmaster were not impressive for the Rev. Elliot, when Sandwich died in 1778, wrote the trustees hoping they would choose a capable headmaster in his stead. He complained, "I teach my two youngest boys at home, and unless more attention is paid to the castle school than has been for some years, I do not know what to do with them". He thought more of Dial's abilities however, for he wrote,

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1. Crewe Trustees Minute Book, 1723-1823, 26th July 1765.
 2. Crewe Trustees Miscellaneous Papers.
 3. Crewe Trustees Minute Book, 1723-1823, 29th September 1768.
 4. Ibid., 20th August, 1772.

"As soon as they come under Mr. Dial's care there is no more room for complaint".¹

Sandwich's successors were men of more ability, especially the Rev. Michael Maughan appointed in 1783, and under them the school flourished - sixty boys and the same number of girls being educated there in the 1780's.²

In 1796 an interesting development took place in the village which was to augment the school usher's salary. Jeremiah Craven was to be allowed a yearly salary of £10 "for his and his wife's attendance conduct and management of the Shop intended to be kept At Bamburgh Castle for the Retail of Groceries and other Matters to the poor at prime cost - provided that he take care that his own personal attendance shall in no case be given to any concern of the said Shop during School Hours".³ The venture proved successful for Craven's salary for the work increased to £20 for the following year and Maughan, whose salary as headmaster at the school was £45 per annum, was to be paid a further £20 for his over-all management of the shop. His salary as librarian was at the same time increased to £15 a year.⁴ Maughan's various duties with the charities connected with the castle, especially on the financial side, meant less time spent in the school and in 1801

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1. Crewe Trustees Miscellaneous Papers.
 2. From 1784 annual accounts of the Bamburgh charities were printed each November in the local newspapers.
 3. Minute Book, 9th February, 1796.
 4. Ibid., 9th March, 1797. A Mr. Johnson, the schoolmaster, had been appointed in 1780 to the post of librarian of the public library, founded in 1778, at a salary of 4 guineas a year.

it was ordered "That he superintend the management and direct the proceedings of both schools" at the handsome salary of one hundred guineas. He was to remain nominal headmaster of the boys' school but a head assistant, a Mr. Brown, was appointed, making three masters in the school.¹ Brown and the usher Craven apparently did not get on with each other for in 1808 Brown was dismissed "having in a late Instance exposed to contempt and ridicule the authority of Jeremiah Craven the second Master and having also personally assaulted the said under Master so that as far as in him lay he destroyed the order and subordination of the said School".²

Fee-paying pupils had been apparently allowed as early as 1772 when the first usher of the school had been appointed, for Archdeacon Sharp had drawn up a set of "Directions to the Second Master" which permitted him the privilege provided he paid the headmaster three-pence each quarter for every such pupil.³ In 1810 the trustees forbade the practice for Craven, still usher of the boys' school and William Smith, master in the girls' school, were to desist from "bringing within the Castle premises any other persons for the purpose of Instruction in whatever way, besides those belonging to the Institutions established at the Castle".⁴ The trustees seem to have considered the usher's salary of £30 and the salary of the master of

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1. Ibid., 20th March, 1801.
 2. Minute Book, 7th April, 1808.
 3. Miscellaneous Papers.
 4. Minute Book, 10th February, 1810.

the girls' school of £28 a year, quite adequate without taking private pupils.

As already mentioned a school for girls had been founded in 1760. There the emphasis was on useful handwork but writing and arithmetic were soon being taught by the usher of the boys' school until 1780 when a special master was appointed for the purpose. On more than one occasion a Durham chorister was chosen for the task. In 1794 for example, the trustees ordered "that William Smith one of the Boys in the Choir of Durham Cathedral, be appointed, during pleasure, Master of the Girls School at Bamburgh Castle and teacher of Psalmody to the Schools there, at the annual Salaries of Fifteen pounds as master of the School and Five pounds for teaching Psalmody".¹ In the same year the headmistress was given a girl assistant to teach sewing. Jane Robinson and her daughter were appointed to the posts at a combined yearly salary of £40.²

This appointment of a complete new staff at the girls' school was accompanied by its re-organisation. A printed notice was circulated in the Bamburgh district announcing the opening of a school of industry in the castle under the new staff in which girls would do plain work at half the usual rates. Rules were also printed.³ School hours

1. Ibid., 23rd September, 1794.

2. Ibid., 18th October, 1794.

3. Rules for the Government of the Charity School for Sixty Poor Girls, at Bamburgh Castle, Established on the Appointment of a new Mistress, Assistant and Usher to the Said School, December 1st, 1794. (Alnwick 1794).

were long - in winter from eight to twelve and from one to four; and from seven to nine-thirty, from ten to twelve and from one-thirty to five in summer. The girls, aged from five to twelve, were to be taught knitting, plain work, "as much of Mantua-making as shall enable the scholars to mend their own cloaths", and spinning linen, wool and jersey. Pupils were divided into two sets or classes and spent half their time in the sewing school and the other half in the spinning school. They attended the usher for reading, writing and accounts "for such time as shall be sufficient for their instruction". The usher also taught some of the girls psalmody. Sunday church attendance was compulsory the scholars processing in pairs, crocodile fashion, "having hold of each others hands". No work was to be done gratis even that done for the pupils' own families was to be at half the current cost. The produce of all work done went into a common fund kept by the usher. At the end of the school year the head-mistress received a penny in the shilling out of this fund, the usher a small gratuity for keeping the books, and the remainder, after expenses, was distributed amongst the scholars in proportion to the number of 'tickets' these had obtained during the year. These tickets were awarded for such things as good work, attendance, punctuality and good behaviour. Tickets could be forfeited for unnecessary absence, bad work, unpunctuality and bad behaviour. The mistress was given these tickets on a Sunday morning and entered them in a special book towards the yearly total.

To encourage more girls to attend the school the trustees decided in October 1797 to admit boarders. It was stated they "will elect from the neighbourhood of Bamburgh and within twenty miles thereof, twelve poor Girls between the Ages of seven and nine, whom they will receive into Bamburgh Castle, and will cause to be provided, at their Expence, with all necessaries of Meat Drink Washing Lodging and Wearing Apparel; to be educated in the principles of the Church of England, and to be instructed in reading writing knitting sewing and spinning". They were to stay at the school till fourteen. Candidates were to be elected by the trustees and particular attention was to be paid to orphans and destitute children.¹ Numbers were soon increased to twenty and girls were coming from other parts of the diocese as well as the neighbourhood of Bamburgh, especially from Blanchland, the other main estate of the trust.

In 1804 a new set of rules was published for the girls' school and they included rules for the boarders.² They were to rise at six in the morning in summer and at seven in winter and their school hours were those of the day girls. They were to have an hour's play after school ended and did a form of prep before supper at eight. After set prayers they went to bed at 8.45 in the two dormitories, which in 1807

1. Crewe Trustees Minute Book, 31st July, 1797.

2. Rules for the Government of the School of Industry for Sixty Poor Girls, at Bamburgh Castle: with the Additional Rules for the Boarders and Forms of Prayer for their Use. (Durham, 1804).

were provided with iron bedsteads. Besides school work they learned household duties. In 1808 it was ordered that the housekeeper was "to see that boarders are taught the duties of housemaids, and employed in the kitchen in learning the plain and common parts of cooking etc in order the better to fit and qualify them for the Service of Small Families".¹ Instead of the ticket system of the day girls the boarders received cash rewards, for example, a half-penny for half a week's work in jersey spinning. They could be fined a farthing to one penny "for wilful deficiency, or bad performance, of task or for any other offence". Failure to pay these fines, or 'forfeits' as they were known, could lead to harsh punishments. It was ordered, "When the arrears of any boarders forfeits shall amount to sixpence, the penalty shall be changed to confinement in the stocks". The total forfeits were distributed among the boarders at the end of the year.²

A most interesting development at the school was the appointment of four senior boarders as 'assistants'. These were in some respects like the monitors of the Madras and Lancasterian systems, but they did much less teaching and, as boarders, had many other duties to perform. Each assistant was in charge of four juniors "to take care of their persons and their cloaths; to hear their lessons, when required, to keep a watchful eye over their conduct; and if they do not mend on the assistants' admonition, then to report their fault to the Head

1. Crewe Trustees Minute Book, 7th April, 1808.

2. Rules for the Government of the School of Industry etc.

Mistress". Their main teaching duties were in the reading school where, each morning, two of the assistants with their pupils attended on the usher who, among other things, was requested "to endeavour all he can to soften their country dialect". For half an hour one set was instructed by the usher while the other came under its assistant who "heard her pupils". The sets then changed over for the second half hour. The two other sets carried out the same procedure in the last hour of the school day. After the boarders' hour's play in the evening they were to gather in the kitchen "when each assistant shall sit in the middle of her four pupils, and hear them read or say their task in turn". An assistant received a salary - a shilling a week in her final year, sixpence of which was paid her on the Saturday night and the rest when she left. On going out of the school, if the trustees approved, she was to be fully clothed "in a manner becoming the service she shall go to".¹

The schools of the Crewe Trustees at Bambergh Castle continued well into the nineteenth century. By 1876 the castle school was run entirely as a boarding school for girls. The pupils of the boys' and girls' day schools were then transferred to the new village school. The boarders school continued till 1795 when the castle was sold.²

1. Rules for the Government of the School of Industry etc.

2. Grant, op.cit.

CHAPTER EIGHT.

SCHOOLING

When he died in 1712 the Rev. Vincent Edwards of Embleton left £20 each to the chapelries of Rennington and Rock the "interest of it to be paid to a master for teaching 3 poor Children to say their Catechism, read, write and account".¹ This bequest was typical of most made to charity schools in the eighteenth century though occasionally a benefactor omitted any provision for writing and arithmetic. For example, John Ord the founder of the charity school in the parish of St. Johns, Newcastle stipulated, "As soon as any child can well read English (of which the overseers or any two to be judges) and can say the church catechism by heart (which the master is to learn them) then to be removed and another to be placed in his or her room".² *has been* The subjects taught in the eighteenth century charity schools were given the grandiloquent title of the 'Literary Curriculum' but by no means could it be implied that the education given was a liberal one. As the preacher at an anniversary sermon in the middle of the century remarked, "The Learning bestowed on them is only to qualify them for the Christian's - the Protestant's Birth-Right to read the Holy Scriptures: and, if a little writing and arithmetic be added, these are no more than the Improvements of the Age have rendered necessary in the meanest Trades and most servile Places".³

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1. Embleton Vestry Minute Book, 1727-1822. Copy of will in the back.
 2. Common Council Books 1699-1718, 18th December, 1705.
 3. Rev. W. Nowell, The Religious Education of Children Inculcated, All Saints Newcastle, 31st October, 1756.

The Society on more than one occasion proposed schemes for the education of the brighter boys in the schools. In 1701 Sergeant Hook, one of its five founder members, put forward proposals for schools, one in every three counties, to educate one hundred and twenty of the most promising boys in the area. They were to be taught "not only Writing and Accots but Navigation ffortification Gunnery The Languages & other Sciences by the best Masters of each".¹ Nothing came of this scheme however. The best a lad of bright parts could hope for was to be transferred to the local grammar school. Such a boy was Robert Chicken who attended the charity school of St. Johns Newcastle and then moved on to the town's grammar school. Helped by the Corporation Chicken proceeded to Cambridge, was ordained deacon in 1726, and from 1730 to his death in 1743 was curate at Bishopwearmouth.² He must have had the rare distinction for a charity school boy of preaching the anniversary sermon for his old school at St. Johns in 1727.³

The basis of the narrow curriculum of the charity schools was religion which would make the pupils "sound Members and Genuine Sons of the Church of England by being rightly Principled in its excellent Catechism, and by constantly frequenting, and devoutly attending the Publick Worship of God, which they see Solemnly and Devoutly perform'd

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1. S.P.C.K. MSS. Wanley, p.174.
 2. A.R. Laws, Schola Novacastrensis Vol.11, p.27.
 3. E. Mackenzie, Newcastle upon Tyne, p.352.

in our Churches".¹ Most schools began the day with prayers, as at South Shields where the master was to say "the collect for the day, the collect for peace, the collect for grace and the collect in the post communion" concluding with the Lord's Prayer and grace. He was to finish the day in a similar fashion.² At the Unitarian charity school in Hanover Square, Newcastle it was ordered "That the business of the school be begun, every morning, by one of the boys reading a short lesson from the scriptures, after which the Master will read a collect or short prayer".³ Rather exceptionally, at St. Johns charity school, Newcastle it was laid down that the master was "to say a short prayer, concluding with the Lord's Prayer every morning and evening and every scholar every day of the week (if capable of it) to learn a verse of the 119th Psalm in the reading Psalms without book but not to be made (to) repeat above 6 or 8 verses at a time".⁴

Catechising pupils formed an important part of the school day. The most popular edition of the catechism used was that of Lewis.⁵ Certainly most of the Newcastle schools used⁶ this and the Society received requests for copies from other schools in the Durham diocese.

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1. Rev. N. Ellison, The Obligations and Opportunities of doing Good to the Poor, All Saints Newcastle, All Saints Day, 1709.
 2. Rules, Orders, Articles Etc For governing the Charity School at South Shields, 1783.
 3. Charity School: Hanover Square Chapel, Newcastle, 1796.
 4. Common Council Books 1699-1718, 18th December 1705.
 5. J. Lewis, The Church Catechism explain'd by way of question and answer and confirm'd by Scripture proofs, 1st Edition 1700.
 6. Bishop Chandler's Notes of a Visitation in 1736.

of 1749 - 1750 Thomas Ford's Bible
July

A
T A B L E
O F
Q U E S T I O N S
For Examining
C H I L D R E N
A N D
Y o u n g P e r s o n s
I N T H E
C A T E C H I S M .

[Being an Enlargement of Dr. Ford's
Table of Questions, Printed at the End of
his CATECHISM in 1686.]

In which are Contained
Several QUESTIONS for examining such
Youths as learn Mr. Lewis's Exposition.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

NEWCASTLE,
Printed by John White; and sold by the Booksellers
in Newcastle, Morpeth, and Alnwick. 1734.

Title page from A Table of Questions for Examining Children and Young Persons in the Catechism printed Newcastle 1734.

A Table of Questions based on Lewis was published in Newcastle in 1734 and this tried to get away from mere learning by heart. Its author questioned "whether Children, who say the Catechism readily by Rote, do really understand and consider what they say".¹ The work contained three hundred questions, differently expressed from the usual catechism. Answers were not given but the questions were accompanied by questions from Lewis's explanation. For example,

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|------------------------------------|---|
| | What do you mean by the Kingdom of Heaven? |
| Questions from Lewis's Explanation | Is this Inheritance of Right, or by Promise and upon Condition? |
| | How are we to make sure the Possession of this Inheritance? |

The work contained a table of explanations at the end which defined the Kingdom of Heaven as "An Everlasting Glory and Happiness, in Heaven".² Public examination of the catechism was quite common.

Some idea of the essentially religious basis of the charity school curriculum can be gained from a letter of the Rev. Robert Thomlinson of Whickham to the Society in London. He wrote, "You will oblige me by handing to the Honble. Society my request for the Charity School of this parish namely as many Nonpareil Bibles with the Common prayer & psalms and the like number of Whole dutys of man of the smallest size as will cost five pounds. I would desire also twelve of Mr. Nelsons practice of true devotion and twenty five of Beveridge's Sermon on the

1. A Table of Questions for Examining Children or Young Persons in the Catechism Printed by J. White, Newcastle, 1734.

2. Ibid.

Common prayer, and twelve of Ashtons Death bed Repentance and two Wake on the Church Catechism".¹

Church-going was an essential part of a charity scholar's education and many schools in the area had their own special galleries. Visitation returns show that even in the smallest of village schools attendance at divine service, at least once each Sunday, was not uncommon. At Longhorsley for example it was reported late in the century that "8 poor Children are now educated & regularly brot. to Church".² More frequent attendance at church was ordered at the charity school of St. Johns, Newcastle: "all church or state holidays to be observed by the master carrying the children to church either to St John's or when no sermon there to St Nicholas or some other of the churches where there is one".³ The old grammar school practice of testing the pupils on the text on the Monday morning following was often adopted. This was so in the charity school at South Shields but the rules were not very optimistic about pupils remembering much of the content of the sermon and simply enjoined them "to remember at least the Text which will be the way to make them attentive betimes".⁴ Special hymns were sometimes composed to be sung by the pupils, usually on special occasions. Prideaux Errington, the master of St. Johns charity school in Newcastle, published a collection of these in

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1. Thomlinson's Letter Books & Accounts, 1720-48, letter dated 28th April, 1741.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 3. Common Council Books 1699-1718, 18th December, 1705.
 4. Rules, Orders, Articles Etc., For governing the Charity School at South Shields, 1783.

1723 especially for the annual service when the children were clothed. One verse from this collection illustrates the duties of humility and submission to superiors which were taught in the schools.

To be content in low Estate,
Not envy others Store,
But labour truly to get Bread, 1
Be glad that they have more.

Reading was taught to both boys and girls and usually began with the letters of the alphabet. Pupils then moved on to a spelling book. At South Shields it was laid down in the rules that a boy could only be admitted if he had a spelling book provided either by his parents or the person recommending him.² The first reading books used were usually the catechism and the Book of Common Prayer. These were followed by the New and Old Testaments and other devotional works, especially the Whole Duty of Man.³ The main purpose of such instruction was to teach them to read the scriptures. One of the rules of the South Shields charity school was that the master was "to take especial care to make the children sensible of the end of learning which is that they may be better able to read the holy scriptures and therein to learn their duty, to love, to fear, and to

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1. P. Errington, Copies in Verse for the Use of Writing Schools and Hymns for Charity Schools, 1723. This was the first school textbook published in Newcastle.
 2. Rules etc., South Shields op.cit.
 3. The Whole Duty of Man, laid down in a Plain and Familiar Way for the Use of All, but especially the Meanest Reader; divided into XVII Chapters, One thereof being read every Lord's Day, the whole may be Read over Thrice in the Year. Necessary for all families. 1657. The authorship is a matter of dispute. The original emphasised morality rather than Christian doctrine and in 1747 a revised edition was published based on the Church of England Catechism.

serve God acceptably all their days that they may be happy when they die".¹ The preacher at the opening of All Saints charity school, Newcastle went further and hoped that by such teaching the pupils would be "Put into a Capacity of Reading good Books to their Parents whereby they may Instruct them in their Duty, and possibly Reform them in their Lives".² The Rev. Robert Thomlinson of Whickham expressed a similar hope in a letter to the Society enthusing over a new book by the Rev. D. Fisher, who kept a school in the parish. Thomlinsen wrote, "Whilst the Child learns to read he learns his Duty & by having Tasks out of this Book, every night he edifies his poor Parents by the frequent Repititions of them".³

Fisher's book was entitled "The Childs Christian Education or Spelling and Reading Made Easy being the most proper Introduction to the profitable Reading the Holy Bible". The master of Whickham charity school had used it and it had "met with universal approbation in these parts", suggesting its use in other charity schools in the area. Thomlinson claimed for it that a boy of six of ordinary parts "may learn to read as well in one year as they did in 3 or 4 by the tedious method of Primer, Psalter Testament & Spelling Book".⁴ No copy of this book appears to have survived though an advertisement for the fourth edition appeared in the local newspapers in 1752 and this

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1. Rules etc., South Shields, op.cit.
 2. N. Ellison, op.cit.
 3. ALB 25 (unnumbered) 21st August, 1744.
 4. Ibid.

gives some idea of the method used.¹ The work was in five parts. The first was an alphabet illustrated with cuts and this was followed by easy lessons of monosyllables "leading Children gradually on from Spelling to Reading in a very Short Time". This was followed by tables of words of from two to five syllables showing their proper divisions and accents. Part three consisted of "A plain and impartial Account of the Whole Faith and Duty of a Christian collected out of the writings of the Old Testament and New Testament". The next section contained rules for spelling and the use of stops. It also contained three hymns by Bishop Ken, questions with answers out of scripture and special prayers for children. The final part consisted of an exposition of the church catechism "collected from our best divines". Other reading books were printed locally such as Thomas Hastie's "The Only Method to Make Reading Easy" published in 1803. This was distinguished for its "emblematic cuts for the alphabet" by Thomas Bewick.

Instruction in writing was largely confined to boys and only then when reading had been mastered. Few girls seem to have been taught to write. Sir George Wheler's instructions in his will for his girls school at Houghton provided for an annual payment of £2.10 to the usher

1. Newcastle Journal, 30th December, 1752. The date of the first edition is not known. Thomlinson in his letter to the Society in 1744 was referring to the second edition. The S.P.C.K. printed 500 copies in 1748 and it was still being advertised in the local newspapers as late as 1785. Fisher by then was master of Cockermonth Grammar School. His daughter Anne, also the author of English books, was married to the Newcastle printer, Thomas Slack.



II.

ALLOT your self some Time, in ev'ry Day,
To read God's Word, to Meditate and Pray.

Be of a lowly Carriage unto all,
This will exalt, when Pride shall have a Fall.

Contrive you may, and your Designs pursue,
But know, Success belongs not unto you.

Dare to be good, shall any Scuffs and Scorns
Affright? since JESUS wore a Crown of Thorns.

Each envious Thought immediately destroy,
Your Neighbour's Good sho'd but encrease your Joy.

Flic those Good-Fellows that excite to Sin,
From Drunken Clubs 'tis better out, than in.

Give good Advice, when you have nothing more,
This you may give, tho' this be all your Store.

Hear not the Man that others do defame,
For that's the way to lose your own good Name.

Impatience so augments a little Pain,
That it becomes a Load we can't sustain.

Kindle no Strife, Contention once begun,
From House to House, through all the Town may run.

Love, all our Joys does perfect and complete,
Nothing's so strong, nor Nothing is so sweet.

of the grammar school to teach the girls writing and arithmetic every Thursday afternoon.¹ This instruction appears to have been carried out but the teaching of girls to write was rare and even in a well-organised school like the Blue Coat School at Durham its introduction was far from being successful. There in 1804 it was ordered that "Mr Lampson should teach such of the Girls to write as are in their last (year) upon this establishment, and that they attend him at the Boys School at 11 o'Clock in the Mornings and at five in the Evenings for that purpose and that he be allowed an increase of £5 to his annual Salary for this Duty".² Later in the same year however it was reported that few girls wanted to learn to write and "very few attended for that purpose".³

Writing was learned by copying from the catechism or Prayer Book and then by transcribing sentences from the same works. Prideaux Errington's copying book, already mentioned, was in use in the Newcastle schools. Its interesting feature was the arrangement of moral precepts in the form of alphabets.

Allot your self some Time, in ev'ry Day,
To read God's Word, to Meditate and Pray.
Be of a lowly Carriage unto all,
This will exalt, when Pride shall have a Fall.
Contrive you may, and your Designs pursue,
But know, Success belongs not unto you.⁴

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1. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, p.439.
 2. Account Books of Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808, 23rd May, 1804.
 3. Ibid., 31st August, 1804.
 4. P. Errington, Copies in Verse, 1723. This contained twelve such alphabets. The same author's New Copies in Verse of 1734 contained 53 alphabets.

Arithmetic was the crown of charity school instruction and, as at South Shields, was mainly limited to the "first rules of arithmetic". Occasionally however a bright boy might be encouraged to pursue the subject further. At the Durham Blue Coat school for instance the accounts for 1736 show an entry "An Arithmetick book for Jon Mowry 1.6.". ¹

Other subjects were to be found in the curriculum of the charity schools. Navigation to fit boys for the sea has already been noted as being taught in a town school like that at Gateshead² but even a coastal village might attempt to give boys some vocational training in its basic occupation. In 1804 the small fishing hamlet of Craster advertised for a master to teach the three R's and, if possible, navigation.³ Many parishes relied on the charity school children to help in the singing at church services and singing and psalmody were taught in a number of schools. These subjects were taught at South Shields where the singing master at the end of the century was William Wouldhave, the inventor of the lifeboat.⁴ At All Saints charity school at Newcastle both subjects were taught, for which the master received an additional two pounds to his annual salary.⁵ The children of the school sometimes performed special anthems at the

1. Accounts Book, op.cit.

2. Supra, p.101

3. Newcastle Chronicle, 24th November, 1804.

4. Minutes and Account Book, South Shields Charity School. Wouldhave (or Woodhave) and/or Henry Greathead invented the first lifeboat in 1802.

5. Cash Book. All Saints Charity School, Newcastle, 1747-86.

church. In 1784 for example they sang under the direction of the organist, the celebrated Charles Avison, who received a collection "in consideration of his teaching them".¹ All Saints school was exceptional in that occasionally a boy was taught to play the organ. On the appointment of a new organist in 1714 the Common Council ordered that he was to have the usual salary "but that he choose out one of the boys in the Charity School in that parish and fully teach and instruct him to play upon the organ".² Nearly three years later the organist was given a gratuity of £2.3s. "for his trouble in teaching one of the charity boys to play on the organ".³

In some schools the best pupils might receive prizes. For example in 1793 at the Durham Blue Coat school Sir Henry Vane left fifty guineas to the school: "The interest arising therefrom, at the particular request of the Donor, to be at the Disposal of the Governors of the said Charity and to be by them given Annually to five Girls and Five Boys in the said Schools that they shall judge to be best deserving of such Rewards".⁴

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1. Newcastle Chronicle, 1st February, 1784. Charles Avison (1710?-1770) was organist at St Nicholas from 1736 to his death. He published music and in 1784 his Collection of Hymns for All Saints Church Children was published. (Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.11, p.275)
 2. Common Council Books, 1699-1718, 17th January, 1714.
 3. Ibid., 19th December, 1716.
 4. Accounts Book, op.cit.

Limited though the 'literary curriculum' was yet attacks on it began to appear in the earliest years of the charity school movement and these reached a climax in the 1720's. The most astringent critic of the schools was Bernard Mandeville who could write, "Charity Schools, and everything else that promotes Idleness and keeps the Poor from Working, are more Accessory to the Growth of Villainy, than the want of Reading and Writing, or even the grossest Ignorance and Stupidity".¹ Mandeville was expressing a prevailing mercantilist notion which sought an adequate supply of cheap labour. The lower orders must not be educated above their station and indeed many considered that they should not be educated at all. This attitude persisted well into the nineteenth century and was most forcefully expressed by a North Shields shipowner who, being asked to contribute to the foundation of the Jubilee Schools at North Shields in the early part of the century, retorted, "Eddicashin. eddicashin? Noa. W'ell syun hev nee sarvents".² Other critics attacked the schools for giving the poor an education which would enable them to compete in the labour market with the children of their betters - such as tradesmen "who have paid public taxes... and may have given bread and clothes to the poor".³ Both attitudes were summed up by the preacher at All Saints, Newcastle in a charity school sermon in 1756

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1. B. Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1, p.271 (1924 edition, edited F.B. Kaye).
 2. G. Haswell, *The Maister*, 1895, p.72.
 3. I. Watts, *An Essay Towards the Encouragement of Charity Schools*, 1728, p.37.

when he remarked, "For it is not the Design or Tendency of this Institution to withdraw the Children of the Poor from the hard and laborious Offices which seem allotted them by Providence; or to advance them to a Superior Rank in Life". He went on to demand some form of labour be added to the curriculum.¹

The S.P.C.K. had to take note of such criticism for much of it came from subscribers to the schools. Unfortunately this led the Society to adopt a narrower attitude towards the schools and to call for a more restricted curriculum, now aimed primarily at maintaining the stratification of a class society. Repeatedly in its circular letters the Society tried to encourage the schools to "get some kind of Labour added to the Instruction ...as Husbandry in any of its Branches, Spinning, Sewing, Knitting and other useful Employments".² It was argued "This will bring them to a Habit of Industry, as well as prepare them for the Business by which they are afterwards to subsist in the World and effectually obviate an Objection against the Charity Schools, that they tend to take poor Children off from those servile Offices which are necessary in all Countries, and from which the wise Governour of the World has by his Providence designed them".³

After the General Act for the Relief of the Poor of 1723⁴ work-houses began to appear often with working schools attached. The

1. Rev. W. Nowell, op.cit.

2. Circular Letter 1719. Printed in An Account of the Origin & Designs of the S.P.C.K. in the 1735 Annual Account.

3. Ibid.

4. 9 Geo. 1 c. 7.

Society supported the idea of these schools and in 1725 'An Account of Several Workhouses ... as also of Several Charity Schools' was published which recommended the examples given as models for other schools. About sixty such schools were reported in the Account outside London but no such school was reported from Northumberland or Durham. There are no letters from local correspondents asking for advice on such schools nor are there any local replies to a Society query of 1735 asking how far it was possible to add work to learning without neglect of the latter. Perhaps the attitude of the subscribers to the Northumberland and Durham schools was not unlike that of the Leeds correspondent who replied that the local subscribers were "against any constant work for the children", as it "Crippled the Chilns tender limbs and made ym unfit for Service".¹

Most schools found little difficulty in inuring girls to labour. At All Saints charity school in Newcastle seventeen girls were taught "to read, knit, sew and make and mend their own Cloaths"² and this was a typical curriculum for most girls' charity schools. Spinning was rare though at South Shields in 1803 two spinning wheels were ordered to be bought and the girls instructed in spinning.³ The produce of their work was sometimes distributed among the scholars or occasionally

1. ALB 19.13689, 6th July 1736.

2. H. Bourne, The History of Newcastle upon Tyne, p.102.

3. Minutes and Account Book, South Shields Charity School.

sold. At South Shields in 1792 it was ordered "that (as many of the Girls cannot derive any Benefit from the School by reason of their parents not being able to provide them with Work) a proper Quantity of Worsted Cloth be bought, that they may be taught knitting & sewing, and that the Stockings & Shirts they shall make, shall be distributed amongst the Children in Winter, if the Fund can afford it; & if not, that they be sold, for the Benefit of the Charity".¹ It was more difficult to add labour to the boys' curriculum because their timetable was fuller and most masters were not competent to give vocational instruction. The boys at All Saints charity school in Newcastle for a brief period learned spinning. One Elizabeth Cross in 1752 was paid six shillings for "Carding and directing the Boys in Spinning".² Evidently the trustees hoped to make this a permanent part of the curriculum for shortly afterwards two spinning wheels were purchased and skins were provided for the boys' aprons.³ But the experiment was short-lived and we hear no more of the mistress.

A number of charity schools in the area were clothed. These were mainly town schools though country schools like those at Whickham and Houghton were left bequests to clothe the children. Charity school uniforms were meant to instil in the children the lessons of humility and submission. As a charity sermon preacher remarked in 1756, "They are clothed, but it is in plain and cheap Apparel; it is in the Livery

1. Ibid.

2. Cash Book, All Saints Charity School, Newcastle, 1747-86.

3. Ibid.

of Charity, which must suppress any rising Conceit and aspiring Notion".¹ The distinctive uniforms were meant to serve another purpose. As the Society suggested, "The Children shall wear their Caps, Bands, Cloaths and other Marks of Distinction every Day, whereby the Trustees and Benefactors may know them, and see what their Behaviour is abroad".² The Newcastle schools wore distinctive uniforms - dark grey for the boys and dark brown for the girls of St. Nicholas charity schools; blue for the boys and girls of All Saints and for the boys of St. Johns; green for the children of St. Andrews schools. Occasionally charity school children might be issued with special clothes. In 1728 for instance at Sir William Blackett's funeral it was noted, "First came the Charity scholars, who were supported by his liberality in the school of St Andrew's parish, singing and new cloathed in grey with black caps".³ In 1789, on the occasion of the recovery of George III, the children of Stockton charity school attended a thanksgiving service in the parish church wearing cockades bearing the motto "Long Live the King". These were provided by a local gentleman, a Mr. George Brown, who afterwards gave a dinner at his house for the master and scholars.⁴

Occasionally complete uniforms were purchased from the Society in London but usually they were bought locally and in many cases the

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1. Rev. W. Nowell, The Religious Education of Children Inculcated, All Saints Newcastle, 31st October, 1756.
 2. 1704 Annual Account.
 3. Memoirs of the Life of Mr Ambrose Barnes, Surtees Society, Vol. L p.478.
 4. Newcastle Chronicle, 18th April, 1789.

smaller items were made up in the schools themselves. For example the Blue Coat school at Durham was clothed from its foundation. Boys wore a coat of blue kersey, waistcoat, breeches, cap, band, shirt, and shoes and stockings. Girls wore a mantua gown, petticoat, shift, band, and shoes and stockings. Cloth was purchased and made up locally. The mistress of the girls' school made the shirts and bands for which she was paid an addition to her salary. Clothing was an expensive item in this school's annual expenditure. In 1720 for example out of a total annual expenditure of just over £87 nearly £41 was spent on clothing the fifty pupils. Items included 224 yards of blue kersey at 1/6 a yard; two pairs of shoes for each pupil at 2/- per pair for a boy and 1/8 per pair for a girl; and caps for the boys at 11d each. The average cost per pupil was just over 18/6. This surprisingly enough was little less than Wheler paid the Society about the same time for complete suits of clothes for his girls at Houghton - 17/4 each, including carriage. But this included only one pair of shoes and therefore the total cost would come to just over 19/-. At Durham the cost of clothing increased throughout the century and by 1800 it was costing nearly £80 to clothe sixty pupils - 26/8 per pupil.¹

Free clothing was of course a major attraction of the schools. The preacher at the annual service of the London schools in 1735 remarked that the schools had been erected to instruct the poor in

1. This paragraph is based mainly on the Account Books Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808. Wheler's purchase of clothes from London has been referred to supra. pp.58-9.

the grounds of the religion of the established Church and went on to say, "But, because this kind of spiritual Good does not use to tempt the Parents of such Children so much as some present Temporal Good, it has been all along found necessary to cloathe them....to encourage them being sent constantly to School".¹ At the Durham Blue Coat school expulsion, and most cases of this were for bad attendance, meant the loss of clothes. In 1804 three boys, who were irregular attenders, were ordered to be allowed to remain in the school "but that the Cloathing for the present year should not be given them unless it should appear that by their future better Conduct the Governors should be induced to change their determination with respect to the Cloathing".² Later in the year it was recorded that they had "attended School regularly and behaved well and the Boys with their Parents having promised that they would continue to do so their Cloathing was ordered to be given them".³

Hours of attendance in the charity schools were long and usually followed the times suggested by the Society. These were 7 to 11 and 1 to 5 in the Summer and in Winter 8 to 11 and 1 to 4. The three holidays in the year were at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun.⁴ Ages of

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1. Z. Pearce, Annual Sermon of the London Schools, St Sepulchres, 17th April, 1735.
 2. Op.Cit., 23rd May, 1804.
 3. Ibid., 31st August, 1804.
 4. 1704 Annual Account. St Johns, Newcastle and South Shields charity schools followed these times exactly.

entry varied, as did the length of the course. At South Shields pupils were to be at least seven on entry and were to leave when twelve.¹ At Durham eight was the minimum age of entry.² In the charity school at Whickham the starting age was six and children were not to continue longer in the school than four years. They were not to learn to write or cast accounts for longer than six or eight months of that time at the most.³ The longest course appears to have been that at Donnison's Girls' Free School at Sunderland which lasted from seven to sixteen.⁴

The problems of attendance in the country schools has already been discussed.⁵ Attendance in the urban schools was much better. At Berwick charity school for example between the years 1757 and 1810 299 pupils entered the school. Out of this number there were twenty four expulsions but only eleven of these were for bad or non-attendance, and six for bad behaviour. One child in 1766 was "Discharged by Order of the Trustees for not keeping himself Clean", and in 1774 one unfortunate boy was "Expeled the schooll for his father's bad behaviour". Seven children 'deserted school', usually running away to sea, and one Robert Tate in 1774 "ran away from school & carried off his new suit with him".⁶ At All Saints charity school in Newcastle pupils who

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1. Rules, Orders Articles & Etc For governing the Charity School at South Shields, 1772.
 2. Op.cit., 24th November, 1777.
 3. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, p.422.
 4. Ibid., pp.445-6.
 5. Supra. pp.122-3
 6. An Account of what Children are taken into the Charity School of Berwick-upon-Tweed, 1757-1860.

completed the course were given books and an apprentice allowance. In 1805 it was recorded that 770 scholars had been given allowances and books since the foundation of the school in 1709 - that is an average of eight a year.¹ This represents between 60 and 70% of the average intake of the school. Between 1787 and 1807 the average number per year completing the course and receiving books and allowances was over ten suggesting, that by the latter part of our period, there was in the towns a greater demand for education which would ensure entry into the better paid jobs.²

Schools varied greatly in size. Early in the eighteenth century of the twenty schools in the diocese reported to the S.P.C.K. whose numbers were given, the average size was just over thirty six. The largest was at Rothbury containing 120 pupils and the smallest Wheler's school at Houghton with 20 girls.³ From visitation returns near the end of the century of the 48 schools whose numbers were reported the average size was 22 pupils. The smallest recorded was that at Hurworth with four pupils and the schools of the Crewe Trustees at Bamburgh were the largest with a total of 120 pupils.⁴ Our information on numbers throughout the period in the country schools is very scant but town schools, of which we have records, do not appear to have increased appreciably in size. In 1710 All Saints

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1. Cash Book for All Saints Charity School, Newcastle upon Tyne 1787-1807.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Based on the 1707-1718 Annual Accounts.
 4. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

schools in Newcastle had 67 pupils and 89 in 1792. Durham Blue Coat school in 1720 had 50 pupils and 60 in 1800. The numbers in St. Andrews charity school Newcastle remained at 30 boys throughout the century. Town schools appear to have found little difficulty in filling their places and sometimes limitation on entries had to be imposed. At Durham for example in 1776 it was ordered that "not more than Two of the same family be admitted to be in the School at one time, and that only in the Case when There are Seven or More Children in the same family".¹

Costs per pupil also varied greatly. It was rare for a country school to provide children with clothing or with apprentices' fees. The main expense was the master's salary and this being so low might mean a pupil could be educated for as little as ten shillings per year. This was so at Slaley where in 1763 the master was paid £3.10 a year for teaching seven children.² Thirty years later the same cost per pupil was to be found at Causey Park school where the master received £15 a year for teaching thirty pupils.³ Yet at the same time more than double the cost per pupil was being spent at Middleton-in-Teesdale where the master received £10 per annum for teaching eight poor children to read and write.⁴ The account books

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1. Account Books of Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808, 8th October, 1776.
 2. Hunter MS 6a.
 3. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 4. Ibid.

of some of the town schools show that costs per pupil rose during the century. At Durham the average cost per pupil during the period 1713-1804 was £1.19.4.; in the first ten years of the school's existence (1718-27) it was £1.12.0 and this had risen to £2.5.0. in the last decade (1795-1804). These sums of course included clothing costs, the major item of expenditure and the main reason for increased running costs. If we exclude these the cost per pupil per year in 1720 for example was 18.6. and by 1800 it was 18.5.

Teachers' salaries had gone up but by the latter date sixty children were being taught instead of fifty in 1720. The school at South Shields did not clothe and in 1770 the cost per pupil per year was 24.3. By 1800 it had only risen to 25.6.¹ One of the most expensive schools to run was All Saints in Newcastle. It did not spend as much per pupil as the Durham school did on clothing but it paid its staff better salaries. In 1752 the cost per pupil per year was 25.6. but by 1802 this had risen to £2.9.6.² The cheapest urban school to run appears to have been St. Andrews charity school for boys in Newcastle. Throughout the eighteenth century the master received £20 a year for teaching thirty poor boys - a cost of 13.4. a year each - and out of this he usually had to provide a school room.³

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1. Account Book of Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808.
 2. Cash Books All Saints Charity School, Newcastle, 1747-86 & 1787-1807.
 3. Clothing of boys in this school was commenced by the founder's son in 1719 and payment for this was continued by the Blakett family and their heirs. In 1758 e.g. the cost of clothing a pupil was 19/-. (St Andrews Churchwardens Accounts).

What instruction the children received in the schools was intended, amongst other things, as a preliminary to apprenticeship or service. The preacher at the opening of All Saints school in Newcastle in 1709 observed that the education bestowed on the pupils was for "making them capable of some Trade", and keeping them "from being Burthensome to the Parish".¹ John Ord in his instructions for his charity school at St. Johns Newcastle ordered that when pupils finished their courses they were "to have given them the Whole Duty of Man plain bound and a bible and common prayer book all bound together", and £2 yearly was to be used "to bind out one or two of the boys to sea or to ship-builders or to put one or two of the girls to an apprenticeship or to some honest service".² Most of the town schools followed a similar practice. All Saints Newcastle, as already noted, could pay the £2 apprentice fee to 770 pupils between the years 1709 and 1805. Scholars of the boys' charity school of St. Andrews Newcastle had preference of £25 a year left by the founder for binding out apprentices. In 1758 for example five charity school boys were bound out and with a fee of five pounds, could enter the better trades.³ Schools which were not so well endowed, and this would include by far the majority of the rural schools, found difficulty in apprenticing boys though girls could be quite easily placed in domestic service.

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1. Rev. N. Ellison, The Obligations and Opportunities of doing Good to the Poor, All Saints Newcastle, All Saints Day, 1709.
 2. Common Council Books 1699-1718, 18th December, 1705.
 3. Churchwardens Accounts, St Andrews, Newcastle.

There was a shortage of domestics in the eighteenth century and a premium was not usually asked for such service.

Fortunately one record of what jobs charity school children took up after they left school has survived. The record of Berwick charity school is incomplete in so far as most of the 299 pupils who were in the school between 1757 and 1810 were simply noted as having left at such and such a date. But 106 pupils' first jobs are recorded and we can gain some idea of the type of employment town charity school children went to. Sixty, all boys, were bound apprentices as coopers, tailors, shoemakers, gardeners, bakers, butchers, cartwrights, slaters, printers, saddlers, ropers, ships' carpenters and book-binders. Twenty two, mainly girls, went to service or to place usually with local farmers. One boy however went as a gentleman's servant and in 1790 Robert Nesbit, after five years in the school, went as a livery boy to the town clerk. Though Berwick was a garrison town only three boys joined the army as fifers or drummers. Twenty one however went to sea, including some as fishermen "in the smacks". Most were employed locally, though in 1806 one boy, after five years in the school, "went to London to be a shopkeeper". He soon returned and went to sea.¹

The charity schools of Northumberland and Durham had more than their fair share of famous pupils. Thomas Bewick, the engraver,

1. This paragraph is based upon An Account of what Children are taken into the Charity School of Berwick-upon-Tweed, 1757-1860.

attended the village school at Mickley sometime about 1760 and, as he later remarked "this was done not so much to my learning, as to keep me out of harm's way".¹ He soon moved to a private school at Ovingham to complete his education and left at fourteen to be apprenticed to an engraver. Lancelot Brown, better known as Capability Brown, received his education in the village school at Cambo under William Hedley, a notable mathematician, and was then apprenticed to a gardener.² St Andrews charity school Newcastle educated three pupils who were later to become famous. Richard Grainger, the builder and speculator, left the school when he was fourteen in 1811 to be apprenticed to a master-carpenter.³ The brothers Richardson both received their education in the school of which their father George Richardson was master. Thomas Miles Richardson, the landscape artist, was apprenticed from the school to an engraver and when his father died in 1806 he became master of the school for the next seven years.⁴ His younger brother, Moses Aaron, became well-known for his published works on the antiquities of the northern counties.⁵ St. John charity school in the same town educated the brothers Chicken. Robert Chicken has already been referred to.⁶ His younger brother Edward became a schoolmaster and was author of the poem 'The Collier's Wedding'.⁷

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1. A Memoir of Thomas Bewick written by himself, (1961 Cresset Press edition) pp. 3 & 4.
 2. J. Hodgson, A History of Northumberland, Volume 1, Part 2, p.280.
 3. L. Wilkes & G. Dodds, Tyneside Classical, pp.23-24.
 4. Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XLVIII, p.250.
 5. Ibid., p.239.
 6. Supra p.167
 7. E. Mackenzie, Newcastle upon Tyne, pp.351-2.

CHAPTER NINE.

THE TEACHERS.

The S.P.C.K. in its advice to those proposing to establish charity schools devoted much attention to the qualifications desirable in the teachers in such schools. A master was to be a member of the established church, of sober life and conversation, with "a good Government of himself and his Passions" and "of a meek Temper and humble behaviour". He was to have "a good Genius for Teaching". He should be able to understand the grounds and principles of the Christian religion, to write a good hand and understand the grounds of arithmetic. Such a man was to be approved "by the minister of the Parish before he be presented to be Licensed by the Ordinary".¹ One might have added, as in the statutes of St. Paul's school, "if such may be gotten", for the reality fell far short of the ideal.

In 1715 Sir George Wheler wrote to the Society seeking advice on founding his school for girls at Houghton-le-Spring. The Society's reply is worth quoting in detail for it illustrates a more practical approach to the problem of finding a suitable teacher than that outlined in the 1704 Account which has just been discussed. Henry Newman, the secretary, advised Wheler that "among all the qualifications requir'd in the Choice of these persons much knowledge does not seem to be so Necessary as to be good Christians of a Meek and humble Behaviour. These latter qualitys have made some of our Masters and Mistresses, who were very unpromising in other respects,

1. 1704 Annual Account.

outshine in the Discipline of their Schools those who valued themselves much upon their parts and skill in writing and arithmetick, not but that it is desireable to have all good Qualitys to meet in the Persons devoted to this Service. But that being a thing rarely to be found the Discretion and Prudence of a person with a tolerable Degree of Knowledge, seem to be preferable to the skill of reading and writing well without much Discrecon".¹

From as early as 1703 the Society had discussed proposals for founding a training institution for teachers but nothing came of this or of later proposals. The Society could only suggest to its correspondents that a new master should "consult with 4 or 5 of the present Schoolmasters of these Schools, for the more ready Performance of his Duty". It went on to say that he would learn from them "the divers Methods of Teaching and governing their Scholars, used according to the different Capacities, Tempers, and Inclinations of the Children". The Society suggested that the new master "have Liberty on certain Days to see and hear the present Masters teach their Scholars and upon Occasion to be assisting to them in Teaching; that such new Master may thereby become yet more expert and better qualified for the Discharge of his Office".² In its early years the Society did send out into the country masters and mistresses "well informed in London School Methods" but none of these appeared in the

1. S.P.G.K. Out letters CS(2) 5, 1st March, 1715.

2. 1704 Annual Account.

Durham diocese.¹ Teachers had to learn their craft mainly by trial and error on the job though occasionally tuition was given. In 1766 for example, Charles Hutton announced the second edition of his 'The Schoolmasters Guide or a Compleat System of Practical Arithmetic Adapted to the Use of Schools', and added in his advertisement that he would "instruct Schoolmasters during the Christmas Vacation".²

Most teachers in the Northumberland and Durham charity schools were local men and women and a master like John Davenport who came from London in 1722 to All Saints charity school in Newcastle was a rarity.³ Indeed the area was an exporter of teachers. Advertisements for masters and mistresses for other parts of the country appear in the local newspapers quite frequently and in 1766 it was reported that several schoolmasters from the North had "lately gone over (on great salaries) to the Isle of Man, to teach the children of the Manks the English language".⁴ Teachers' qualifications were usually poor. For example in 1786 the parish clerk of Witton Gilbert was recommended for the post of usher in the girls' school at Bamburgh Castle in the following terms: "He reads and sings tolerably well, plays on the

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1. Lists of such teachers appeared in the Annual Accounts of 1714-1718. The practice appears to have ceased in the latter year. London teachers had been inspected as early as 1701 when an inspector for the London schools had been appointed at an annual salary of £20.
 2. Newcastle Journal, 20th December, 1766.
 3. Newcastle Courant, 17th November, 1722.
 4. Newcastle Journal, 23rd August, 1766.

fiddle, is a sober, steady man, says he can teach the first four rules of arithmetic and can go as far as the rule of three".¹ He did not get the job but it must be remembered that the post was a good one, carrying a salary a few years later of £25 a year.

Few records remain of teachers' discipline in the schools. On the one hand we have the example of a Methodist Sunday school teacher James Stokoe who could write, "As we had but few teachers, and were but poor plain men, I feared that the scholars would not be controlled by us. I therefore prayed to the Lord that he would make us all wise, pious and watchful, and that He would prosper the institution".² But floggers were not unknown. Thomas Bewick has left a description of such a master at Mickley school. He wrote: "He was looked upon as a severe or 'cross' man, and did not spare his rod...and, with a countenance severe and grim, he walked about the school-room, with the tawse or a switch in his hand. He, no doubt, thought he was keeping the boys to their lessons, while the jabbering and noise they made was enough to stun anyone, and impressed the people passing by with the idea that Bedlam was let loose... but, like many others of his profession, who were at that time appointed to fill the most important office of a teacher, no pains had been taken to enquire whether he possessed the requisite qualifications befitting him for it...he ordered me to be flogged; and this was to be done by what was called 'hugging', that is, by mounting me on the back of a

1. Miscellaneous Papers, Crewe Trustees.

2. J.W. Fawcett, History of the Parish of Dipton, p.7.

stout boy, who kept hold of my hands over his shoulders, while the posteriors were laid bare, where he supposed he could do the business freely".¹

There is no evidence to show that any teacher was dismissed for cruelty to pupils though a few were dismissed for other misdemeanours. James Leathead, a Newcastle schoolmaster, was charged in 1743 with false coining but managed to escape to Holland.² In 1751 Durham Hill, a schoolmaster in the Sandgate Newcastle, was found guilty at the Quarter Sessions of stealing books, hundreds of which were found in his house. The following year he was transported to South Carolina for seven years.³ The most serious crime was that of infanticide. George Taylor, master of All Saints charity school Newcastle, was found guilty at the Assizes in 1755 of murdering his four year old son by cutting his throat. He was ordered to remain in prison in the Newgate.⁴ The under master of St. Anns school in the Sandgate Newcastle, Thomas Spence, was dismissed from his post in 1787. Spence received in addition to his salary £10 a year for collecting the pew rents of the chapel and was dismissed for misappropriating these.⁵

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1. A Memoir of Thomas Bewick written by himself, (1961 Cresset Press edition) pp. 3 & 4.
 2. Newcastle Journal, 29th October, 1743.
 3. Ibid., 26th October, 1751 & 11th April, 1752.
 4. Ibid., 9th August, 1755.
 5. Common Council Books, 1785-89, 17th December 1787. Spence was the author of a scheme of land nationalisation and also wrote the Grand Repository of the English Language which advocated a 40 letter alphabet.

Advertisements for teachers usually asked for candidates who were members of the Church of England and sometimes required testimonials. At St. Nicholas charity school in Newcastle for example candidates were to "bring with them a proper testimonial, signed by the ministers of their respective parishes, of their sober life and conversation".¹ Occasionally trustees might demand a bond of security. £100 was usually asked at All Saints charity school Newcastle² and in 1767 an advertisement for a mistress for St. Nicholas charity school in the same town called for a security of forty pounds.³ The previous mistress had been dismissed for misappropriating some of the cloth used to clothe the charity scholars.⁴ The most extraordinary qualification required of a candidate must surely have been that at Whickham school where in 1779 preference was to be given to a candidate who had "voted for Mr. Bowes in 1777".⁵ Candidates' expenses could on occasion be paid. In 1805 at the Durham Blue Coat school one Thomas Waine of Hurworth, one of the unsuccessful candidates, was paid a guinea and another Ephraim Hall of Brancepeth half a guinea "as a consideration for lost Time & Expences".⁶

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1. Newcastle Journal, 22nd April 1775.
 2. Schedule of Deeds & Papers belonging to All Saints Charity School in Cash Books, All Saints Charity School, Newcastle, 1787-1807.
 3. Newcastle Journal, 18th April, 1767.
 4. From an article on Dame Allan's School in Newcastle Daily Journal, 23rd January, 1908.
 5. W. Bourne, History of Whickham, p.79. The election of 1777 had been a disputed one. Andrew Robinson Storey in the same year had married the Countess of Strathmore and taken her maiden name of Bowes. He was defeated in the county election by Sir John Trevelyan.
 6. Account Book of Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808.

South Shields charity school in 1772 even paid for dinners for the candidates.¹

Teachers' salaries varied immensely. We have at least one record of a master receiving no salary. At Bishop Middleham near the end of the eighteenth century it was reported, "A School house built by Subcon & the Int. of £46 obtained yr. fm. Ld. Crews Charity fund is appropd. to its repair. But no saly for the Mar. who is an industrious sober man".² On the other hand the highest salary recorded was 100 guineas a year paid to the headmaster of the schools of the Crewe trustees at Bamburg. He had, of course, to perform many other duties in the village but this salary was better than that of most grammar school masters in the area.³ It was £5 a year more than the salary paid the master of Morpeth Grammar school, one of the highest paid in the area,⁴ and it was only in 1750 that the master of the grammar school in Newcastle had his salary increased from £50 to £100 per annum.⁵ Certain generalisations about salaries can be made however. Masters were paid much more than mistresses - usually about three times as much. At Durham Blue Coat school in 1719 the master was paid £22 and the mistress £7.10.⁶ At South Shields the respective

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1. Minutes and Account Book, South Shields Charity School.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 3. Minute Book Crewe Trustees 1723-1823, 20th March, 1801.
 4. G. Kennedy, The Story of Morpeth Grammar School, pp.67 & 76. His salary was £100 a year in 1772 and remained the same till 1841.
 5. E. Mackenzie, Newcastle upon Tyne, p.420.
 6. Account Book of Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808.

salaries in 1803 were £40 and 12 guineas;¹ while at All Saints Newcastle in 1807 they received £50 and £20 respectively.² Salaries increased during the century, the big rise occurring from the 1790's onwards. At Durham Blue Coat school the salary rose from £20 in 1718 to £50 in 1805,³ and at South Shields from £25 in 1772 to £40 in 1803.⁴ From local newspaper advertisements between 1750 and 1810 the average salary offered an urban schoolmaster was just over £40 a year. In country schools during the same period the annual average salary promised was just over £21. It must be remembered however that this is probably high as only the better schools could afford to advertise. Most teachers were provided with a school room and school house. Coals were often allowed and this could be an attractive perquisite. At All Saints charity school in Newcastle in 1802 for example the master was allowed sixteen fother of coal for the year, costing £6.8.⁵ In times of rising prices, such as the war years at the end of the eighteenth century, trustees could on occasion supplement salaries. At South Shields for example for a few years after 1795 the master was to be given a guinea and the mistress half a guinea a year extra "on account of the Dearness of Corn and other provisions, & his having petitioned for the same".⁶

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1. Minutes and Account Book, South Shields Charity School.
 2. Cash Book for All Saints Charity School, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1787-1807.
 3. Op.cit.
 4. Op.cit.
 5. Cash Book for All Saints Charity School, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1787-1807.
 6. Minutes and Account Book, South Shields Charity School.

As we have seen the S.P.C.K. devoted a good deal of attention to the qualifications and qualities of teachers but it had little to say on how they should be paid. It usually suggested to correspondents that they encourage teachers to hold other offices or take night classes. It would then be safe to reduce the salaries otherwise offered them by the amount they could expect to earn by such extraneous duties. We find therefore teachers performing a variety of extra duties to eke out their salaries. For example, at Longhorsley in 1775 the schoolmaster, one John Charlton, was paid 10.6. for "keeping the parish book, billeting the soldiers and keeping the hearse".¹ At Lanchester the schoolmaster had an annual allowance for rectifying the church clock² and at Stanhope in the 1750's £1.10 a year was paid the schoolmaster for "keeping the Church Book & Clock".³

The most common doubling of offices was that of schoolmaster and parish clerk. From what records we have at least twenty parishes in the diocese at sometime or other during the eighteenth century combined the offices of parish clerk and schoolmaster. Then the office of parish clerk was an active one and the qualifications required closely paralleled those for a satisfactory schoolmaster. A clerk had to be a sound churchman with the ability to read and if possible write. A good voice was necessary for reading the lessons, saying Amen to the responses and giving the pitch for the metrical

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1. Churchwardens Accounts, Longhorsley 1737-1939.
 2. Parish Book, Lanchester, 1631-1802.
 3. Churchwardens Accounts, Stanhope 1686-1871.

psalms. Occasionally however parish authorities might experience difficulty in combining the two posts, as at Middleton-in-Teesdale where in 1778 it was reported, "Our parish clerk is dead and the rector has chosen John Marshal schoolmaster for parish clerk which is a very good reader but not a good singer which makes complaints but being a young man and under education at present for singing in time may give satisfaction".¹ The parish clerk's wage was often paid out of church rates and he usually got offerings at burials, baptisms and weddings together with other perquisites. It was quite a saving to the parish therefore to expect the clerk to teach the village school. Sometimes he received an additional salary for being schoolmaster. This was so at Coniscliffe where it was reported in 1792, "A Public School - the Mar. supported by Suscon in pt. & by being Parish Clk & Grave digger".² But at Witton-le-Wear in the same year the parish clerk was receiving no additional salary for it was reported, "A School Mar. to teach ye younger Children thro' the encouragement of ye prest Incumbt who gives him his board & has appd. him Par.Clk".³ Even as parish clerk and schoolmaster a man like Henry Ogle of Newton at the turn of the century had still to supplement his salary by teaching a singing class and night school, singing his own hymns before the dead, cobbling shoes and selling a nostrum of his own for cut fingers.⁴ On the

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1. Paper in process of arrangement Department of Palaeography & Diplomatic, University of Durham.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 3. Ibid.
 4. G. Tate, History of the Borough, Castle and Barony of Alnwick, Vol.2, p.408.

other hand the combined salary could be quite handsome. At Bywell for example the post of parish clerk and schoolmaster was advertised in 1809 at 40 guineas a year with the prospect of additional paying scholars.¹

Another method of supplementing the master's salary was to allow him to take fee-paying pupils above the foundation number. The Society was not keen on this practice and advised, "nor shall the Master teach any other Children besides the poor Children of this School, but shall content himself with his salary upon pain of forfeiting his place".² Urban schools, especially those which were well endowed and supported, usually followed this advice and forbade the teaching of private pupils. Masters were not precluded however from taking classes after school. John Davenport, master of All Saints charity school in Newcastle, taught night classes in Italian book-keeping, factorising and company accounts from five till eight in the evening but not on the school premises.³ Many schools however, especially poorly endowed country schools, allowed pupils above the foundation number. Newspaper advertisements show that this was a common method for such schools to attract the better teachers. The parish authorities at Belford for instance promised a master £25 and a

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1. Newcastle Chronicle, 28th January, 1809.
 2. 1704 Annual Account. The Society considered that fifty children were more than sufficient for one teacher (Society Minutes, 22nd April, 1703).
 3. Newcastle Courant, 17th November, 1722.

free school "for teaching 15 Children and liberty to take in 15 more".¹ Even a town school might allow the master to take paying pupils. John Ord, the founder of St. Johns school in Newcastle, allowed "The master to take 10 scholars more, but not to exceed on any pretence whatsoever; if he does after a second admonition from the visitors, or any two of them, to be removed".² Ord however went on to demand that the master should "receive no matter of satisfaction or reward from the parents or the friends of children for by such means many free schools are become the most chargeable of any, the good endowments generally drawing learned men who (not free from covetousness) take rewards or wages above the foundation and thereby the children of the poorer sort are either neglected or their parents forced beyond their abilities to equal the rich in their presents or rewards".³

Occasionally trustees might try to save money by appointing as schoolmaster someone who was married to a schoolmistress. The master's wife would undertake to teach girls reading, sewing and knitting. An advertisement appeared in 1790 for a master and mistress for the Blue Coat school at Stockton at a joint annual salary of £32 with a house and two guineas a year towards coals.⁴ George Rymer of Stockton and his wife Elizabeth were appointed shortly afterwards.⁵ This must have been quite a saving for the master's salary in 1796 was £30.⁶

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1. Newcastle Chronicle, 4th March, 1786.
 2. Common Council Books, 18th December, 1705.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Newcastle Chronicle, 9th October, 1790.
 5. Vestry Minute Book, Stockton, 11th October, 1790.
 6. J. Brewster, Parochial History & Antiquities of Stockton-upon-Tees (1829) p. 251.

Many schoolteachers continued in their vocation for the whole of their lives and the local newspapers record many instances of teachers dying in harness in old age. The record for service must surely have been held by one Bartholomew Robson who died in 1809 at the age of eighty two after sixty three years as master at Bothal village school.¹ Those who did retire, for one reason or another, often found it difficult to make ends meet. In 1710 Ann Ord, a spinster of North Shields, petitioned the magistrates for relief complaining, "That she has always heretofore endeavoured to procure a competent maintainance for herself by teaching of children to read & sew but now being come to the age of 60 years or upwards has quite lost her sight and the use of her limbs".² The records of the Crewe trustees show many requests for assistance from retired or distressed teachers and a number of these cases were helped. In 1784 for example it was ordered "that five Guineas be given to John Reed formerly a Schoolmaster at Haydon Bridge and now in distress".³ Occasionally the parish might help out as at Ford where in 1729 the vestry ordered, "Mr Youngson old and deaf has to give up school keeping. To get 20s. a year more as clerk (but it is to be no precedent to any that comes after him)".⁴

To attempt to meet the difficulties of retirement and to help the dependents of schoolmasters the Association of Protestant Schoolmasters

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1. Newcastle Chronicle, 7th October, 1809.
 2. Order Book, Northumberland Quarter Sessions, 9th January, 1710.
 3. Minute Book Crewe Trustees, 1723-1823, 21st February, 1784.
 4. Churchwardens Accounts & Vestry Minutes, Ford, 1689-1894.

in the North of England was established in 1774. In its initial address to prospective members it noted, "In a Country remarkable for its numerous and extensive Charities, and in an Age when almost every Profession of Men have entered into Associations for their mutual Benefit and Support, it is strange that so respectable a Body of Men as the Schoolmasters in Great-Britain should never have instituted a Fund for the Support and Maintenance of the necessitous amongst their own Body, and the Relief of the Wives and Children of their deceased Brethren".¹ The association was established at a general meeting held in Newcastle on August 20th, 1774. The Duke of Northumberland became its patron with prominent Newcastle citizens as trustees and an Abstract of Rules was drawn up and ordered to be printed.² Membership was never very large.³ Up to 1810 the number of members never exceeded fifty and very few of these were dissenters. Members included grammar school masters like the Rev. John Farrer of Witton-Wear who played a prominent part in the foundation and early years of the association; masters of private schools such as John Bruce of the Percy Street Academy in Newcastle; and the few charity school masters who could afford the subscriptions. Hugh Johnson, master of All Saints charity school Newcastle was a founder member and Ralph Dees, master of St. Nicholas charity school in the same town, joined in 1786 and later became secretary at an annual salary of two guineas.

1. Newcastle Journal, 6th August, 1774.

2. Ibid., 10th September, 1774.

3. The information in the remainder of this paragraph and in that following is based on An Account of the Origin & present State of the Association of Protestant Schoolmasters in the North of England, 1814.

Members had to be under thirty five on entrance, Protestants and resident in Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland or Westmorland. There were four classes of membership with entrance fees ranging from £1 to £3 and quarterly subscriptions from 3/6 to 10/6. Benefits, which could only be obtained after four years as a member, varied according to the class subscribed to. For example a fourth class member - the highest class - when "grown inferior and unable to procure a Maintenance" received £27.6. annually, his widow £13.2.6. and orphans £6.16.6. a year. The fund was opened in 1779 but was only sufficient to pay half benefits. Two widows, a member in distress and a deceased member's family received the first benefits. The following year a member in the Lunatic Hospital received a benefit. An appeal for donations was launched in 1792 with a good response. Bishop Barrington from that year donated five guineas annually and the Crewe trustees gave three guineas a year from 1794. Later donors included the Earl of Lonsdale, the Archbishop of York and, surprisingly not till 1818, the association's patron, the Duke of Northumberland. By 1807 the association was in a flourishing state when its income amounted to nearly £270 for the year, with just over £175 being disbursed to three superannuated members and eighteen widows. The association's committee had been authorised "to grant discretionary Benefits on urgent occasions" and in 1808 one item of expenditure recorded was "Books for the Children of deceas'd Members 15.7."

By a statute of 1581 subscription by teachers became compulsory and failure to subscribe could result in a fine and prohibition to teach.¹ This was re-enacted by a statute of 1603 whose 77th canon ^{with} ^{wording} stipulated, "No man shall teach but such as shall be allowed by the Bishop of the diocese...except he first subscribe simply to the first and third articles in the thirty-sixth canon, concerning the King's supremacy and the Thirty-Nine Articles of religion, and to the two first clauses of the second article concerning the Book of Common Prayer, viz., that it contains nothing contrary to the word of God, and may lawfully be used". Canon 137 of the same statute went on, "Every School-master shall, at the Bishop's first visitation, or at the next visitation after his admission, exhibit his licence, to be by the said Bishop either allowed, or (if there be just cause) disallowed and rejected".² Subscription technically continued till it was abolished by the Endowed Schools Act of 1869.³

It was necessary for the bishop or his commissary to have advice from influential members of the parish, such as the incumbent or churchwardens, as to the moral fitness and the educational suitability of the applicant before a licence could be granted. No copy of such a recommendation appears to have survived for the Durham diocese in our period nor is the actual form of the bishop's licence extant. The subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles and the Liturgy, together

1. 23 Eliz. 1. c 1.

2. 1 James 1 c IV.

3. 32 & 33 Vict., c LVI, sec.21.

with the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, ran as follows, "I --- of --- in the County of --- & Diocese of Durham now to be Licenced to teach the --- School at --- Do willingly & freely subscribe to the first and third Articles & to the two first Clauses of the second Article of the thirty sixth Canon of the Church of England & all things therein contained. And I do declare that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as now by Law established. As witness my hand...".¹

From the evidence available very few charity school masters during our period were required to subscribe. Our main source of information about teachers' subscriptions in the Durham diocese during our period is contained in a single volume which also includes the subscriptions of surgeons and midwives.² Between 1700 and 1796, when the last scholastic subscription is recorded, this volume contains only ninety five teachers' subscriptions. Only one of these was a woman - Mary Lamb, who was licensed to teach school at Lesbury in 1721. Not one of those who subscribed was a graduate and only one a clerk - George Busby, who in 1769 was licensed as upper master at the Anchorage school at Gateshead. Only two subscribed as parish clerk and schoolmaster and both of these were for the parish of Corbridge. Few conclusions can be drawn from the dates of subscriptions. The heaviest decade was 1730-1740, when 26 subscribed, but the decades of

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1. Durham Subscription Book 1662-1837. The form of subscription was in Latin till 1732.
 2. Ibid., Masters of the free grammar schools subscribed in separate books.

Jacobite activity, 1710-1720 and 1740-1750, are surprisingly below the average with five and nine subscriptions respectively. There were however almost twice as many subscriptions between 1700 and 1750 (63) as there were for the remaining part of the period covered by the volume (32) suggesting that the practice was falling into disuse in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The classification of schools in the book is not particularly helpful either. Up to 1734 the most frequent term used is Petty School and after that date English School. Most of the entries were obviously for private schools and these included the private grammar schools. The endowed charity schools are variously referred to. In 1700 we find the free school Wark and in 1719 the free school Embleton. The charity school at Ponteland in 1739 was referred to as the free English school while that at Wooler in 1754 as the publick free school. Sometimes simply the term public school, as at Frosterley in 1761, is used to denote the village charity school.

It is clear from a consideration of this subscription book that a great number of eighteenth century schoolmasters never took out their licence and were not required to do so. Very few charity school masters took out a licence. Not one of the Newcastle charity school teachers during our period subscribed for example. It is true that visitation articles at the end of the century asked "Doth any Person keep a public or private School in your Parish without Licence?",¹ but

1. Visitation Articles 1788, Tit.VII Concerning Hospitals, Alms Houses, Schools & School-masters.

the vast majority of returns were marked "nothing to present". For example in 1774 out of the returns of 120 parishes only six even mentioned schoolmasters, and in 1778 only nineteen out of 190 parishes returned schoolmasters.¹ From other sources it is known that most schoolteachers, including dissenters, were not licensed to teach yet the parish authorities generally showed unconcern at this. As early as 1719 the Rev. Vincent Edwards, vicar of Embleton, reported to the S.P.C.K. "That sevell. Petty Schools were taught in diverse Hamletts of his Parish, which could not bear ye Charge of a Licence, but the Masters were serviceable to the Church in teaching ye Childn to read, & instructing them in the Church Catechism".² These masters had apparently continued to teach and had not been reported by Edwards or the parish authorities for teaching without licences. Indeed it was not the ecclesiastical but the military authorities which caused them trouble for they were pressed into military service "under pretence of their wanting Licences".³

Eighteenth century Durham Consistory Court records do however show a number of prosecutions for teaching without a licence some of which were undoubtedly of charity school teachers. In 1703 for example John Clark of Whitburn was cited to appear and was excommunicated for his failure to do so.⁴ There are eleven cases

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1. Visitation Returns, papers in process of arrangement Department of Palaeography & Diplomatic, University of Durham.
 2. ALB 3.2999, 6th March, 1712.
 3. Ibid. and see supra Chapter 5, p.120
 4. Durham Consistory Court Records, Box 1700-09.

for teaching school without licence between 1700 and 1730 but thereafter they become rarer, and then were usually cases promoted, not by the parish authorities, but by rival teachers. For example in 1743 Mary Gair brought a case against a Presbyterian, Andrew Burn, for teaching an English school in the parish of Lesbury without a licence. Burn in his defence replied "that he teaches the Church Catechism in his School with all Care and Dilligence and by no means whatsoever endeavours to dissuade any of the Children or Youth under his Care from the Communion of the Church of England". He went on to state "that the promoter Mary Gair is greatly advanced in Years and not capable of instructing Youth or Children in the English Tongue".¹ Unfortunately we do not know the outcome of this case. A similar case of 1761 has already been referred to.² Thomas Ridley, a schoolmaster at Chester-le-Street, brought a case against two unlicensed teachers. The parish authorities had not promoted the case. Indeed they got up a petition asking for the two men to be licensed.³

A case of 1778 shows that there might be motives other than proper affection to church and state in bringing a case for teaching school without licence. One James Huet was presented by the churchwardens of Holy Island for unlicensed teaching and for not bringing the children to church.⁴ The clerk who drew up the compert noted, "And

1. Ibid., Box 1736-43.

2. Supra Chapter 5, pp.119-20

3. Durham Consistory Court Records, Box 1761-66.

4. Notebook of Comperts upon Presentments, 1778 Visitation.

by his Obstinacy in continuing that office he excludes any other person who might be better Qualified to discharge it, and who might besides for more Encouragement be appointed Parish Clerk, the present Clerk being by agreement only appointed "till a fit person who can supply both Offices may be had".¹ We only learn from the original presentment of the churchwardens that Huet was a dissenter. The parish authorities, hoping to save money by combining the two offices and being unable, because of his dissent, to appoint Huet parish clerk, tried to get rid of him on the charge of his not being licensed to teach. The fact that he was a dissenter had not troubled them nor had the clerk thought fit to mention this fact in the compert upon the presentment. Clearly by this time the licence was an empty formality and was certainly no method of controlling dissenting teachers.

1. Ibid.

CHAPTER TEN

SUNDAY SCHOOLS, SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY
AND THE MONITORIAL SCHOOLS.

By the end of the eighteenth century the day charity schools, even though these were increasing in number from the 1780's, could not possibly solve the problem of providing some form of education for the growing numbers of the children of the poorer classes, especially those in the towns. The conditions brought about by the Industrial Revolution pricked the social consciences of Methodists, Evangelicals and others and they began their campaigns to help better the conditions of the poorer classes. Near the end of the century they founded new societies for the reformation of manners and performed all kinds of relief work but their main efforts were concentrated upon the children of the poor and their great hope for the reform of society lay in the Sunday School movement.

The Rev. William Turner, the minister of the Unitarian Chapel in Hanover Square, Newcastle, well summed up the purpose of the Sunday School movement in a sermon at Morpeth in June 1786. He referred to the Sunday schools as places "in which the children of the poor are, without any hindrance to, or interference with, their stated employment during the rest of the week, carefully instructed in reading, and in the important principles of religion and duties of morality". He argued that the children "at the same time that they are taken off from profaning or mispending the Lord's day by idleness or bad employment, and, by being regularly conducted to places of public worship, are habituated betimes to keep the Sabbath holy to God, and to

reverence his sanctuary".¹ Turner, although a supporter of the day charity school movement and, as we have seen, the reformer of the school attached to his own congregation,² went on to outline the three main advantages which the new Sunday schools had over the older foundations. Firstly, he noted they did not "take off children from that daily labour to which their station renders it necessary for them to be early habituated". Besides, he continued, the charity schools could not educate the "vast multitudes of young persons whose parents cannot afford to lose so much of their children's labour as is necessary for their instruction".³ Secondly, he argued that the principal object charity school children were taught to answer was "the employment of their week days in reading, writing and accompts" and "so little attention was paid to their instruction in the leading principles of religious truth and duty". He claimed for the Sunday school that "the principal and direct object is, to habituate the children to the public worship of God, and to qualify them for joining in it with propriety and pleasure, by teaching them to read their bible, leading them to a familiar acquaintance with the elements of religious knowledge; and instructing them to assist with decency and order in singing the praises of God".⁴ The final advantage Turner claimed was "the very easy expence with which they are supported", and

1. W. Turner, *Sunday Schools Recommended*, 13th June, 1786, pp.17-18.

2. See *supra* Chapter 6 p.135

3. *Op.cit.*, pp.20-21.

4. *Ibid.*, pp.21-22.

he went on to claim that "the same fund which would maintain only a few scholars through the week, may serve to provide for the education of all the children in a parish on the Lord's day only".¹

Some years later at the height of the French war Bishop Barrington claimed that Sunday schools would prevent social disorder and discontent. He declared, "In times of public difficulty, such as the dearth of provisions, we have too often and too recently discovered a tendency to discontent and disorder, not to be anxious for the application of some effectual remedy for so alarming an evil. For my own part, I am persuaded that no remedy but the radical one, of religious education and instruction, can be effectual. Sunday schools may be most useful instruments in this desirable work".²

William Turner in his Morpeth sermon had referred to the work of Robert Raikes. Raikes was not the founder of the Sunday schools. Earlier examples than his, set up in Gloucester in 1780, can be found. Theophilus Lindsey for example, a friend of Joseph Priestly, set up a Sunday school at Catterick in 1763.³ But it was Raikes who in his Gloucester Journal and in such publications as The Gentleman's

1. Ibid., p.24. Teachers salaries formed the greatest item of expenditure in the Sunday schools. Robert Raikes paid his teachers in Gloucester 1s. to 1s.6d. each Sunday. In the Newburn Sunday schools e.g. teachers received 2s. each Sunday for teaching a class of 30 pupils making the cost per pupil per year under 3s.6d. (Newburn, Sunday School Subscribers Account Book, 1788-1852).

2. S. Barrington, Sermons, Charges and Tracts, 1811, p.233.

3. W.H.G. Armitage, Four Hundred Years of English Education, p.74.

Magazine and The Universal Magazine publicised local examples and gave the Sunday school a national significance.¹ We can trace Raikes' influence in the setting up of the first Sunday school in the North East. A certain Colonel Townley of Belfield in Lancashire, hoping to set up Sunday schools in the manufacturing centres of the county, wrote to Raikes for advice. Raikes' reply was printed in the Leeds and Manchester newspapers in December 1783 and in the following January.² During 1784 schools which were of an undenominational character were established in the manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire.³ These proved immediately successful and the Newcastle Chronicle printed an account of the "rapid progress of Sunday Schools in Leeds".⁴ There were fifty of these in which some two thousand children were taught and the paper went on to observe "The change already produced in the manners of these untaught wanderers, is truly delightful. Instead of their usual slovenly appearance, they now vie with each other in coming to school as neat and clean as their situation will allow, and are as anxious to receive the instructions afforded them, as they were before careless of improvement. Such are the blessed effects of an institution calculated

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1. Turner printed Raikes' letter, An Account of the Sunday Charity Schools, lately begun in various parts of England, dated June 5th, 1784 which appeared in the Universal Magazine, in the appendix to his sermon Sunday Schools Recommended.
 2. Turner, Sunday Schools Recommended, p.39.
 3. A.P. Wadsworth, The First Manchester Sunday Schools, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (Manchester) Vol. XXXIII, p.302.
 4. Newcastle Chronicle, 26th September 1784.

for the wisest purposes".¹ However, it was not the example of Leeds but of the Manchester schools which prompted William Turner to found the first Sunday school in the North East. Some years after the foundation of the Hanover Square Chapel Sunday school Turner wrote, "Having an opportunity of seeing several of these Schools upon their first institution in the neighbourhood of Manchester, I was struck with the excellence of the plan, and determined, if they should answer in Lancashire, to attempt their establishment in Newcastle".²

Turner circulated a paper recommending the establishment of a Sunday school to the younger members of his congregation in December 1784.³ A meeting was held on the 26th of the same month at which a committee of seven was approved and two schools, one for thirty boys and the other for thirty girls, were proposed. These opened early in January 1785.⁴ The regulations for the Hanover Square schools are worth discussing in detail for not only are they the only early regulations which still remain in full, but they are typical of those adopted by other schools in the area.⁵ Children engaged in employment during the week were to be preferred for it was argued "this may possibly be an inducement to parents to bring up their children in

1. Ibid.

2. Turner, Sunday Schools Recommended, p.44.

3. He probably appealed to the younger members of his congregation because older members were already subscribing to the day charity school in Hanover Square.

4. Newcastle Chronicle, 22nd January, 1785.

5. Most of the remainder of this paragraph is based on the regulations for the Boys' Sunday school which were printed in the Appendix to Turner's sermon, Sunday Schools Recommended, pp.46-54.

habits of industry". No religious sect was to be preferred or excluded as it was claimed that "the principal object of the scheme seems to be the education of those who are of no religion, or which is the same thing, whose parents pay no attention to their religious instruction". Parents' duties included seeing that the children were sent to school at the proper times washed and combed, that they saw that the children returned home immediately after school had finished and that school books were not torn or damaged during weekdays. The children met every Sunday at eight in the morning when for an hour and a half they learned to read. Instruction in the elements of reading was not to be from "the trash of common spelling books, which are very expensive, and are soon torn to pieces" but from the essentials of a spelling book which were to be "drawn together, and printed on a card, which has the advantage of not being easily destroyed, and costs almost nothing".¹ After the spelling card the children read easy lessons "on the first principles of religion, composed in words of one syllable". They progressed thereafter to Turner's Abstract History of the Bible, the Catechism, the Bible and Watts Psalms. Catechising took place from 9.30 to 10.00 with the master examining the scholars. At half past ten the children attended the chapel where, after the conclusion of morning service, the catechism was repeated in public. When a scholar could say the catechism in public he was rewarded with

1. This spelling card was also used in the Sunday schools founded in All Saints and St Johns parishes, Newcastle. (Turner, Sunday Schools Recommended, p.54).

a Bible with his name in gold letters on the back. Small prizes were also given for good work and attendance. The scholars met again at two o'clock to learn to sing. They returned to the chapel again and followed this by lessons till six. Writing was not taught in the school. Indeed it was rare to find writing being taught in the Sunday schools at all. The Rev. John Topham, one of the founders of the Darlington schools, reluctantly agreed to its introduction there noting in an address on Sunday schools, "Perhaps there can be no harm in introducing it for an hour only, before the afternoon service".¹

Following Turner's foundation in 1785 other schools rapidly appeared in Northumberland and Durham especially in the towns. The Stockton Sunday school was founded in January 1785 where the boys were taught by the master of the charity school, an arrangement followed elsewhere, and the girls by a mistress specially appointed.² In the same year schools were founded in the parishes of All Saints and St. Johns Newcastle, Gateshead, Bishopwearmouth and Durham city.³ Like the day charity schools the Sunday schools were more successful in the towns than in the countryside. In the former they had the benefit of regular subscriptions, though these seldom seem to have met their expenses, of collections at church and of regular charity sermons.⁴

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1. J. Topham, An Address to the Clergy and the Public, respecting the proper management of Sunday Schools, 1810.
 2. Thomas Richmond, Local Records of Stockton and the Neighbourhood, 1868, p.84.
 3. The foundation of all these schools was reported in the local newspapers.
 4. Bequests to Sunday schools were rare. The only one in the area reported by the Charity Commissioners was at Morpeth where in 1795 £50 was left for the support of the Sunday Schools (Charity Commissioners Reports 1817-39 (1890) Northumberland, pp.465/6. Rather exceptionally at South Shields two performances of plays were given for their benefit (Newcastle Chronicle, 9th December 1787)

By 1792 visitation articles included the query "Is there any Sunday School? And how many children of each sex are taught in it?"¹ Returns showed that 46 out of 173 parishes in the diocese had established Sunday schools even by this date.² Most of these returns were of town schools which apparently flourished. At All Saints Newcastle there were five schools containing over two hundred pupils, some of whom were clothed. Gateshead had three schools with 250 pupils and Darlington two containing 140 scholars. Tynemouth parish, which included the growing township of North Shields, reported the greatest number of pupils - 500 in seven schools. At Monkwearmouth there were four schools with 210 pupils in them and, so successful were they, that in 1795 the Sunday school subscribers decided to found a day charity school for twenty scholars. The master was to be paid an annual salary of £20 with an extra £5 for teaching the Sunday school.³ The country parishes found greater difficulty in maintaining Sunday schools. Occasionally a wealthy patron might be found as at Etal in the parish of Ford where the school was "supported wholly by Lady Charles Hay",⁴ or at Staindrop where it had the support of the Earl of Darlington and others.⁵ Much depended on the enthusiasm of the parish clergy. At Sadberge, under the rector's management, it

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1. Durham Visitation Articles, 1792.
 2. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 3. Newcastle Chronicle, 15th August, 1795.
 4. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
 5. Charity Commissioners Reports, Durham, p.359.

was reported in 1786 that "the subscription opened for the Sunday Schools was so bountiful that a Day School is established". Twenty poor children, who paid a penny a week every Monday morning to the master, were taught in the day school and forty others received free tuition in the Sunday school.¹ In Newburn parish four schools were established in 1788 mainly due to the work of the Rev. Thomas Allison. Over £23 was subscribed towards their support in the first year, including two guineas each from the Northumberland Glass Company and from the proprietors of Walbottle Colliery whose motives were not entirely philanthropic. One thousand addresses to parents were initially printed, rather hopefully as it turned out, for the four schools by 1790 only contained 120 pupils.² At Bothal however the Sunday school set up in 1791 "by the Rr. & at his own Exp. by way of experim't" lasted only one summer.³ At nearby Bedlington the incumbent found little support for the stablishment of a Sunday school but it was reported in 1792 that "ye Vr. endeavours to supply ye want of one by having alternately a party of boys & girls at his house on Sunday Evening & teaching them to read as well as instructing ym in the Catechism".⁴ In 1792 failures were reported from Middleton-in-Teesdale and from Rothbury where "Sevl. Sunday Schools were instit'd but did not succeed".⁵

1. Newcastle Chronicle, 28th October, 1786.

2. Newburn, Sunday School Subscribers Account Book 1783-1852.

3. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

The central body set up in 1785 to co-ordinate the movement was the Sunday School Society with its office in Cornhill, London. In certain ways it played a part not unlike that of the S.P.C.K. earlier in the century. It gave advice and provided books. In 1788 for example the committees of the Sunday schools at North and South Shields reported that they were "proceeding under the auspices of a Gentleman from the Sunday School Association in London",¹ and in 1792 the Society presented the South Shields schools "with a liberal supply of free books".² But there were two important differences between the two societies. The Sunday School Society was undenominational its assistance not being "confined to any sect but that men of every religious description of the Protestant faith share the liberality of this Society".³ A more important difference was that the later society gave financial assistance, especially in the early stages of a school, until it could stand on its own feet. Turner for example sought help from the Society for poorer congregations in the area hoping to set up Sunday schools. The Society wrote back asking for precise particulars of the proposed schools and it was especially anxious to know "the probable supplies which may be raised among the inhabitants".⁴ In 1801 the Newcastle

1. Newcastle Chronicle, 16th February, 1788.

2. Ibid., 24th November, 1792.

3. Letter of Wm. Jacobson, Secretary of the Sunday School Society, to the Rev. Wm. Turner printed in the Newcastle Chronicle 29th July, 1786.

4. Ibid.

Chronicle published the half year's report of the Society and this gives some idea of its functions. It was reported that in the fifteen years since its foundation 144,214 spelling books, 33,471 testaments and 6,310 Bibles had been distributed to some 1721 schools containing 166,383 pupils. The Society had also contributed nearly £4,000 towards the payment of teachers.¹

For a time the undenominational character of the Society was mirrored in many of the local Sunday schools. At Darlington for example Sunday schools were opened on October 1st, 1786 for 250 pupils of all denominations and a local newspaper reported that "Quakers were heartily in the cause".² The Newcastle Methodists had opened a Sunday school in the Orphan House on February 28th, 1790 for "the Benefit of poor children of every Denomination and from any parish in Newcastle and Gateshead".³ The Rev. Charles Atmore, the leading figure in the foundation of the school, two months after it began could state, "I read the service of the Church of England to the children of the Sunday school, in order to obviate an objection that is made to it by some, - that we purpose making Methodists of all the children".⁴ But the co-operation between Church and Dissent did not survive the political unrest after the outbreak of the French Revolution.

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1. Newcastle Chronicle, 14th February 1801. The statistics issued by the Society however were usually inflated and overoptimistic.
 2. Ibid., 7th October, 1786.
 3. Ibid., 27th February, 1790. Wesley himself was a staunch supporter of the Sunday schools and from Dublin he wrote to Rev. Charles Atmore, "I am glad you have set up Sunday schools in Newcastle. It is one of the noblest institutions which have been seen in Europe for some centuries". (Quoted in W.W. Stamp, *The Orphan House of Wesley*, 1863, p.150).
 4. Stamp, op.cit., p.149.

Anglicans charged Dissenters with the dissemination of Jacobinical principles of sedition and atheism in the Sunday schools and they withdrew from association with Dissent in the effort. Anglican clergy from thereon were frequently exhorted to take control of Sunday schools. Strangely enough William Turner had written in 1786 supporting the idea of denominational Sunday schools but for very different reasons. He wrote, "But the principal advantage which I think the Newcastle Schools have over those in the South is, that they are each the offspring of religious societies, as such, and not of one general association of all parties; for, however liberal the idea of such an association may at first appear, it does not seem calculated to answer the primary end of these Schools, viz. regularity and order in attendance on public worship".¹ In a country parish like many in North Northumberland, which contained as many Dissenters as Anglicans however, co-operation could remain a necessity. At Belford for example where there was a Sunday school attended by all denominations, an Anglican preacher as late as 1810 could remark, "The chief design of a Sunday School is to extend the knowledge of the essential principles of the gospel, and to prevent the profanation of the Sabbath. Both these objects are attainable without restraining the children from the use of their own Catechism, or from resorting to their respective places of worship".²

1. Wm. Turner, Sunday Schools Recommended, p.55.

2. Anon, The Usefulness of Sunday Schools for the Prevention of Vice, and the Advancement of Piety and Religious Knowledge, Sermon preached at Belford Parish Church, 13th May, 1810.

The Sunday schools provided some form of education, limited though it was, for children who were employed during the week. However unemployed children, especially in areas which could not provide child employment, created a problem in themselves. It was to this problem that the social reformers turned soon after the foundation of the Sunday schools. The solution offered was the school of industry the main purpose of which was "to train up children from their early years, so that they should become habitually industrious".¹ Learning was relegated to the Sunday school except for a short period during the week which was devoted to learning to read. More than one attempt was made to set up a national system of schools of industry. For example Pitt's poor law scheme of 1796 proposed parish schools of industry for the compulsory attendance of children whose parents received poor relief. The attempts failed mainly because manufacturers opposed child labour being diverted from the factory and they were not prepared to entertain competition from the produce of such schools. The schools of industry which began to appear near the end of the eighteenth century therefore were the result of voluntary efforts.

A few schools of industry made their appearance in Northumberland and Durham in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.² With the exception of the school at Bamburgh Castle which has already

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1. S. Trimmer, *The Oeconomy of Charity*, 1787, p.62.
 2. The earliest example of such a school in the area was perhaps at Sandhoe, near Hexham, where a horizontal spinning wheel, which could be used by twelve girls at once, was employed to instruct the poor children of the village under the direction of a Mr. Donkin, Lady Broughton's steward (S. Trimmer, *The Oeconomy of Charity*, p.62).

been noted,¹ these schools were all to be found in the towns and were supported largely by subscriptions. All the schools of industry in the area were for females. At Stockton a school was established in Castlegate in 1803 by a society of ladies. The girls were instructed in reading and writing and were given a "thorough knowledge of woman's work of every kind".² A few years later, the exact date is unknown, a female school of industry attached to the Durham Blue Coat schools was founded. This followed the reorganisation of the charity and in 1805 a committee of visitors for the school was appointed with Bishop Barrington's wife as patroness.³ Spinning was the main occupation of the girls but two male ushers were appointed to teach them reading at a salary of a shilling a week. Assistants, who appear to have acted as monitors, were appointed from among the older girls and these had the privilege of wearing special gowns. In 1807 three of these assistants who had completed their education and had been placed out at service were each provided with £5 worth of clothes and other necessities. Other schools were founded at South Shields, Tynemouth, North Shields and Sunderland, all probably in 1809. That at Tynemouth at its commencement received £50 from a charity sermon and was visited by Lady Collingwood who "left a donation of £5 for purchasing shoes".⁴ The Sunderland school of industry was established

1. Supra Ch.7. pages 161 ff.

2. T. Richmond, Local Records of Stockton and the Neighbourhood, 1868, p.103.

3. Account Book of Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808.

4. Newcastle Courant 2nd September, 1809.

to celebrate the entry of George III into the fiftieth year of his reign and was originally intended for 120 girls. It was never filled and in 1819 contained only 40 pupils.¹

As we have seen the number of schools of industry founded in the region was small though most of these functioned well into the nineteenth century. Much depended for their success on the continuing subscriptions and the enthusiasm of their supporters, both of which could easily fluctuate. At the Durham school the girls might help in the production of the charity scholars' uniforms² but the economic value of schools of industry was negligible, and they certainly were quite unable to support themselves from the sale of their own products. Their main value was in training girls for domestic service and in household management. The school of industry was really an anachronism in an increasingly industrial society, a society in which the poor themselves were demanding, not the training of the workhouse school, but training in reading, writing and arithmetic.

Two attempts were made in the early years of the nineteenth century to establish a system of schools for the education of poor children in the county of Durham. Both schemes were the idea of

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1. G. Garbutt, History and Descriptive View of the parishes of Monkwearmouth and Bishopwearmouth and the Port and Borough of Sunderland, 1819, p.367.
 2. Account Book of Durham Blue Coat Charity School, 1718-1808. In 1806 £4.11.8 was paid for such work. Half this payment went to the mistress and the other half to the school's strong box. The following year £1.7.10 was "Pd. Robt. Thompson bailing yarn & bleaching 42 yd. Cloth spun by the Scholars".

Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham from 1791 to 1826, a great philanthropist whose benefactions in his lifetime were reputed to amount to over £100,000. The first scheme came in 1801. In that year an Act of Parliament enclosed the commons of Framwellgate and Witton Gilbert in the manors of Chester and Lanchester.¹ The Bishop of Durham as lord of these manors received one forty-eighth and one twenty-fourth part or share in value. Barrington decided to set aside the one twenty-fourth part towards establishing schools in the county of Durham. In the same session of Parliament a further Act was passed to regulate "the establishment and maintenance of one or more schools for the religious and virtuous education of poor children of the said county of Durham in habits of industry and good order, and for instructing them in the principles of Christianity, and in reading, writing, arithmetic and otherwise".²

The first annual meeting for the Schools for the Education of Poor Children in the County of Durham was held in Durham Castle on 31st of August, 1802 with Barrington himself in the chair. A list of subscribers was read and a provisional committee of fourteen was set up. This consisted of the bishop as president, the three vice-presidents as authorised by the act of 1801 (the Lord Lieutenant of Durham with the two county members) and ten others, mainly prominent diocesan clergy. This committee was to meet at the end of the

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1. An Act for Dividing and Enclosing certain Moors, Commons, or Waste Lands...within the several Townships of Framwellgate and Witton Gilbert, 41 Geo III (1801).
 2. Charity Commissioners Report, Durham, Vol.11 p.638 (1904).

following month to draw up and publish an "Explanatory Address to the Public". Finally a report was read on the "present state of Inclosure of the Allotment". This stated that "it will not be in Profit, as to the Receipt of Rents, during the ensuing year" and therefore the establishment of the schools was referred to the consideration of the next annual meeting to be held in August 1803.¹

The committee duly met on September 30th, 1802 and following this 500 copies of the Explanatory Address to the Public were printed.² The main purpose of the Address was to seek contributions from the public and it assured its readers of an endowment of 100 acres of land "very improveable from situation" and that annual subscribers of a guinea or more would have powers of control over the scheme. Barrington himself had drawn up regulations for the schools and these were outlined in the pamphlet. They contained three main points of interest. Firstly, the main aim was to establish "a General System of Education for the Children of the poorer Inhabitants of the County, - which may try more extensively the Talents of its Youth, and fit them for the Advancement of its Agriculture, Manufactures, Trade and Navigation; at the same Time that it must tend more generally to instil a due Sense of Propriety, Subordination, and the Duties of Religion, into the Minds of the labouring Classes of Society". Secondly, a start to the scheme was to be made by establishing four

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1. This paragraph is based on a report in the Newcastle Chronicle, 4th September, 1802.
 2. An Explanatory Address to the Public, printed in the Newcastle Chronicle, 24th December, 1802.

charity schools, in two of which "it is proposed to give a preparatory Education to forty Children of each Sex in Day Schools; and the other two Schools are proposed to be founded as Schools of Industry, for the Admission of thirty Children of each Sex, between the Ages of Ten and Twelve, where the Children are to be boarded, cloathed, and employed". Lastly, in the future it was proposed to supplement the endowments of the poorer charity schools in the county and from these would be selected "those boys who should show more than common Aptness for Instruction, in order to their being placed in the higher Schools, which are proposed to be instituted in different Parts of the County".

Unfortunately nothing came of the ambitious scheme. The local newspapers announced the impending annual general meeting for August, 1803 which was to establish the schools but it was never reported on. One can only surmise that adequate subscriptions were not forthcoming. The reason for this could have been the renewal of the war against France and the flocking of the moneyed classes to subscribe to the Patriotic Funds. Besides the award of the enclosure commissioners was not made till 1809 and, after expenses, the sum available in money and in rents from the land was not sufficient to carry out the scheme proposed. The final sequel came in 1822 when an amending Act was passed which repealed the restrictive parts of the 1801 Act and allowed the bishop to apply the accrued rents and profits to the benefit of any school or schools in Durham.¹

1. Charity Commissioners Report, Durham, Vol.11, p.639 (1904).

Undaunted by this failure Barrington decided in 1809 to apply part of a sum obtained from the result of a Chancery case concerning the lease of royalties in Weardale lead mines to a variety of charities. One of these was to provide for the promotion of "the moral and religious education of the children of the poor within the diocese of Durham yet that a preference should always be given to the support of the schools which the said Bishop was then forming at Bishop Auckland".¹ The amount that could be applied to this scheme was the substantial annual sum of £436 and this was used to establish the Barrington School at Bishop Auckland which was opened on May 26th, 1810.²

In 1797 the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, an Anglican chaplain to the Indian army and attached to a male asylum at Madras, published his "An Experiment in Education" in which he recalled his experiences as superintendent of the orphan charity school in the asylum. There, because of difficulty with the teaching staff, he had been forced to rely on a senior pupil to take charge of the school classes. When Dr. Bell introduced this arrangement into English parochial schools it was known as the Madras System. The monitorial idea was also adopted in the following year by the Quaker, Joseph Lancaster who developed it into a system and employed it most successfully in his new school at Borough Road in which one thousand children were taught in one room.

1. Ibid., Vol.1, p.7.

2. J.L. Dobson, The Barrington School at Bishop Auckland, in Durham Research Review, No.5, p.37.

Lancaster published his scheme in "Improvements in Education" in 1803. The monitorial idea was of course not new as it had been used when occasion arose in the earlier charity and Sunday schools. But its appearance as a system at the turn of the century proved most attractive to those interested in the education of the poorer classes because it seemed likely to solve two important problems. It meant in an age of rising population that greater numbers of children could be given a full-time education than the existing day charity schools could cope with and it went far towards solving the increasingly difficult problem of finding suitable teachers. An added attraction, of course, was its cheapness. Lancaster, who, before he had adopted the monitorial system in his school, had found it was costing one guinea a year to educate a pupil, could after its adoption write, "It came to be demonstrated that seven children could be educated for a guinea instead of one".¹ In 1808 a local newspaper remarked on the cheapness of Lancaster's system. In the year 1806/7 it had cost only £156.10s. to educate 900 boys and 250 girls in the Borough Road school - less than three shillings each for a year's education.² Finally, mechanical though the monitorial system was it appealed to the factory age. One writer has aptly remarked, "The increased speed, skill and dexterity of workers under the factory system was confidently expected from children under the monitorial system".³

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1. J. Lancaster, Improvements in Education as it respects the Industrious Classes of the Community, 1803, pp.2-3.
 2. Newcastle Chronicle, 3rd September, 1808.
 3. M.G. Jones, The Charity School Movement, p.337.

Unfortunately, from about 1805, both Bell and Lancaster became the unwilling central figures in a religious and political quarrel.

Churchmen and Tories supported Bell's system and Dissenters and Whigs Lancaster's, and two rival societies came to be formed. In 1808 there was set up the Institution for Promoting the British System for the Education of the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of Society of Every Religious Persuasion. This Lancasterian society came in 1814 to be known by the shorter title of the British and Foreign Schools Society. The National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales, its rival society, was founded in 1811. This National Society, as it came to be called, was set up under the auspices of the S.P.C.K. but it was much more than just the advisory body the Society had been in the earlier period.

The monitorial system was soon adopted by many of the existing charity schools. Among the first to adopt the Madras System were St. Botolphs charity school, Aldgate in 1798 and the Kendal Industrial schools in the following year.¹ But it was not till some years later that the system made its appearance in the North East. In July 1806 the attractions of the monitorial system had been outlined in a paper entitled "The Propriety of Introducing the Mode of Instruction proposed by Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster which was read by a Mr. Isaac Richardson to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon

1. W.H.G. Armytage, op.cit., p.287 note.

Tyne.¹ It was not till two years later however that the society passed a resolution which urged the setting up of a school on the monitorial system in Newcastle, and a letter asking for support was sent to the Mayor and Corporation. The resolution pointed out that there were 358 charity school pupils and 750 children in Sunday schools in the town out of a population of 5,600 children under the age of fourteen and it concluded, "A large proportion of this town must remain without education". A subscription was not opened till 1809 largely because of trouble over the plan of instruction to be adopted in the new school. There were those who wished to adopt the Madras System and desired that the school should teach the principles of the established church with the children attending its services. The will of the others prevailed and the Lancasterian system was adopted with the children attending the churches of their various faiths.² In 1810, to commemorate the fiftieth year of George III's reign, the Royal Jubilee School for boys, planned by the architect John Dobson, was opened.³

Meanwhile Dr. Bell himself had been in the North East. In early 1808 he had helped the rector of Bishopwearmouth, the Rev. Dr. Gray, to

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1. R.S. Watson, *The History of the Literary & Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne*, 1897, p.156.
 2. *Ibid.*, pp.157-160.
 3. E. Mackenzie, *A Descriptive & Historical Account of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, etc.*, 1827, p.452. In 1821, to commemorate the fiftieth year of Bishop Barrington's episcopate the Anglicans founded the Clergy Jubilee School.

establish a subscription school in his parish under the Madras system.¹ In the same year a subscription school under Bell's system was opened in Gateshead in Mr. Methuen's Long Room.² Bell visited Auckland Castle sometime between August and September 1808 at the request of Bishop Barrington and drew up a scheme for the proposed Barrington school at Bishop Auckland.³ In the May of the year following he was installed as Master of the Sherburn Hospital and, though he devoted a good deal of his time to that office, he used "the perfect liberty which it gives him to devote his time and attention ... to the uneducated poor".⁴ In the same year for example he was helping out in the Sunderland Subscription school which had been remodelled on the Madras system sometime in 1808 but was then experiencing difficulties. In May 1809 Bell secured the appointment of Francis Warren as master of the school. Warren had been a master in the first school established by Dr. Bell on his return from Madras.⁵

Prebendary Bouyer in an address to the Durham clergy in 1811 warned them of the dangers of the Lancasterian system and especially of its undenominational teaching. He urged the Anglican clergy to oppose this system and went on "We strenuously resist any attempt to

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1. G. Garbutt, *History & Descriptive View etc.*, op.cit., pp.365-6. Bell, by now a wealthy man, himself donated £10.
 2. E. Mackenzie, op.cit., p.756. This was a public house.
 3. R. & C.C. Southey, *The Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell*, 184, Vol.11, p.251.
 4. Sir Thomas Bernard, *The New School*, 1809, pp.109-10.
 5. G. Garbutt, op.cit., pp.361-2.

withdraw the children belonging to the Establishment from our own care and disposal".¹ Many of the Anglican charity schools had by then adopted Bell's system, for example Durham Blue Coat school which was reported in 1809 to be adhering to Dr. Bell's plan "from which the smallest deviation is not permitted".² Most of the other existing charity schools adopted the Madras system or variations of it, were reorganised as National schools, and became associated with the National Society. They therefore continued to exist as National schools.

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1. R.G. Bouyer, an address published as A Comparative View of the Two New Systems of Education for the Infant Poor, 1811, pp.17-18.
 2. Newcastle Courant, 10th June, 1809.

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

EPILOGUE.

It is easy to point out the short-comings of the charity school movement of the eighteenth century. The original aim of the S.P.C.K. had been to encourage the national provision of day schools for the education of the poorer classes but the charity schools founded throughout the century had proved inadequate for educating even a small proportion of these children. A town like Newcastle, which had furnished a remarkable record in the foundation of schools, many with the support of the corporation, could as late as 1808 give a day charity school education to just over 12% of its children between the ages of seven and thirteen and a Sunday school education to a further 26%.¹ The rapid growth of an urban population was by the early nineteenth century bringing about a completely new situation so far as educational provision was concerned. This was now becoming a national question that had to be dealt with on a national scale. The 'literary curriculum' of the charity schools was extremely narrow. It was certainly not designed to develop the intellectual powers of the pupils or to give them anything like equality of opportunity. As the historian of the movement has remarked,² "Schools for the poor were regarded by them (the benefactors, subscribers and managers) as a shield and defence against the specific religious, political and

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1. R.S. Watson, The History of the Literary & Philosophical Society of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1897, p.156.
 2. M.G. Jones, The Charity School Movement, p.343.

social perils of the age". Moreover the instruction given in the eighteenth century charity schools was too mechanical and the quality of the teaching, when no provision was made for training, was usually poor.

The positive achievements of the charity school movement however cannot be denied. Despite the inadequacy of the schools thousands of children received an elementary education and a training which they would not otherwise have obtained. Many of the children, especially the girls, received vocational training in the schools and many of the boys were placed out as apprentices. Thus the schools were linked with adult life. By the end of the eighteenth century in the Durham diocese there was a day charity school within at least striking distance for those children who wanted an elementary education. Of the 173 parishes in the diocese reported on late in the eighteenth century only 74 had no day school providing elementary education.¹

The charity school movement paved the way for a national system of popular education in four important respects. Firstly, in the Durham diocese as elsewhere, many of the local schools carried on well into the nineteenth century, indeed beyond, and these gave an element of continuity to the system of elementary education. Some of the local schools still exist today, mainly as Church of England voluntary controlled primary schools. Examples of these are St. Andrews,

1. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.

Newcastle, the Blue Coat school Durham, Themlinsons school, Rothbury, Whickham Parochial school and the Vincent Edwards school at Embleton. St. Nicholas charity school, Newcastle and the Stockton Blue Coat school are exceptional in that they formed the bases of present-day Church of England grammar schools. In 1821 the old St. Nicholas charity school was moved to the Clergy Jubilee school and became known as St. Nicholas school. After a further move in the 1860's the school was completely reorganised in 1877 as Dame Allans Endowed schools.¹ The Stockton school was reorganised as a National school in the early years of the nineteenth century but by the 1890's it was forced to close owing to financial difficulties. In 1899 the original Blue Coat foundation and endowment were applied to a new Stockton Church of England grammar school.²

Secondly, the charity school movement emphasised the ideas of free education and more especially of full-time education. Full-time attendance, as we have seen, was difficult to carry out in the country schools but in the urban schools as the century progressed more and more pupils were keen to take advantage of a full-time education which was seen to be necessary to procure the increasing number of better-paid jobs. The day charity school boy with his 'literary education' began to find himself very much in demand for the new jobs created by the industrial revolution. The Sunday schools,

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1. S. Middlebrook, Newcastle upon Tyne, Its Growth and Achievement, p.293.
 2. R.L. Pickles, A Brief History of the Stockton-on-Tees Grammar School, 1963, pp.11-12.

by the very fact of their being nation-wide, forced the idea of free and universal education into the forefront. The work of the Sunday school enthusiasts served to make the schooling of the masses into something of a public question. Unfortunately they also established the conviction, partially righted by the National and British schools of the nineteenth century, that education was a part-time affair which could be relegated to one day in the week.

Thirdly, the charity schools of the eighteenth century made the first serious attempt at the large-scale education of girls, as well as introducing the idea of co-education into the English educational system. The preacher at the annual anniversary service of the London schools in 1706, anticipating the criticism that the grammar schools already provided the country with an adequate educational system, reminded his congregation that those schools were set up "for Greek and Latin only, and so their Dispensation excluded one sex altogether".¹ Most of the schools set up in the Durham diocese which were reported to the Society in the early part of the eighteenth century were mixed schools, or in the more picturesque contemporary term, 'promiscuous' ones.² One school, that at Houghton-le-Spring, was for girls only and a few others were founded during the century.

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1. White Kennett, The Charity of Schools for Poor Children Recommended, St Sepulchres, Snow Hill, 16th May, 1706.
 2. 1724 Annual Account. Unfortunately, in most cases, the Annual Accounts in recording numbers in the schools do not differentiate between the sexes and most returns are given as boys. Of the 22 schools in the area reported to the Society up to 1724, 6 were for boys only; one, that at Houghton, for girls, and the remaining 15 were most probably mixed.

Finally, the charity school movement, certainly up to the 1740's, was a movement with a central organisation - the London-based Society - and most schools were glad to seek and to follow its advice. Long after the S.P.C.K. had ceased to play an active part in the movement its influence was still being felt. At South Shields for example the new charity school founded in 1769 followed the school rules laid down by the Society at the beginning of the eighteenth century. As we have seen the S.P.C.K. acted largely in an advisory capacity and much was left to local management and initiative. The eighteenth century charity school movement demonstrated that central control and local initiative were not incompatible and this has been one of the main reasons, so far at any rate, for the success of the English educational system.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF CHARITY SCHOOLS IN NORTHUMBERLAND AND
DURHAM, 1699-1810.

The date given after each school is that of its foundation where known and this is followed by the source. Where the date of foundation is not known the date of the earliest found reference to the school and the source appear in brackets. The final reference is that to the Charity Commission Reports for Northumberland and Durham, 1819-37 (1890) where they reported on a school. The letter D before an entry signifies a school connected with the Dissenting Interest and the letter C signifies a Roman Catholic school. A number of schools in which an elementary education was given to poor children are not included in this list.¹ These were founded as grammar schools and gave throughout the eighteenth century a classical education to certain boys. However a variety of sources show that they also gave an elementary education to boys and, in some cases, girls. Indeed in certain of these schools the numbers being taught the 3R's greatly exceeded those being instructed in the classics.

Abbreviations used:

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|----------|--|
| Ab of R. | Abstract of Returns of Charitable Donations for the Benefit of Poor Persons, made by the Ministers and Churchwardens of the Several Parishes and Townships of England and Wales, 1786-88 (1816). |
| Bewick | Thomas Bewick. A Memoir of Thomas Bewick written by himself. (Cresset Press edition, 1961). |
| C.C.R. | Charity Commission Reports, County of Northumberland, 1819-37, and County of Durham, 1819-37. (1890). |

1. Allendale, Haydon Bridge, Norham, Stamfordham, Witton-le-Wear.

- Chandler. Bishop Chandler's Notes of a Visitation in 1736.
- Chronicle. Newcastle Chronicle
- Courant. Newcastle Courant.
- Crewe. Crewe Trustees: Minute Book, 1723-1823;
Correspondence.
- D. & Ch. Durham Dean and Chapter Acts Book, 1690-1729.
- D.D.Bk. Durham Diocese Book, 1793.
- Garbutt. G. Garbutt. History and Descriptive View of the
parishes of Monkwearmouth and Bishopwearmouth
and the Port and Borough of Sunderland. (1819)
- H. & N. Archives of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Hexham
and Newcastle.
- Hodgson. John Hodgson. A History of Northumberland in
Three Parts. (1820-58).
- Hunter. Hunter MS 6a.
- Hutchinson. W. Hutchinson. History of the County Palatine
of Durham. 3 vols. (1785).
- Johnstone. T. Johnstone. The History of Berwick-upon-Tweed
and Its Vicinity. (1817).
- Journal. Newcastle Journal.
- Mackenzie. E. Mackenzie. A Descriptive and Historical Account
of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne,
including the Borough of Gateshead. (1827).
- N.C.H. History of Northumberland. (Northumberland County
History Committee) 15 vols. (1893-1940).
- P.R. Parish Records.
- Ritschell. G. Ritschell. An Account of Certain Charities in
Tyndale Ward, Northumberland. (1713).
- Salvin. Salvin MSS.
- Surtees. R. Surtees. History of the County Palatine.
3 vols. (1816-40).

| | |
|------------|--|
| S.P.C.K. | Archives of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. |
| S. of F. | Records of the Newcastle, Sunderland and Shields Monthly Meetings. 1700-1809. |
| Tate. | G. Tate. The History of the Borough, Castle and Barony of Alnwick. 2 vols. (1866-9). |
| Thom. | Dr Thomlinson's Letter Books and Accounts, 1720-48. |
| Trinity H. | Trinity House, Newcastle: Order Book, 1665-1818. |
| V.C.H. | Victoria History of the County of Durham. 3 vols. (1905-28). |
| Visit. | Visitation Records and Material, Durham Diocese. |

NORTHUMBERLAND.

- Allenheads. (1713 Ritschell).
- Alnham. (1723 Hunter).
- Alnwick.
- i. Forsters school. 1727 Tate II, 98: C.C.R. 444/5.
 - ii. Corporation school. 1790 Tate II, 99.
- Bamburgh.
- i. Village school. (1723 Crewe).
 - ii. Castle school. 1758 Crewe.
- Beadnell. (1800 Crewe).
- Bedlington. (1782 Crewe).
- Belford. (1723 Hunter).
- Bellingham. (1739 Thom.) C.C.R. 471.
- Benwell. 1712 S.P.C.K.

Berwick-upon-Tweed.

- i. Charity school. 1715 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 508/10.
- ii. Corporation school. 1682 Johnstone, 154.

Berwick Hill. (1809 Courant).

Black Callerton. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 435/6.

Blanchland. 1755 Crewe.

Bolam. (1723 Hunter).

Bothal. (1725 P.R.) C.C.R. 457.

Branxton. (1793 D.D.Bk.)

Brinkburn. (1793 D.D.Bk.)

Busy Gap (Rothbury). 1723 Hunter.

Bywell St. Andrews. (1736 Chandler). C.C.R. 471.

Caistron. (1786 Ab of R.) C.C.R. 454.

Cambo. (1779 Hodgson Part II vol.I, 280).

Capheaton. (1793 D.D.Bk.)

Causey Park. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 457.

Chillingham. (1728 Hunter).

Corbridge. 1726 N.C.H. X, 215.

Cornhill. (1793 D.D.Bk.)

Gramlington. (1732 Hunter).

Craster. (1804 Chronicle).

Denton Burn. 1767 Journal.

Edlingham. (1736 Chandler).

Eglingham. (1793 D.D.Bk.)

Elsdon. (1786 Ab of R.) C.C.R. 448/9.

Embleton. 1711 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 431.

Fallosen. (1755 N.C.H. II, 121).
Felton (1727 Hunter).
Ford. (1729 P.R.)
Great Whittington. C.C.R. 476.
Haltwhistle. (1722 Hunter). C.C.R. 476.
Harbottle. C.C.R. 446/7.
Hartburn. 1756 Crewe C.C.R. 458.
Hebburn. (1808 Crewe).
Hebron. (1740 P.R.)
Heddon. (1793 D.D.Bk.)
Hepple. (1736 Chandler)
High Quarter. 1767 Crewe.
Holy Island. (1778 Visit).
Holystone. (1736 Chandler). C.C.R. 447.
Howick. 1717 C.C.R. 432/3.
Ilderton. (1736 Chandler).
Ingram. (1736 Chandler).
Kirkhaugh. (1713 Ritschell). C.C.R. 490.
Kirknewton. 1794 P.R.
Kirkwhelpington. (1736 Chandler).
Knarsdale. (1723 Hunter).
Lesbury. (1723 Hunter). C.C.R. 433.
Longframlington. (1793 D.D.Bk.)
Longhorsley. (1736 Chandler). C.C.R. 458.
Longhoughton. (1793 D.D.Bk.)
Lucker. 1807 Crewe.

Matfen. 1763 Journal.

Mickley. (1760 Bewick, 3 & 4)

Mitford. (1791 Chronicle)

Morpeth.

- i. Free Infantile school. (n.d. Hodgson Part II
vol.2, 401)
- ii. English Free school. (1792 Hodgson Part II
vol.2, 401)

Netherwitton. C.C.R. 448/9.

Newburn. 2 schools. (1793 D.D.Bk.)

Newcastle upon Tyne.

- i. St Nicholas. 1709 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 409/11.
- ii. St Andrews boys. 1707 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 421/3.
- iii. St Andrews girls. 1792 Crewe. C.C.R. 423/4.
- iv. St Johns. 1705 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 426/7.
- v. All Saints boys. 1709 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 415/7.
- vi. All Saints girls. 1709. S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 418.
- vii. St Anns Chapel. 1682 Mackenzie, 449.
- D. viii. Hanover Square Chapel. (1749 Journal).
- D. ix. Castlegate (1769 Journal).
- x. Trinity House. 1712 Trinity H.

Newham. (1781 Chronicle).

Newton on the Moor. (1768 Crewe). C.C.R. 454/5.

Norham. 1776 C.C.R. (Durham) 542.

Ovingham. (1793 D.D.Bk.)

Ponteland. (1736 Chandler). C.C.R. 436.

Rennington. (1758 Hunter). C.C.R. 431.

Rock. (1758 Hunter). C.C.R. 431.

Rothbury. 1711 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 450.
Rothbury Forest. C.C.R. 454.
Shilbottle. (1755 Hunter). C.C.R. 454/5.
Simonburn. (1791 Chronicle).
Slaley. (1736 Chandler). C.C.R. 495.
St Helens Chapel. (1713 Ritschell). C.C.R. 483.
St John lee (1713 Ritschell). C.C.R. 492.
Stannington. (1736 Chandler). C.C.R. 438.
Thornton. (1777 Crewe).
Thropton. 1725 Hunter. C.C.R. 454.
Tynemouth. (1723 Hunter). C.C.R. 441.
Ulgham. (1756 P.R.)
Wallsend. (1707 D & Ch.)
Wark. (1713 Ritschell). C.C.R. 493/5.
Warkworth. (1736 N.C.H. V, 169).
Whalton. C.C.R. 444.
Whitfield. (1793 D.D.Bk.)
Whittingham. (1742 Thom.)
Widdrington. (1784 Chronicle).
Woodhorn. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 468.
Wooler. (1723 Hunter). C.C.R. 456.

DURHAM.

Aislaby. (1741 Courant).

Aycliffe. 1745 V.C.H. I, 406. C.C.R. 314.

Barnard Castle. C.C.R. 337/8.

Billingham. (1772 Crewe).

Bishop Auckland.

i. St Andrews. (1748 Crewe). C.C.R. 300.

D. ii. Waltons school. C.C.R. 300.

Bishop Middleham. 1770 C.C.R. 450.

Bishopwearmouth. 1808 C.C.R. 433.

Boldon. (1744 Journal). C.C.R. 394.

Boltsburn. 1762 C.C.R. 362.

Byers Green. (1793 D.D.Bk.)

Chester-le-Street. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 398.

Cockfield. 1794 V.C.H. I, 405.

Coniscliffe. 1782 Crewe.

Cornsey. (1801 Crewe).

Cowpen Bewley. (1772 Crewe).

Cexhoe. (1765 Journal).

Crawcrook. (1752 Journal).

Darlington. 1716 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 322/3.

Dinsdale. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 452/3.

Durham.

i. 4 Dean & Chapter schools. (1704 S.P.C.K.)

ii. St Nicholas Blue Coat. 1718 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 322/3 & 388.

iii. St Giles. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 389.

iv. St Oswald. (1717 V.C.H. II, 44). C.C.R. 390/2.

- Easington. (1684 Hutchinson II, 578).
- Eastgate. (1799 Chronicle).
- Edmondbyers. (1793 D.D.Bk.)
- Esh.
- i. Parish school. (1740 P.R.)
 - C. ii. Catholic school. 1795 H. & N.
- Fatfield. (1809 Courant).
- Ferryhill. (1704 D. & Ch.)
- Fishburn. (1809 Crewe)
- Frosterley. 1747 C.C.R. 364/5.
- Gateshead.
- i. Anchorage school. 1709 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 403.
 - ii. Chapel school. 1808 Mackenzie, 756.
- Gainford. C.C.R. 332/3.
- Great Stainton. (1767 Crewe). C.C.R. 474/6.
- Hamsterley. (1793 D.D.Bk.)
- Hartlepool. 1756 Surtees C.C.R. 456.
- Harwood. C.C.R. 357/8.
- Haughton-le-Skerne. 1768 C.C.R. 345/6.
- D. Hawthorn. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 437.
- Houghton-le-Spring.
- i. Girls Charity school. 1716 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 439.
 - ii. Low Pit Houses school. (1720 D. & Ch.)
- Hurworth. 1770 C.C.R. 460.
- Jarrow. C.C.R. 409.
- Kilhope. (1798 Crewe).

Lamesley. (1742 Thom.)

Lanchester. 1749 Crewe. C.C.R. 412/3 & 418/9.

Longnewton. 1800 Crewe.

Low Heworth. (1761 Journal).

Middleton-in-Teesdale. 1729 C.C.R. 356.

Middleton St. George. 1768 Crewe. C.C.R. 462/3.

Monkwearmouth. 1795 Chronicle

Newbiggin. 1803 V.C.H. I, 409. C.C.R. 358.

Ryton. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 421.

Sadberge. 1786 Chronicle. C.C.R. 347.

Satley. (1793 D.D.Bk.)

Sedgefield.

- i. Boys school. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 466.
- ii. Girls school. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 467.
- iii. Subscription school. (1793 D.D.Bk.)

Sherburn. 1793 Crewe.

D. Shildon. C.C.R. 301.

Shotley. 1758 Crewe. C.C.R. (Northumberland) 559.

D. Shotton. C.C.R. 437/8.

South Shields. 1769 P.R. C.C.R. 409/11.

St Johns Chapel. (1774 Crewe). C.C.R. 363.

Staindrop. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 359.

Stanhope. 1724 C.C.R. 361.

Stockton. 1722 C.C.R. 476/80.

Sunderland.

- i. Blue Coat school. (1752 Journal)
- ii. Donnisons Girls school. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 445/6.
- D.iii. Waltens school. 1772 S. of F. C.C.R. 442.
- iv. St Johns Chapel school. (1782 Chronicle).
- v. Sea Captains Lodge school. 1792 Garbutt, 300.
- vi. Subscription school. 1808 Garbutt, 361/2.

C. Sunderland Bridge. (1757 Salvin).

Swalwell. 1715 S.P.C.K.

Tanfield. (1736 Chandler). C.C.R. 401.

Trimdon. (1793 D.D.Bk.) C.C.R. 448.

Wearhead. (1732 Crewe).

West Auckland. 1798 C.C.R. 313.

Westgate. (1732 Crewe). C.C.R. 362.

West Rainton. C.C.R. 438.

Whickham. 1714 S.P.C.K. C.C.R. 422.

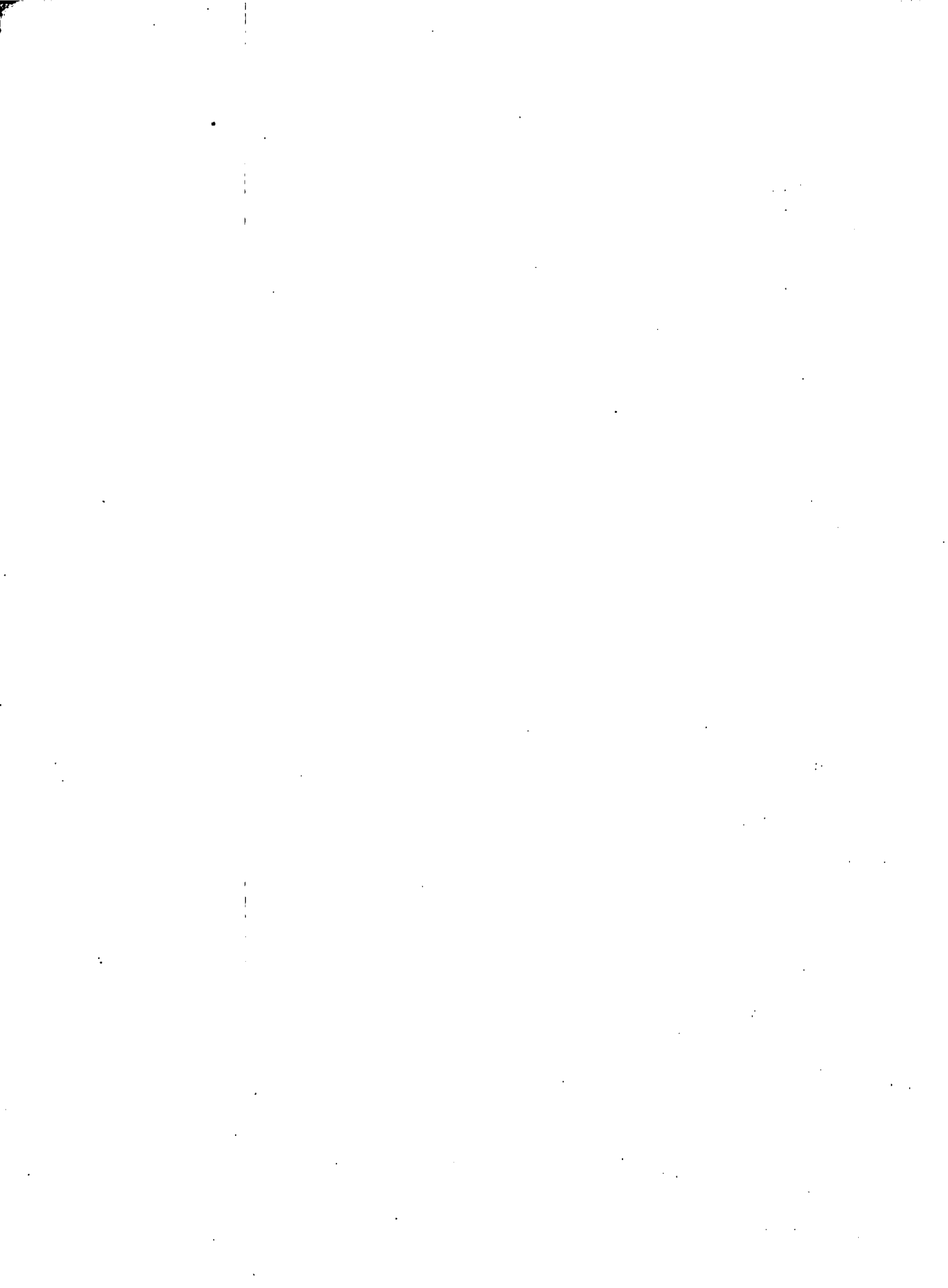
Winlaton. (1707 S.P.C.K.)

Winlaton Mill 1715 S.P.C.K.

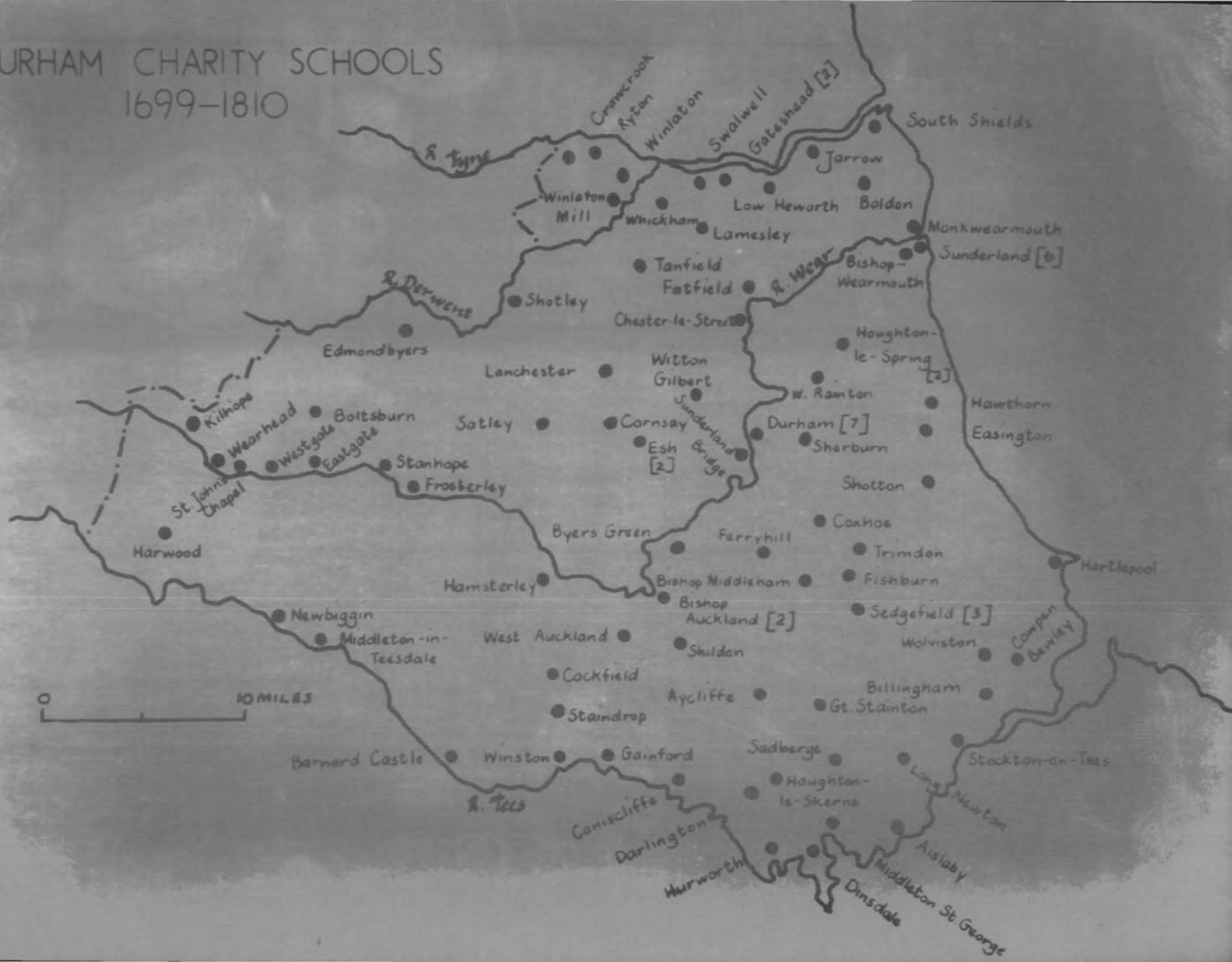
Winston. (1735 Crewe). C.C.R. 366.

Witton Gilbert. (1777 Chronicle). C.C.R. 430.

Wolviston. (1806 Chronicle).



DURHAM CHARITY SCHOOLS 1699-1810



NORTHUMBERLAND CHARITY SCHOOLS 1699-1810

