A STUDY IN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CIVIC PRIDE IN THE CITY OF WORCESTER DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

By

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Thesis submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 31st March 1979
I declare that the work in this thesis is my own, except where otherwise indicated. It has not been previously submitted to any university for the award of a degree: material within it that has been incorporated in an earlier thesis is clearly identified.

31.3.1979
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This work has developed out of investigations undertaken in connection with a thesis, entitled "An Investigation of the Work of the Worcester School Board 1871-1903, and its contribution to the Development of Elementary Education in the City", submitted in 1974 to the University of Nottingham for the degree of M.Phil. The existence of this thesis was declared to Bristol on commencing an M.Ed. course. It was submitted to the supervising tutor for detailed examination prior to transferring to a Ph.D. Bristol's regulations allow material contained in one thesis to be incorporated in another providing it is clearly identified. Great care has been taken to cite this earlier research when it has been the source of particular insights or interpretations.

However the influence of the earlier research on the present work has been limited by two factors: the differing approaches of the two works and the wider range of source material in the second.

The Nottingham thesis examined the origins and work of the Worcester School Board, including the politics of Board elections, the administration of the Board, its policies, the role of its Visitors Committee, and the work of its schools and their relationship with the Victoria Institute. The present work sets out to explore the idea that civic pride might have been an important conscious motive underlying the provision of education in the city of Worcester, particularly in the second half of the 19th Century. The work of the School Board is placed in a wider context concentrating on an interpretation which emphasises intentions as well as outcomes. In addition it is only one example of a wider range of cultural and educational activities developed by the Worcester City Council during the second half of the 19th Century. If the relationship between education and civic pride was to be fully explored it was felt essential
to reconsider certain aspects of the work of the School Board within this new context.

The earlier part of the present work (Chapters 4 and 5) considers the conflict between the old ecclesiastical order over the development of the cathedral school. There is no overlap with the previous research. In later chapters (8 and 9) there is a limited degree of overlap in the sense that the Victoria Institute is considered in both works. In the M.Phil its existence was seen as a means of sparing the School Board the expense involved in the provision of Higher Grade schools, and the maintenance of a Pupil Teacher Centre. In this work it is examined in relation to the new interpretation that civic pride, among a range of social and economic groups, was an important motive underlying educational activity.

In addition the range of sources used here is much more extensive than in previous work:-

i) Contemporary local sources have been examined more thoroughly, and over a greater period of time. School Board Minute Books and folios were cited frequently in the Nottingham research. Their existence is acknowledged here in the bibliography, but they do not constitute a major source. Instead City Chamber Order Books, annual reports of the City Chamber of Commerce, and Minute Books of the Literary and Scientific Institution, which were not widely used or whose existence was not known, have been cited more frequently. Manuscript records also provide new sources, and a number are reproduced as appendices. Collections of contemporary photographs and wall posters were discovered during the development of this work. A number have been reproduced as illustrations, with the permission of the City Archivist, particularly in the section of the work devoted to the Victoria Institute. Access was granted to the Worcester Cathedral Library for the first time in connection with this work. As a result a range of manuscript evidence relating to ecclesiastical matters
and the influence of the Chapter on local affairs was examined and is cited. In addition a number of contemporary printed local sources have been used.

ii) Reference has been made to a large number of contemporary official publications, including Acts of Parliament, and reports of Royal Commissions and Select Committees, dating from the second decade of the 19th Century. The subjects of these publications are diverse: with the exception of some educational enquiries, none of them had been examined and cited previously.

iii) Two thirds of the theses to which direct reference has been made in the development of this work have not been consulted previously. The range of books concerning the locality exemplifies the wider spectrum of this work. The same point can be made in respect of books devoted to national affairs: in addition a number of them have been published since the completion of the Nottingham research. Also nine major academic journals, and other specialist serials, have been examined carefully for the first time, and numerous references included from articles published during the last twenty years.
ABSTRACT

As an introduction, a brief examination is undertaken of certain 19th Century political relationships. This is followed by an attempt to generalise on administrative development and civic pride in industrial and ancient boroughs, from recent research. Worcester is set against this generalisation.

The development of education in Worcester during the 19th Century is then outlined. Attention is drawn to voluntary activity, and individual initiative in relation to specific minorities. Three areas are seen as potential examples of developments which occurred as a result of a number of factors, including civic pride.

In the first case, the reform of the Worcester Cathedral School is studied, from 1851, when the City Council first became directly involved with it, to 1884 when a scheme acceptable to all local interests was approved. Attention is focussed on the spectacle of a City Council taking an active interest in advanced education from the middle of the century and establishing a formal sub-committee to protect the position of the locality, to the struggle between civic and clerical powers for the right to speak on behalf of the locality, and to the conflict between local and central bodies over the reform of the school.

There follows an examination of the politics and daily operation of the Worcester School Board to assess the degree to which it can be said to have been motivated by civic pride. Using a model of government growth, an attempt is made to attribute the initiative for policies from which the city took most satisfaction, to political and professional members of the School Board, as appropriate in each particular case.

Finally attention is concentrated on the development by the City Council, following the approval of the
citizens generally of a polyglot institution, aided from the rates under the terms of Public Libraries legislation. Civic pride is seen in the activities of the group promoting the development of such an institution, in the general support that grew for a facility that would enhance the city's claim to regional dominance and in which the city could take legitimate pride, and in the realisation of such an initiative within the conceptual confines of prudent expenditure of public funds.
INTRODUCTION:

Perhaps the most wide-ranging research into the political culture of democracy was that undertaken by Almond and Verba, and published in 1963. (1) Predominant among its themes were a concern with civic virtue and its consequences for democratic states, and an attempt to identify the kind of community life, social organisation and child development that fosters this civic virtue. These themes were explored by means of survey research. (2)

Almond and Verba saw the development of civic culture in Britain as a product of a series of encounters between modernization and traditionalism - encounters which were fierce enough to effect major change, but not so severe as to create disintegration or polarisation. (3) Britain's ability to tolerate a greater measure of aristocratic, corporate and local autonomy than could contemporary continental states was attributed in part to its insular security. (4) But the toleration of religious diversity which was distantly anticipated by the break with Rome, and the emergence of a self-confident merchant class, together with the involvement of court...

2. Ibid p viii):- "Some 5,000 people - Britons, Germans, Italians, Mexicans, and Americans - were interviewed to provide us with our data. We asked our respondents in the cities, towns and villages of these five countries to co-operate with us in a scientific study, under university auspices, of problems of democracy and political participation. In a very real sense this is their book ......."
3. Ibid p 7.
4. Ibid.
and aristocracy in trade and commerce played their parts. In consequence, Britain entered the Industrial Revolution with a political culture among its elite which allowed rapid, substantial changes in social structure to be assimilated during the 18th and 19th Centuries, without severe repercussions. Aristocratic Whigs allied with nonconformist industrialists and merchants to establish the principles of parliamentary supremacy and representation. From this there emerged a culture, neither traditional nor modern, but combining both - a culture based on communication and persuasion, characterised by consensus and diversity, permitting change but moderating it:-

"This was the civic culture" (7)

With this civic culture consolidated the working classes could be admitted into the political context, and gradually develop the language in which to present their demands effectively. (8)

"It was in this culture of diversity and consensus, rationalism and traditionalism, that the structure of British democracy could develop: parliametarism and representation, the aggregative political party and the responsible and neutral bureaucracy, the associational and bargaining interest groups and the autonomous and neutral media of communication" (9)

In an attempt to understand the problems of the diffusion of democratic culture, Almond and Verba set out to determine those elements of democratic culture which exist within functioning democratic systems, and also examined the contribution open to the individual
as political actor. They concluded that civic culture was a mixed political culture which stressed the participation of individuals in the input process, but not to the exclusion of subject and parochial political orientations. The outcome was a balance between political activity and involvement, and passivity and a commitment to traditional values. Denis Brogan's view was cited that in the historic development of Britain the culture of democratic citizenship, with an emphasis on initiative and participation, was amalgamated with an older political culture stressing the obligations and rights of the subject, to reinforce the point. The characteristic of civic culture was the emphasis on the participant at the expense of the subject and the parochial. In this shift, parochial or local autonomies, if they survived, were likely to contribute to a democratic infrastructure. England was again used to exemplify this point. Such local groups as municipal corporations and religious communities were identified as the first interest groups in the

10. Ibid p. 31. Participant political culture is defined (p 19) as present when the subject is positively oriented toward the political system in terms of input and output.
11. Ibid p 19. In these circumstances the subject is aware of government authority and is affectively oriented towards it, but is passive in terms of input and as a participant.
12. Ibid p 18. Defined as a lack of orientation to the political system, or an absence of any expectation of change from the political system.
13. Ibid p 37. (The original source is given as D. Brogan 'Citizenship Today' Chapel Hill 1960 p 9. Other sources are cited making a similar point).
developing British democracy. But it was stressed that the categories of 'participant' 'subject' and 'parochial' were not mutually exclusive. The citizen was an amalgam of all three. Also civic culture comprised citizens, subjects and parochials.

In turning to consider what influenced the proportion of elements which led to the definition of individuals as 'citizens' 'subjects' or 'parochials', Almond and Verba concluded that education was the most significant factor. The more educated person was more aware of the impact of government on the individual, and to claim to follow politics. He was also likely to have more political information, to have opinions on a wider range of political subjects and to engage in political discussions with a wide variety of people. He was also likely to be an active member of an organisation, and to consider himself capable of influencing government.

In considering this research in relation to the motives underlying educational development in the 19th Century, four important qualifications must be made. Almond and Verba considered democratic attitudes at national level, making cross-national comparisons based on inter-continental research. In 19th Century England the provision of education was seen to be predominantly a local concern. In general the educational legislation that was passed in the last generation of the century allowed the locality to choose the most appropriate form in which to implement it. The response to such legislation emphasised the diversity of attitude among local communities, and bears out Asa Briggs'

15. Ibid p 20.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid p 177. This conclusion is derived from table 3 on page 176. Chapter III provides more detail.
rejection of Mumford's view that Victorian towns were all alike. Briggs argued that the first effect of industrialization was to differentiate communities not to standardise them. (20) A paper delivered to the 1976 History of Education Society Conference by W. B. Stephens reached a similar conclusion:

"Clearly, types of mid-Victorian British towns were manifold, and to the differences of type we might add the likelihood that regional differences were often extremely significant" (21)

In turn Stephens acknowledged his debt to Checkland, who had warned that:

"...those who make thumping generalizations about what happened, even within a particular group of (towns)....for example British industrial cities, are likely to find themselves highly vulnerable" (22)

In view of this it is felt that the focus of much educational activity was much narrower in range than the national picture developed in what Almond and Verba presented as:

"...but a snapshot in a rapidly changing world" (23)

This point was developed in a related context by Derek Fraser in another paper presented to the 1976 History of Education Society Conference, (24) which summarised his earlier research into the structure of urban politics. (25) He suggested an institutional political structure operating at four levels. At the lowest level were such parochial and urban institutions as Select Vestries, Improvement Commissions and Poor Law Boards. Next came municipal government, most clearly seen in the growing importance of town councils. The third stage involved parliamentary elections, to be followed, finally, by political activists, engaged in pursuit of reform or a social or economic goal. (26) Educa-

tion as a political issue penetrated the urban political system at all levels: for much of the century the national level was not the most important. To exemplify his structural model Fraser identified four cases. Among them were School Boards, described as the 1870s equivalent of parochial and township institutions, and the "crucial experiment" (27) in Liverpool, which concerned municipal government. (28)

Opportunity to participate forms another contrast between the 19th and 20th Centuries. The survey research of the 1950s was able to assume compulsory education, however rudimentary, and a universal franchise. In England education was not compulsory before 1880. Therefore the level of education of participants in the 19th Century needs to be seen in part as a result of the opportunity to gain access to education as well as the ability to benefit from it. Even more important was the nature of the franchise. Various parochial and municipal institutions had their own peculiar franchises, in terms of qualifications to participate, (29) and the number of votes to be deployed by different categories of electors. (30) Willingness, or even anxiety to participate, was irrelevant unless supported by property and residential qualifications.

29. No qualifications were prerequisites for participation in School Boards. Boards of Guardians were limited to those paying rates of between £15 and £40, depending on the unions. Non rate payers could qualify to vote in the election of Town Councils and Local Boards by the possession of personal property worth £500 or £100 according to the size of population.
30. Voters cast as many votes as there were seats on School Boards. Owners and occupiers could deploy up to six votes in electing Boards of Guardians. Owner-occupiers could cast up to twelve votes. The electors of Town Councils had single votes.
The final point to be made is that the situation which existed in the mid 20th Century of complex political systems characterised by specialised role structures - bureaucratic, executive, party, interest group (31) was in its early stages of development in the 19th Century, nationally and locally. In recent years a group of historians have concentrated on analysing the growth of government, developing analyses to account for it. (32) Education has been one of many case-studies on which these models have been tested. (33) One conclusion to be drawn from this work has been the rudimentary nature of a central and local educational bureaucracy for much of the century.

However these qualifications are not intended to invalidate the conclusions reached by Almond and Verba. What they are meant to emphasise is that an investigation of the motives underlying educational development in the 19th Century should be seen in the context of a growth of political relationships, in which parochial

32. The two seminal papers are held to be:-
   Subsequent commentaries have included:-
33. For example J.R.B. Johnson 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England' Past and Present No. 49 November 1970 pp. 96-149
and local autonomies survived, as contributors to a democratic infrastructure. (34) One important reason for this was that opportunities to participate occurred earlier in relation to local affairs, than national, particularly after municipal reform in the 1830s. However before examining the tensions implicit in the development and government of cities, and the participation of their inhabitants in this process, an appraisal of terms is necessary.

Two of the most distinguished recent studies of Victorian cities have cited Coke and Blackstone's seventeenth century definition of a city - an incorporated borough which was or had been an episcopal see - only to reject it in favour of a 'common sense' concept. Dyos and Wolff saw little necessary practical difference between the terms 'town' and 'city' apart from an impression of size, and a traditional sense of dignity associated with the latter. (35) Asa Briggs found the mid-Victorian term 'large towns and populous districts' a useful one before rejecting it as too cumbersome. (36) 19th Century Worcester shows up another weakness of the original definition - its lack of a dynamic dimension. On two occasions the city's boundaries were extended, recognising retrospectively the existence of large numbers of inhabitants who lived in the conurbation, and were, for most daily purposes, indistinguishable from their fellows who lived within the administrative boundary. This 'human' aspect of a city is a significant one, as the Oxford English Dictionary (37) makes clear.

In defining the noun 'city', its association with the church is located in Norman practice of moving bishoprics from villages to the chief boroughs of dioceses.

36. A.Briggs op cit 1968 ed. p 32. Briggs went on to define the term according to the values associated with it.
The confirmation of this policy by Henry VIII, who in establishing new bishoprics confirmed the boroughs in which they were established as cities, is noted, as is similar practice in the early 19th Century. Attention is also drawn to an innovation in the 19th Century: the conferring of the status and rank of 'city' upon major boroughs which were not bishoprics, by royal authority. But it is made clear that the historic relationship between the Latin terms 'civitas' and 'civis' is the reverse of that between the English terms 'city' and 'citizen'. The primary sense of the word 'city' was 'citizenship', hence a community of citizens. Only later was it taken to define the place occupied by the community. Even then the original concept of a self-governing community with dependencies was retained. In defining the related term 'civic' a range of meanings, all of which were current in the 19th Century are given. It could apply to a city, to citizens, or to the act of citizenship. A number of examples from the 19th Century will bear this out.

The most polished case in support of a civic identity was associated with Joseph Chamberlain. His concept was of the city as 'polis', a self-conscious community with a will and a capacity of its own. In a speech to Birmingham Town Council on his election as M.P. he reviewed a number of successful undertakings which had co-incided with his term as Mayor. These included a new park, a reading room and public baths, as well as improvements to the public health and appearance of the town. This mirrored the views of the Earl of Derby who looked for the improvements in living conditions for city dwellers by the provision of such municipal services as sanitation and housing. Together they underlined in practical terms the claims made by Vaughan in his polemic on cities. In his view society was indebted to cities for a higher moral tone.

Good laws, liberal arts and letters mainly originated from cities, as did activities in the maintenance of public morals, and in aid of the needy:

'The provisions which are thus made against the ignorance, the vice and the miseries of society are so manifold that it would require a large span to explain their nature, and be tedious even to enumerate them. The oversight of this spontaneous benevolence extends to the suppression or discountenance of vice in almost every form, to the restoration of the multitudes who have become its victims, to the needs of the sick, the sorrows of the bereft, the conditions of the homeless and perishing, and even to the protection of the animal creatures against the cruelties often inflicted upon them by the hand of man. These are among the good fruits of great cities'.

In a speech at Bristol in 1857 Charles Kingsley made explicit the fruitfulness of such actions, in his claim that making urban life tractable could bring out the nobility in people by impelling them to act on behalf of others.

But a qualification is necessary. Civic pride was not an absolute, objective entity but an embodiment of the aspirations of individuals and groups in particular cities. The expression of these aspirations in different cities could lead to totally different consequences. For example the attitudes of Birmingham and Leicester to civic tradition were in total contrast. In a speech to mark the laying of a foundation stone for municipal building in 1874, Joseph Chamberlain drew attention to the great cities on the Continent in whose tradition new cities were following.

On the other hand the radicals who gained control of Leicester Corporation in 1835 were so anxious to dissociate themselves from tradition and establish their own particular civic identity that they sold off all the symbols of the old civic order—crockery, glass, plate and even the mace. Even in

41. Ibid pp 296-97.
42. Ibid pp 297-98.
44. A. Briggs op cit 1968 ed p 371.

In fairness it should be noted that Leicester's reformed Corporation was faced with heavy debts, and was involved in litigation with its former

(cont'd)
the cathedral city of Lincoln the reformed Corporation took pains to break with the past:—

'In their eagerness to have done with ancient abuses, the reformers abolished the small pomp and circumstances of civic life. There was to be no more turtle soup at the public expense, therefore the corporation plate was no longer needed and must be sold' (45)

Nor was it necessarily a constant characteristic. Briggs has shown it to have existed intermittently in Leeds, but to have been at the heart of civic philosophy in Birmingham. (46) However it is now appropriate to consider in more detail the development of urban democratic systems, and the opportunities for individuals to participate in policy formulation and implementation, particularly in relation to education.

46. A. Briggs op cit 1968 ed. pp 184-86.
PART I

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT, CIVIC PRIDE AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION
CHAPTER ONE : ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS AND CIVIC PRIDE

1) A GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The historian of 19th Century education who observes Silver's injunction to be aware of the interrelationships between education and society faces a daunting task. In attempting to understand the context underlying developments in urban education he has to examine recent work on culture, government, politics and religion, in addition to material on cities.


H. Meller 'The Organised Provisions for Cultural Activities and their impact on Communities 1870-1910, with special reference to the City of Bristol' Ph.D. University of Bristol 1968.


and education. Having undertaken this examination the historian of education, accustomed to the significance generally attached to the 1833 Grant, may be reassured to discover that the 1830s have been seen widely as a turning point in society. (6)

Before that time society entailed rigid, hierarchical relationships. (7) English civilisation was largely rural: towns were the playground not the home of the upper classes. (8) Travel was difficult and often dangerous, and this, together with the personal element implicit in contemporary social morality, emphasised the isolation in society with obligations confined to a particular locality. (9) Investigations of ancient boroughs stigmatised them as corrupt and irresponsible: akin to private clubs with clear rules for admission (10) and no obligations to non-members.

6. As in:—
Aillevellyn 'The Decade of Reform - The 1830s' David and Charles 1972.

"In this old conception, therefore, society depended for its ordered existence on the maintenance of a social framework in which everyone did his duty in that state of life into which it should please God to call him".


'The Corporations look upon themselves, and are considered by the inhabitants, as separate and exclusive bodies; they have powers and privileges within the towns and cities from which they are named, but in most places all identity of interest between the Corporation and the inhabitants has disappeared' (11)

Hostile opinion claimed that the raison d'etre of incorporated boroughs was the return of political nominees to Westminster. Even Sir Frances Palgrave, who was otherwise highly critical of the report on municipal corporations produced by himself and other Royal Commissioners, acknowledged that some of its criticisms were valid and that some action was necessary to reform corporations.

The Municipal Corporations Act 1835 was this action: a response to the need to extend democratic principles into local government, or at least into the 178 boroughs to which it applied. As a consequence councils became institutions of government, with public obligations and duties,

12. Ibid para 73:—
'... a great number of Corporations have been preserved solely as political engines, and the towns to which they belong derive no benefit, but often much injury from their existence'.
'..the Corporation Bill will be the death of Toryism'.
Parkes, the Secretary of the 1835 Corporation, had become involved with the Whig hierarchy through his successful advocacy in cases of disputed elections.
13. G.B.A.M. Finlayson B.Litt. op cit 1959 p 40. Palgrave, the only Commissioner of public repute according to Finlayson, found himself surrounded by Benthamites.
14. Ibid pp 44-53. Palgrave's attempts to slow down the proceedings and amend the report were unsuccessful.
15. Ibid p 234.
'Municipal reform was the steam engine for the mill built by Parliamentary Reform'.
instead of self-perpetuating obligarchies. A relationship between council and electorate was sketched out, with limited responsibilities for an entire borough. For example, all funds and fines were to be paid into a Borough fund, to pay the salaries of officials and for such purposes as the upkeep of a gaol. Any surplus had to be devoted to town improvements, any deficit necessitated the raising of a rate. A public audit of accounts was instituted. Ratepayers were entitled to inspect these accounts. A reformed council was allowed to draw up bye-laws for the good government of a borough and for the suppression of nuisances. It was vested with the duty of appointing a Watch Committee and establishing a borough police force, and empowered to light the borough\(^\text{17}\).

Another consequence of the act was that the electorate and council members could be drawn from wider interests than previously\(^\text{18}\).

However in practice it was not immediately possible to change the assumptions and ideas implicit in the old system, or to replace an old social order by a new one\(^\text{19}\). The old titled and proprietary classes continued to contest the political system, even though the challenge of successful Dissenting business men who had originally made their mark in parochial affairs, proved too strong in the years.

after 1835, even in Anglican areas. For a number of years the transfer of power that became theoretically possible as a result of municipal reform in 1835, occurred in practice between politico-religious, rather than socio-economic groups. Property qualifications and the compounding of rates effectively barred members of the lower orders. So too did the custom of holding council meetings during the working day. Even Chartist council members tended to be small masters, publicans or small shopkeepers. It was not until the 1860s that the franchise was extended to cover large new groups following further legislation.

20. Sir Francis Hill 'Victorian Lincoln' C.U.P. 1974 p 3. Local leadership was claimed by prosperous business men, mostly radicals or liberals, resentful of the old social and ecclesiastical hierarchy, who had formerly controlled city life. T.C. Turberville 'Worcestershire in the 19th Century' Longman 1852 p 178. The 1835 elections to a reformed council saw the end of a Tory monopoly. Reformers took 34 of the 36 seats on Worcester City Council.

21. D. Fraser op cit 1976 p 118. He also suggests (p 143) that there was little to choose, socially, between the councils in Nottingham before, and after 1835. The same point is made by Finlayson B. Litt op cit 1959 pp 207-8 and Hennock op cit 1973 p 185 in Leicester and Manchester, and Leeds respectively.

22. After 1835 many rating authorities charged the owners of small houses for rates, and left them to recover the costs from their tenants, by increased rents. One consequence of this was to disenfranchise the tenants.


24. The Small Tenements Rating Act 1850 was permissive and in those areas that ignored it, nineteen years elapsed before the Municipal Franchise Act 1869 imposed the same benefits, by enfranchising compounder-tenants, and women, and reducing the period of rate payment which was necessary as a qualification to vote.
School Boards were amongst the earliest public institutions to be influenced by the extensions of popular participation.

But an inability to vote in any of the local elections did not disqualify an individual from all part in political life. Throughout the 19th Century existed a variety of groups whose objectives were to influence political activities. Clubs, societies and associations proliferated - the first political act of many men being to join one such group. Local political unions demonstrated in disapproval at such events as the failure of Reform in 1831, and similar groups continued to express the opinions of particular sectors of society at contemporary abuses or events. There is some disagreement about the degree to which such groups were merely reflections of horizontal, conflicting class divisions in the


26. Ibid. Among the different authorities governed by various different franchises and regulations were Town Councils, Local Boards, Boards of Guardians, Burial Boards, Highways Boards, Lighting Inspectors, Overseers and School Boards.


28. T. C. Turberville op cit 1852 p 71. The Worcester Political Union met and voted addresses to the King following the failure of the Reform Bills in 1831.

29. D. Fraser op cit 1976 p 254 cites the Birmingham Political Union as one such example. The Chartists afford another. In the case of education the National Public Schools Association fulfilled this role.
early 19th Century\(^{(30)}\) But a consensus supports the view that from mid-century some organisations grew up in relation to particular courses of action, which emphasised interests common to various classes\(^{(32)}\). From this time also organisation grew more sophisticated with ward and caucus groups attempting to control political campaigns, once the electorate had become too numerous to bribe\(^{(33)}\).

But, given a progressive democratization of local administration in some towns\(^{(34)}\) and a continuing pattern of pressure group activity, it still remains necessary to identify the policies that preoccupied councils and popular interest groups. Initially the scope of corporations was limited to implementing the duties vested in them by the Municipal Corporations Act 1835, and continuing to honour

30. J.R.B. Johnson 'Notes on the Schooling of the English Working Classes 1780-1850' in R. Dale et al 'Schooling and Capitalism: A sociological Reader' R.K.P. 1976 p 50 repeats the Marxist claim that working class radicalism constituted a threat to the property classes, and occasionally to the state, and a challenge to the cultural hegemony of the dominant classes. D. Fraser op cit 1976 p 115 suggests that endemic political rivalry in early Victorian cities was not between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, but within the middle classes. Large cities were characterised by a diverse and fragmented social structure, which blurred the lines between the owner and servant of capital.

31. J.R.B. Johnson loc cit 1976 p 51 dates the re-establishment of a liberal alliance from the 1860s. Eileen Yeo D. Phil. op cit 1972 p 1 repeats her earlier findings that socialists, hitherto ideologically exclusive, mellowed after 1850 and worked with middle-class progressives. Among the dissenters from this consensus Jennifer Ozga 'The Origins of the Tripartite System: Society, Politics and Education in the mid 19th Century' M.Ed. University of Aberdeen 1972 p 2 sets the tone:

"...the limits of space and time have necessarily led to oversimplification, omission and generalisation. This essay is also written from a particular standpoint which sees much of 19th Century history in terms of a class 'struggle'".

32. The establishment, and activities of the National Education League provides a clear illustration of such an organisation.


34. K.B. Smellie 'A History of Local Government'. Unwin Fourth edition 1968, p 25 makes the point that the 1835 reforms did not apply to all urban areas, still less to rural areas.
any traditional obligations untouched by that act. Since few had developed any social responsibility for the community, apart from occasional duties in relation to education, the years immediately after 1835 saw a gradual acceptance of this social role. In part this was done by a positive policy on amalgamations. Reformed corporations and newly incorporated boroughs frequently existed alongside much older administrative units - the Vestries, and perhaps the Improvement Commissioners too. In the 1840s individual towns began their own campaigns to amalgamate the powers of these ancient bodies with those executed by town councils. The older bodies were unwilling to capitulate to new municipal organisations, and struggles ensued. One aspect of the conflict was which was the most appropriate body to superintend action to promote the public interest, with councils moving slowly and individually to a position of arbiter of civic well-being.

35. J. Fletcher 'An Investigation of the Work of the Worcester School Board 1871-1903, and its contribution to the Development of Elementary Education in the City' M. Phil. University of Nottingham 1974 p365. The reformed corporation took over its predecessor's responsibility for the administration of the long-established Bridge, and Enfranchisement Funds. However as the Town Clerk subsequently admitted the purpose of the funds was no longer understood: their balances remained inviolable.

36. D. Fraser in D. A. Reeder (ed) op cit 1977 p 12 claims that Liverpool was almost unique in this respect.

37. Sir F. Hill op cit 1974 pp 56-58. Control over Lincoln Grammar School was divided between the Dean and Chapter and the Corporation, following a merger in 1548 between cathedral and city grammar schools. Between 1836 and 1850 the two parties disputed the best way of reforming and expanding the institution. G. B. A. M. Finlayson B. Litt op cit 1959 p 250. The reformed Liverpool Corporation inherited two schools. It reorganised them, and in so doing replaced denominational education by non sectarian, with a special time set aside for religious instruction to be conducted by clergy of different denominations. Worcester City Council had had some responsibility for a grammar school since the 1550s.

A context for these disputes was provided by 'Improvement' in the years immediately after 1835. In Birmingham the Political Union broadened its horizons of interest beyond parliamentary reform, until by the 1830s it organised activities covering a wide sweep of local affairs, while in a number of cities sanitary matters were either shared between councils and improvement commissioners, or were not the responsibility of councils at all. The number of local bills introduced into Parliament in the 1830s and 1840s underlined the locality's initiative in relation to 'Improvement'. The majority of these were introduced by councils rather than individuals or informal groups. However, the principle of legislation on a municipal issue was seldom contentious, since council and commission alike recognised that certain situations were no longer tolerable. Local disputes resulted from differences as to the best methods of ameliorating these situations:

'Basic questions about the legitimate use of the power of the urban community were involved in the mundane questions of water and drains'.

39. Ibid p 254. Its leaders (Attwood, Muntz, Parkes, Salt) emerged as the most active supporters of Dissenters in their opposition to the reform of Birmingham Grammar School, and were active on the committee to oppose the governors' bill, which sought to restrict membership of the governing body to Anglicans.

40. G.B.A.M. Finlayson B.Litt op cit 1959 p 255. During a debate on the Health of Towns Bill 1848, Lord Morpeth drew attention to the spread of control for sanitary measures in different towns. Of corporations reformed as a result of the 1835 Act:

- 29 had direct powers of cleaning, draining and paving.
- 66 shared these powers with bodies of commissioners.
- 30 had no such powers - total control was vested in commissioners.
- 62 had no such powers at all, under corporations or commissioners.

41. E.P. Hennock op cit 1973 p 4. 1836-1848 is identified as a prolific period for local bills. After then the number presented declined. The cost of drafting and presenting bills took them beyond the reach of interests other than councils in general.

But older authorities could be stubborn. It was only the threat of centralization in the Public Health Act 1848 that finally and significantly persuaded the Birmingham Street Commission to surrender its powers to the Council.\(^{43}\)

'Significantly' because the mention of central authority introduces another important aspect of the development and scope of local policy. Until the 1830s local authorities were largely independent of central intervention. In the years immediately after the Municipal Corporations Act local government's contacts with central government were predominantly confined to the introduction of their own bills, and to the implementation of numerous acts to extend the scope of the 1835 legislation.\(^{44}\) With hindsight it can be seen that as councils were developing their own sense of authority within localities, an impetus was building up to end their autonomy, albeit in a haphazard way. It occurred first in relation to the Poor Law, but in such a way as to provoke hostility.\(^{45}\) It was also a feature of the mandatory legislation that became more common as the century progressed, and of the practice of establishing inspectorates to supervise and report on local observance of social policy. The prevalent view in mid century that good government was unobtrusive government\(^{46}\) militated against numerous compulsory legislative programmes. Instead government intervened in local affairs by linking grants to the maintenance of minimum standards\(^{47}\) in a number of fields.

44. S. & B. Webb op cit 1908 p 751 f.n.2 draws attention to the large number of amending acts necessary as supplements to the Municipal Corporations Act 1835.
45. E.P. Hennock op cit 1973 p 6. It is suggested that local hostility may have delayed the introduction of similar measures.
46. Gillian Sutherland (ed) op cit 1972 pp 9-10. This view is attributed to Ralph Lingen in particular. He was Permanent Secretary to the Education Department 1849-1869, and Permanent Secretary to the Treasury 1870-1885.
47. Exchequer grants were offered on these conditions from 1856.
including education\(^{(48)}\). From this point onwards central government slowly acquired more powers and impinged, in theory and in practice, on the recently developed authority of local councils\(^{(49)}\). By the close of the century compulsion had become a characteristic of legislation particularly in education and public health:

'This meant that over some of the most important spheres local authorities lost the power of initiative that they had enjoyed for so long!' \(^{(50)}\)

It was in the conscious exercise of this authority, in the face of central intervention that councils began to develop individual civic identities. Joseph Chamberlain's may have been the most polished case in support of a civic gospel: it was not the only one. \(^{(51)}\) On occasion internecine local political disputes were set aside, while a temporary alliance was forged to enable a council to combat the common enemy - central government. In other instances critical pressure groups could turn to a local council for its status and support in a campaign. But whether local interests came together or not in the face of central pressure, their skill was in the awakening of the local imagination, often by justifying their actions and expenditure in the name of civic pride. \(^{(52)}\)

\(^{48}\) The Revised Code 1862 is an obvious example here, though it obviously did not apply to councils.

\(^{49}\) After 1866 it was able to act against sanitary authorities guilty of gross neglect. In legislation in 1870 to establish school boards, it vested powers in the Education Department to intervene in the affairs of school boards declared in default. In fairness it has to be said that these powers were seldom exercised.

\(^{50}\) E.P. Hennock op cit 1973 p 5.

\(^{51}\) E.P. Hennock op cit 1973 pp 284-91. The New Era in Leeds was another example, though it lacked the ideological dimension (p 288) present in Birmingham.

\(^{52}\) On occasion local imagination remained dormant. Proposals in Leeds concerning water, highways, a new bridge, a new library, a park, and slum clearance combined to produce a ratepayers' resistance movement in the late 1860s. Its leader complained that:

'...the desire for public improvement is becoming almost a mania'.

The part to be played by local newspapers was crucial here (53). In general a civic gospel was evolved on behalf of a city and its inhabitants by a minority, who had obtained positions of influence by virtue of their social status, financial security and ownership of property (54). In practice this meant that the aspirations of cities were most frequently realised by councils themselves. Local newspapers served as a bridge between this minority and the local population. Editorials were important in informing the public of national developments and the response of local leaders, in acquainting the reading public with the activities of neighbouring towns, but above all in providing a commentary on local affairs which distinguished between honourable aspirations to civic pride and mere extravagance. News columns covered local events in minute detail, giving exhaustive accounts of alternative proposals and providing an accompanying concordance of bracketed comments, so that the reception accorded to the various proposals was also clear to the reader. This was of particular value to the interested citizen, since he might well have found it impossible to attend all the meetings or events in relation to an issue, particularly if they clashed with his working hours, or were held simultaneously. The correspondence columns allowed the best, and in some cases the only opportunity for all the literate local populace to express opinions on the schemes or policies being considered on their behalf (55) and on those acting in their name. Even when local newspapers initiated an issue, it was still necessary to win popular support for it, and convince councils. This was most likely to happen if the issue could

53. F. Hill op cit 1974 pp 8-9. Once interest in reform was stirred in Lincoln a number of papers were founded, representing various interests. Previously only one had existed.

54. In addition to residential qualifications voters had to own real or personal estate worth £1000, or occupy a property with a ratable value of £30 p.a. (In smaller boroughs, without ward divisions, these figures were halved).

55. R.B.Newton 'Victorian Exeter 1837-1914' 4 vols. Ph.D. University of Exeter 1966 p xxii. In 1871 a bricklayer told a meeting of the Exeter Working Men's Improvement...
be seen to deal with an intolerable local situation in such a way as to benefit all the local population.

Briggs' examination of Victorian cities has identified certain common factors. They grew rapidly and suffered severely from the human problems associated with so swift and unco-ordinated an expansion. They were heavily industrialised and benefitted directly from the rapid development of transport and communications systems. Most important, for all their problems they possessed a dynamic energy which enabled them to devise programmes to transform their conditions.

Civic pride was not limited to the formulation of policies to combat urban dereliction however. It also involved important questions of status and tradition.

In certain circumstances civic pride could extend beyond municipal boundaries and lay claim to national and regional attention. As the base of the Manchester Statistical Society, the Anti Corn Law League, the National Public Schools Association and the Manchester and Salford Education Bill Committee, Manchester made a significant contribution to political life in a number of fields, until superseded by Birmingham, whose National Education League took up the reins that Manchester was laying down, and reminded of earlier activity by the Birmingham Political

55. continued.. Society that it was impossible for the ordinary man to express his views freely, as he could in a large city, without becoming a marked man.
57. Ibid.
58. F. Adams 'History of the Elementary School Contest' Chapman and Hall 1882 pp 192-95. George Dixon's comment in the Manchester Examiner is quoted (p 195) :-
"Had my suggestions been favourably received by the gentlemen to whom they were made, Birmingham would not have originated the League, but would have followed Manchester, which in my opinion ought to have headed, and was entitled to head a national movement".
Union. Regional pre-eminence involved a pronounced sense of rivalry, since the new industrial towns tended to be concentrated. In such areas as the East Midlands, the Black Country, Lancashire, the West Riding and South Yorkshire, towns in close proximity took pride in outstripping each other, and in the quality of their civic programmes. The claims made by James Kay (Shuttleworth) on behalf of Manchester, could have been repeated, with some justice, in many other industrial towns:

'The improvements which are constantly projected here are carried on with an energy which shows that the inhabitants of Manchester, as they are second to none in the successful application of science to the arts - in foreign enterprise - and in wealth - so are they determined, in the future, to yield the palm to none in the perfection of their municipal regulations - the number of their institutions for the spread of knowledge and the advancement of science - in the stability of their civic economy, and the ornaments of their social state.' (61)

But whatever a city's aspirations to national or regional significance, it was at local level that pride was most commonly and obviously an issue, and most clearly affected by tradition. Ancient boroughs had public buildings that attracted widespread admiration for their beauty and taste (62). Civic buildings in new boroughs could serve the same purpose, and indicate that London did not monopolise all that was finest in terms of architecture, could serve as an affirmation of their new-found responsibilities (63).

59. A. Briggs op cit 1968 pp 185-86.
60. T. H. Sanderson and E. S. Roscoe (ed) 'Speeches and Addresses of Edward Henry XVth Earl of Derby' (2 vols) 1894. Vol I p 7. In a speech in Bolton in 1855 Stanley commented on the proximity of many industrial towns to Manchester. The impression was almost of one continuous town.

63. A. Briggs op cit 1968 p 159. Sir Charles Barry saw a Town Hall as:-

'...the exponent of the life and soul of the city.'
and could symbolize their progress. In addition cities took pride in the acquisition of specific public functions which they saw as bestowing status in allowing them to be seen in the same light as ancient boroughs. For all its size, and the splendour of its municipal buildings Leeds was anxious to become an assize town. In one other way the importance of fine public buildings and the acquisition of particular responsibilities had important consequences for Victorian boroughs. While cities as apparently disparate as Birmingham and Worcester might take pride in the fame and utility of their products, the presence of fine civic buildings in industrial boroughs helped to combat criticisms that they were concerned solely with economic and social growth. On occasion boroughs were prepared to neglect basic concerns and spend huge sums on the establishment of monuments to civic taste, whatever the opposition. As heirs to a civic tradition they were determined to prove worthy of it no matter what the cost or effort required.

If this was representative of the growing assertiveness of relatively new boroughs to which direct representation in Parliament and the functions and trappings of traditional civic life were still something of a novelty, it might be wondered what was the attitude of ancient boroughs? If the new industrial boroughs were vociferous in defence of their newly won powers and responsibilities, how did ancient boroughs face a situation in which their former eminence was being usurped? Since no comparable investigation of pre-industrial boroughs has been undertaken, the evidence to set against the work of Briggs, and

64. Ibid. pp 159-60 and 165. Briggs sees all these factors as underlying the building of Leeds Town Hall.
65. Ibid p 179.
66. Ibid. p 184. Also a local porcelain manufacturer was able to discipline a hostile and unruly public meeting in Worcester in 1872, by listing the products for which the city was famous, and to conjure a spontaneous burst of applause from the crowd at the mention of the most notable product, '... Worcester Sauce!' Berrows Worcester Journal. 4th May 1872 p 7.
Dyos and Wolff is slight. However studies have been undertaken of Bath, Exeter, Lincoln and York during the 19th Century, and the evidence does appear capable of limited and tentative generalization, especially when supplemented by contemporary comments about cathedral cities.

Ancient boroughs could still lay claim to national and regional attention in the 19th Century. For example Bath entered the 19th Century with a national reputation based on its position as the English watering place with fine buildings, amenities, and social, literary and cultural activities designed to satisfy the influx who came to enjoy the Season. It derived the same pride from its contribution to the social life of the country as Birmingham and Manchester did from their political influence. But this was exceptional. Most cities were able to enjoy national attention briefly, as venues for the annual congresses of such prestigious societies as the British Association for the Advancement of Science or the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Until the latter's prestige began to wane in the early 1880s there is evidence that cities vied with one another to attract its annual congresses, and that its presence was felt to confer some real status, (as well as economic benefit) on

67. ..continued.. pool Council did little to attack living conditions in which epidemics raged, but instead allotted £100,000 to the building of the prestigious St. George's Hall.

68. R.B. Hope 'Educational Developments in the City of Bath 1830-1902 with special reference to its inter-relationships with social and economic change' Ph.D. University of Bristol 1970 p 7.

69. H.E. Meller Ph.D. op cit 1968 p 71:—
'The intense competition between towns to secure a visit from the (British) Association was not prompted entirely by a zeal for scientific activities. A visit by the Association was a great local event, long prepared for beforehand and long remembered afterwards'

Though opportunities for individual cities to sustain a position of national prestige were limited, those to dominate a region were not. Many cities were able to take pride from the knowledge that neighbouring regions were dependent on them. The social pre-eminence of York in the early 19th Century as the capital of the North and the focus of Yorkshire society has been noted recently by Peacock. Similarly, in a monumental study of Exeter Newton commented that the early 19th Century saw the city continuing to fulfil its function of two centuries previously:

'Devon met at Exeter for business, politics, religion and amusement' (73)

In a similar sense the Three Choirs Festival provided a social and cultural focus to enhance the reputations of the cathedral cities of Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester. However such influence was largely residual: a legacy of pre-industrial society.

Newton's conclusion that Exeter was largely untouched by the explosive combination of demographic pressure and economic expansion applies to other boroughs as well. Its basic concern was with survival: its major preoccupation was with its waning status Bath felt itself increasingly overshadowed by Bristol. Lincoln suffered a sense of isolation. The main obstacle to a generalisation about the loss of status, is in dating the decline. It was already apparent in York by the end of the Napoleonic Wars, but not until mid-century in Exeter. In addition these

71. Ibid p 216: "The reaction of the local press to a Social Science Association meeting often reached an embarrassing pitch of hyperbole and civic pride"


74. J. Bentley 'History and Directory of the City of Worcester' Bentley (Worcester) 1840 pp 45-6. The festival, which had attracted royal patronage had been established in 1720.


76. Ibid p xix.


79. R.B. Newton Ph.D. op cit 1966 p 284, sees the enormous success of the Royal Agricultural Show in 1850 as the city's social swansong.
cities appear either to have been largely untouched by industrial expansion, to have felt the impact of industrialization relatively late, or to have seen their former industrial power dwarfed or disappear. Nor did they share the improved transport and communications systems that accrued to the industrialized Victorian conurbations. The impact of railways on York was no compensation for its loss of social hold on the county. Bath, Exeter, Lincoln and York can be seen to have receded from any previous positions of national importance, and also to have lost much of their regional significance, settling down instead as medium sized provincial towns.

Once again Newton can be used to speak for ancient boroughs. He pointed out that Exeter was no less Victorian because it was unlike Leeds. It was typical of the secluded aspect of Victorian England. As a result, it lacked the brash self-confidence, and dynamism that exuded from the burgeoning new cities of Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester.


81. Sir F. Hill op cit 1974 p 2. The Industrial Revolution is said to have reached Lincoln a century after it hit the great industrial areas of the country. R. Hope Ph.D. op cit 1970 pp 19 and 34 sees any industrial impact on Bath as relatively modest, and comparatively late.

82. Ibid pp 19-22. The 'Season' in Bath failed, as a result of the growing popularity of the seaside resort. R.B. Newton Ph.D. op cit 1966 p 210. Until 1801, Exeter's staple industry was wool; by 1851 it had virtually disappeared.

83. Ibid p 355. The Exeter Canal, opened as late as 1827, brought little trade to the city, but it did impose a heavy debt on the Council. R. Hope Ph.D. op cit 1970 p 23. Not only did the coming of the railway to Bath fail to bring benefits in terms of an influx of industry and visitors, it also destroyed the city's thriving coaching trade.


85. Ibid p xix.
Therefore it would seem to be the case that the self-esteem of many ancient boroughs, based on pre-industrial society, tradition, and the politics of deference and public ballots, was not proof against the vitality of 19th Century industrial cities, and that they were unable to match the aspirations to civic pride of those industrial cities as the century progressed. In one important sense they were handicapped. Since they already possessed civic buildings to accompany the traditional administrative, legal and social obligations of ancient boroughs, they were denied the incentive and motivation possessed by Victorian boroughs who were seeking these obligations for the first time, and were able to accommodate them in an appropriately grandiose style. The talisman of status used by Victorian boroughs to charm their citizens was ineffective in ancient boroughs. Their civic traditions were increasingly impotent. As the 19th Century progressed they were increasingly overshadowed in size, and lost direct access to authority as a result of redistributions of seats in Parliament, which saw industrial boroughs enfranchised at their expense.

For the state to challenge their civic autonomy would deprive them of their last vestige of pride. In view of this they viewed the growth of central government with hostility. A handful of boroughs, including Lichfield, refused to respond to the inquiries of the Commission on Municipal Corporations in England and Wales. Exeter took

86. Ibid p 353. In a sense Newton invites this conclusion by judging Exeter in relation to the criteria applied by Briggs in his judgments on 'Victorian' cities.

87. Ibid p 369:- 'Exeter did not feel impelled to justify itself to the world in fine new buildings erected as monuments to civic pride and progress'.

88. A. Briggs op cit 1968 p 274. Middlesbrough's Town Hall, opened in 1846, cost £2,000. Its successor, opened in 1887, cost £130,000.

89. Report from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations .... 1835 op cit Vol. III para 7. Corfe Castle, Dover (sic), Maidstone and New Romney were identified as the other boroughs to have adopted a similarly intransigent attitude. Obviously other factors, including vested interest, led to this action.
an even more dogmatic position. In 1858 it refused a government grant towards police expenditure on the grounds that it would strengthen the principle of centralization, and as a result interfere with the freedom of local authorities. The following year, the city submitted a petition to Parliament, requesting it to:

'... take the earliest opportunity of repealing all laws, which by centralising power in London, have deprived provincial Corporations and other public Bodies of that independence which they have heretofore enjoyed'

This independence, and the desire to retain control and direction of local affairs in local hands, against an alien and uninterested central bureaucracy was perhaps the most enduring aspect of civic pride. It might appear from this selective view of cathedral cities that this was the only avenue to civic pride open to them as the century progressed, and the phenomenon of the major industrial city, bursting with municipal zeal, developed. In turning to 19th Century Worcester, this tentative conclusion can be tested.

91. Ibid.
92. Central intervention could be fully justified. Sir F. Hill op cit 1974 p 48, cites one such example in Lincoln. In 1855 the Treasury refused to allow the city to sell off more property to raise funds, arguing that the council was required by law to levy a rate to cover any deficiencies in revenue.
CHAPTER TWO : ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENTS AND CIVIC PRIDE ii) WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WORCESTER

By the time that Victorian cities were beginning to seek wider recognition, Worcester already had a well-established claim on national and regional attention. The motto on its civic coat of arms\(^1\) proclaimed its loyalty to successive monarchs. Its support for the Royalist cause during the Civil Wars, and as the headquarters of Charles II immediately before his defeat by Cromwell at the Battle of Worcester in 1651, were already part of the fabric of national political history\(^2\). The city's geographical significance as the major crossing place over the River Severn, commanding the routes into Wales\(^3\) had earlier been instrumental in its involvement with national political issues\(^4\). In the 19th Century, however, its main claim to fame resulted from its commercial rather than its strategic significance. The city's premier porcelain manu-

1. 'Civitas in Bello et Pace Fidelis' (The City Faithful in War and Peace). A. MacDonald noted that a number of other cities, including Exeter, also claimed the title 'The Faithful City' as their own. A. MacDonald 'Worcestershire in English History' Press Alliance 1943 p 97.

2. And still are. See for example G. Davies 'The Early Stuarts 1603-1660' Oxford (Clarendon Press) 1959 ed pp 168-169. This is still an issue locally. At the time of writing, a lively correspondence is being conducted in the local press on the degree of support for Charles II, and whether a red-painted horned effigy, carved on the portico of the Guildhall is really meant to represent Oliver Cromwell.


4. A. MacDonald op cit 1943 pp 48-50, 58-59. Prior to the Battle of Evesham in 1265, at which Welsh troops fought against him under Simon de Montfort, Prince Edward made Worcester his base. Later, as King Edward I he used the city as his headquarters in campaigns against Llewellyn ap Griffith, in 1277 and 1282.
factory had been allowed to style itself the 'Worcester Royal Porcelain Company' following a visit by the Royal Family in 1788\(^5\), while other porcelain works had been patronised\(^6\) or visited subsequently by royalty\(^7\). In addition gloving expanded considerably, aided by a policy of prohibition on imports\(^8\). Seventy manufacturers were in operation in 1801, catering not only for home demand, but also maintaining major export markets in the colonies and the United States\(^9\). A local observation that the quality of Worcester gloves was noted at home and abroad, and that peace would aid the local economy\(^10\) appeared to be borne out subsequently\(^11\). By 1825 well over 100 manufacturers were in existence\(^12\), contributing to a total output of 7½ million pairs for the year\(^13\), representing approximately half the national consumption.

5. J. Bentley op cit 1840 p 49. Also the visit was recorded by Fanny Burney, who had accompanied the Royal party. W. R. Ward ed. 'The Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay' 3 vols. Vizetelly & Co. 1890. Vol.II pp 199-201.


8. Berrows Worcester Journal 10th October 1771 records a hearing before two county magistrates at which a quantity of French gloves were confiscated.


11. In 1812 over half the city's population was in receipt of parish relief. (6,908 out of 13,668 according to records in the Guildhall). One reason was felt to be the collapse of the American market following the outbreak of war with Britain.

12. The figure is an estimate based on contemporary trade directories, and is likely to underestimate the true position. Local opinion felt that 140 could be a more realistic number.

13. Worcester Herald 4th February 1832. This figure was given in the House of commons by Col. Davies, one of the city's M.P.s.
Additional claims were much more varied however. Its regional significance was not merely the result of its position as the major crossing place over the Severn between Bridgnorth and Gloucester; though in itself this placed it at the heart of the communications network. The medieval road system was much improved during the 18th Century; more than one hundred turnpike acts affecting the county during this period. The city developed into an important coaching centre for the region. In the same way its traditional importance as a major inland port was consolidated in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Wine had been unloaded on the city's quays since the Middle Ages, while at a more mundane level it had been the main coal port of the Severn Valley since Elizabethan times, emerging as a coal distribution centre. The opening of the Birmingham-Worcester canal enabled it to regain some of the initiative it had lost to neighbouring Stourport. Industrial products from the Black Country were transferred to distinctive Severn trows at Worcester ready for a short journey to Bristol, from where they could be shipped abroad.

As one of only three large urban areas in the entire county and the only one in the south, its commercial relationship to the region became more significant with the decline of the market towns of Evesham and Pershore from their former positions of importance (see illustration 1 on p 24). It was able to build up its direct commercial influence, which had originally been predominantly over

14. New Triennial Directory of Birmingham. Wrightson (Birmingham) 1818 pp 177-192. Four coaches a day travelled from Birmingham to Worcester. Others stopped in the city on journeys to and from Gloucester, Bristol, Bath and Exeter. Travellers to or from Hereford, Kingston, Ledbury, Leominster, Ludlow or Wales changed there.


16. Dudley and Kidderminster were the other two.
- Endowed Schools offering a Classical education
- Endowed Schools offering a semi-Classical education
- Endowed Schools offering an Elementary education

(Map reproduced by permission of Penguin Books)
the East and West of the county\(^{(17)}\). It was sited at the point where the pastoral North and West merged with the arable South and East. As a result the diversity of goods exchanged at its numerous fairs and markets surpassed that of any other town in the county\(^{(18)}\). Some of its commercial activities extended their influence well beyond county boundaries. For example it had been an important drove road for cattle for centuries\(^{(19)}\), while Chalklin has pointed out that its hop market had a national reputation and clientele, one of the consequences of which was to retard the growth of Hereford\(^{(20)}\).

But the city was more than just a focus for communications, and a commercial centre for arable and pastoral produce. Ever since 1621 when the City\(^{(21)}\) of Worcester was made a separate county, distinct from Worcestershire, by Royal Charter\(^{(22)}\), administration for city and county had been centred in Worcester. For example the City Council:—

'...keep in repair the Town Hall, which is used for the county sessions and assizes, and for other general businesses connected with the county at large, as well as with the City' \(^{(23)}\)

17. A. Dyer 'The City of Worcester in the 16th Century' Leicester University Press 1973 p 68. Until the 19th century the market towns of Bromsgrove, Droitwich, Halesowen, Kidderminster and Stourbridge had limited Worcester's influence to the North, Evesham, Ledbury, Pershore, and Tewkesbury had a similar influence to the South.

18. Ibid p 70.

19. P. Clark and P. Slack 'Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700' R.K.P. 1972 p 149 refers to Worcestershire being the focus for cattle being driven into Kent as early as the 17th Century.

20. C.W. Chalklin 'The Provincial Towns of Georgian England - a study of the building process 1740-1820' Arnold (Studies in Urban History Series) 1974 p 30. Hereford's development was inhibited by the pull of other market towns also, as well as by poor communications.


22. Ibid p 153.

Even when the county built its own administrative and legal premises in 1835, (see illustration 2 on p 27) it was sited in Worcester, so the city remained the centre for administration. For centuries many people had been summoned to Worcester from all parts of the county to fulfil their public duties by sitting on the Bench, or as empanelled jurors. This practice continued. In addition the city was the centre for ecclesiastical administration and justice: its diocese extended well beyond the county boundary in the 19th Century, taking in Birmingham and Coventry. The growth of ecclesiastical bureaucracy matched that of civil administration at this time with such innovations as the Worcester Diocesan Board of Education augmenting established elements like ecclesiastical courts. Education also gave the city a powerful regional significance, particularly when the increase in government activity highlighted its special responsibilities for neighbouring, scattered, communities whose endowed schools were moribund.

But though observant citizens were reminded of the city's involvement with the monarchy and turbulent national affairs by the tomb of King John in the cathedral, and the statues of Charles I, Charles II and Queen Anne adorning the Guildhall, (see illustration 3 on page 28) and while they might take pride in the prestige which Worcester gained

27. T.C.Turberville op cit 1852 p 78. A public meeting held on 6th April 1839 accepted the recommendation of a working party to establish such a committee.
28. In his report to the Schools Inquiry Commission James Bryce recommended that the Cathedral School be developed for city and county pupils alike.
29. D.Defoe 'A Tour through England and Wales' Dent 1959 ed Vol.II p 44. Defoe was unimpressed and called them figures, feeling that they hardly deserved to be described as 'statues'.
Guillem Hall in the City of Worcester
as the county town or as a regional centre, their daily preoccupations were understandably more limited. Archeological finds endorsed local claims that the city had been inhabited even before the Romans had established a station there.\(^{(30)}\) It had been entered in Domesday Book as a borough and its earliest charter, confirming definite municipal privileges, had been granted in 1189.\(^{(31)}\) It could trace back its representation in Parliament to the Model Parliament. Its bishops claimed to be able to identify the origins of their office in 680 A.D. when Bosel had been appointed bishop by Ethelred King of Mercia. Its entitlement to hold markets dated from a charter of 1555, and had frequently been guaranteed subsequently.\(^{(32)}\) Distinguished travellers had noted its prosperity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.\(^{(33)}\) Commissioners were impressed by the relatively humane treatment of juveniles in various forms of employment.\(^{(34)}\) Even as unremitting a

30. J. Bentley op cit 1840 p 14. Such finds were popular exhibits at the Natural History Society museum, opened in 1836.

31. J. R. Somers Vine 'English Municipal Institutions' Waterlow 1879 p 59 (table 3, Part IV, Section 3).


33. D. Defoe op cit 1959 ed. Vol. II p 46:— 'This city is very full of people, and the people generally esteemed very rich, being full of business..' W. Cobbett 'Rural Rides' Dent 1953 ed. Vol. II p 115:— 'The town is precisely in character with the beautiful and rich country, in the midst of which it lies. Everything you see gives you the idea of real solid wealth'.

34. Children's Employment Commission: Second Report of the Commissioners (Trades and Manufactures) 1842. Part I. Appendix. Section C 20 paras 1-12. The Commissioner commented on the appearance of the children and young persons whom he interviewed in Worcester. They seemed alert, cheerful and ruddy of complexion. He attributed this to the limited hours they were allowed to work, the generous breaks for food, and the opportunities to obtain an education. Caution is necessary in interpreting these remarks, since the Commissioner had visited the Potteries and been shocked by what he had seen and heard, prior to his visit to Worcester.
critic as Cobbett noted:—

"In taking leave of this county I repeat, with great satisfaction, what I before said about the apparent comparatively happy state of the labouring people; and I have been very much pleased with the tone and manner in which they are spoken to and spoken of by their superiors"(35)

However, though the city had much in common, apparently, with such cathedral cities as Bath, Exeter, Lincoln and York in terms of traditions and development, even the most cursory examination of 19th Century Worcester will nullify any generalisations about confident industrial boroughs, and declining ancient boroughs bereft of the benefits of industrialization and commercialisation. While it might have been overshadowed by Birmingham, especially after the development of the 'Municipal Gospel', its officers, and leading citizens maintained an attitude of confidence in its prestige and institutions for much of the century. During the passage of the Municipal Corporations Bill in 1835, Worcester's Town Clerk opposed the measure in an appearance before the House of Lords, claiming that the borough was satisfactorily administered by its two chamber corporation. (36) Fifty years later, at a public meeting, E.J. Brodie H.M.I. spoke of the city, as a citizen of nine years' residence. In no town of comparable size did the municipal spirit burn so brightly (37) These sentiments were endorsed by Canon Mandell Creighton, another adoptive citizen (38) The threat of the termination of the Three Choirs Festival in Worcester Cathedral was enough for public subscriptions to be generously supported throughout

36. T.C.Turberville op cit 1852 p 286. Local reformers disagreed and claimed that selective evidence had been offered, with the most venal practices omitted. The return of a Radical council in 1835 may indicate wider dissent from the Town Clerk's view.
37. Worcester Daily Times 3rd October 1885. (see Appendix XIII)
38. Ibid. Creighton stated that on arrival in Worcester he felt a citizen of no mean city. Both Brodie and Creighton may have been exaggerating, but if so they were telling the inhabitants what they wished to hear.
the 1860s(39) while in 1882 a period of spontaneous loyalty, civic pride and county self-esteem culminated in the opening of the Worcestershire Exhibition(40) (see illustration 4 on page 32). The treasures and products of city and county were so numerous as to require a special venue. No conventional hall was large enough: an engine shed underwent a metamorphosis with the aid of chandeliers, potted palms and whitewash, and housed the exhibition. Earl Beauchamp journeyed through streets lined with soldiers and policemen from all the county's forces to perform the opening ceremony. For the next three months the public packed the exhibition's three sections, devoted to Fine Arts, Industrial, and Historical items.

If morale was maintained, men multiplied. By the late 18th Century the city was still recognisably based on its medieval plan, and road network. Between 1779 and 1801 the city remained static, showing an overall increase of only two hundred, according to a local observer. But the early 19th Century saw a transformation of the city and its population. In part the transformation was visual. A new building medium, brick, was used instead of the traditional half timbering and stone. In-filling of burgage plots within the medieval heart of the city was accompanied

39. M. Craze 'King's School Worcester 1541-1971' Baylis (Worcester) 1972 p 206. The Dean and Chapter stated that the cathedral was in urgent need of repair. Unless the city's financial support was generous, it could not be guaranteed the cathedral as a venue. One meeting in 1867 raised £ 4,700.

40. Worcestershire Exhibition: Reports on the Various Sections. Introduction C.W.Downes.Tucker and Co. (N.D.) pp iii-vi. The original aim had been to cover a £200 deficit in the building fund for the Worcester Public Library. Such was the enthusiasm at a public meeting, claimed to be representative of all classes and all parts of the county that the event was redefined as befitting:

"...a city and county which have given substantial evidences of their loyalty and devotion to the person of our Sovereign and, yet more, to the great principle of Monarchical continuity" (p xxx)

41. T. Eaton 'A Concise History of Worcester 1829'.

42. See Appendix I.
EXHIBITION, 1882.

THE EXHIBITION

FORMALLY OPENED

TO THE PUBLIC BY

THE LORD LIEUTENANT

ON

TUESDAY, the 18th inst.

And I beg to suggest to my fellow Citizens the propriety of marking their appreciation of the event by

DECORATING THEIR HOUSES.

Wm. STALLARD, MAYOR.

Gladhill, Worcester, 12th July 1882.
by major suburban development, in the shape of courts. The completion of a stone bridge over the Severn in 1781 had been followed by the growth of the fashionable suburb of St. Johns. At the same time segregation of social classes was continuing as a result of building in Foregate Street and The Tything to the North, and Bath Road and London Road to the South. The early 19th Century saw this trend confirmed as the affluent and socially superior moved to such genteel surroundings as were to be found in Britannia Square, St. George's Square, Barbourne Terrace, Lansdowne Crescent and Lark Hill. (see frontispiece).

In stark contrast to this salubrity was the growth of an area outside the city boundary. The opening of the Birmingham-Worcester Canal in 1815 led to the provision of factories, warehouses and workshops in the vicinity of Lowesmoor Basin, and provided the incentive to build cheap housing for the work force. Land in the neighbouring Blockhouse district was available, and development took place. Since the district was administered by neither the City Council nor a Select Vestry, any faint opportunity that an overall strategy would be adopted was lost. A lack of public control was matched by a lack of amenity; no drainage was installed. The building process was piece-meal. Small plots were sold to dozens of builders, joiners, slaters and other workers. Credit was allowed by local promoters if necessary, but the operation was facilitated by a plentiful supply of capital, to which artisans had easy access. Ironically the bulk of this capital came from professional people, and widows and spinsters, newly resident in Worcester's more affluent suburbs.

These developments in and around the city are partly reflected in the rapid increase in population recorded in

44. Ibid.
45. Ibid p 35.
46. Since Improvement Commissioners were not established in Worcester until 1832, it is unlikely that any control would have been exerted had the area been within the city limits.
47. The information that follows is based on a sample of.. continued..
early census returns. Between 1801 and 1811 the increase was in the order of 20%. The next decade saw this expansion surpassed: an increase approaching 30% was noted. On both occasions the city's growth rate exceeded that in the country generally. But two points need to be made about census returns and growth in Worcester. Returns were based on parishes or extra parochial districts, a number of which were athwart the boundaries of the old city. The final totals comprising 'Worcester's' population reflected only a part of the real increases, and seriously underestimated the numbers living in an urban environment. For example, a figure of 18,610 residents in 1831 was criticised by Turberville as inaccurate. He observed that the local estimate of the urban population at this time was some 25,000. Chalklin has also shown that housing failed to keep pace with population growth in the city. The second point to be made is that the returns as tabulated in Appendix I give not only an underestimate of the total population of city and contiguous suburbs, but also an entirely misleading impression of population growth and stagnation. A conclusion that the period with the most striking rate of growth was the decade 1831-1841, would be incorrect. The return for 1841 was the first to be made after a major boundary extension. In fact the rate of increase was slowing down. A more accurate picture of

47. cont'd... available evidence. Local archives contain a wealth of relevant papers including leases and conveyances, as well as papers from solicitors' offices. 150 boxes contain material dealing with Blockhouse.

48. See Appendix I.

49. There is a striking lack of agreement on what the city's population was during the 19th Century. Turberville op cit 1852, Victoria County History op cit 1891 rep 1971, Lyes loc cit 1973, and Chalklin op cit 1974 all quote different totals. Only the latter's figures tally with actual census returns. There appear to be two reasons for this. Other writers include the inhabitants of the city's gaol, and differing proportions of the populations of parishes straddling the city boundaries.

50. T.C. Turberville op cit 1852 p 328.

51. C.W. Chalklin op cit 1974 pp 305 and 306. It is conceded that the evidence to support this conclusion is slender. P 339 gives the number of houses in 1801 and 1821 as 2,370 and 3,109 respectively, and the persons per house in the same two dates as 4.8 and 5.5.
population movement in Worcester during the 19th Century is contained in the Victoria County History, which provides full details of extra parochial districts, and gives the total population of parishes divided by the city boundary. Totals cover the city and its immediate environs.\(^{(52)}\) They indicate a rapid and sustained increase in population during the first thirty years of the 19th Century\(^{(53)}\), followed by a generation of sluggish growth resulting largely from boundary extensions in the 1830s and including a decade (1841-1851) of stagnation and migration, before a recovery which gathered momentum as the century drew to a close, although the impressive leap in population between 1881 and 1891 was heavily influenced by other boundary extensions in the mid 1880s which saw the large artisan suburb of Cherry Orchard brought within the city.\(^{(54)}\)

A similar picture can be painted in relation to industry. Gloving, the city's staple industry, expanded so rapidly in the first quarter of the 19th Century as to exceed the supply of labour available. Colonies of female workers grew up in neighbouring villages\(^{(55)}\), and extended into parts of Herefordshire and Oxfordshire. A complex organisation was built up, with Worcester as its hub. Travellers\(^{(56)}\) were given definite territories to service.

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52. **Victoria County History op cit 1971 rep. Vol.IV p.472.** According to this source population was:-

\[
\begin{align*}
1801 & : 13,670 \\
1811 & : 18,664 \\
1821 & : 21,542 \\
1831 & : 25,581 \\
1841 & : 29,573 \\
1851 & : 30,329 \\
1861 & : 34,696 \\
1871 & : 38,013 \\
1881 & : 40,850 \\
1891 & : 55,633 \\
1901 & : 62,633.
\end{align*}
\]

53. These are the only estimates which include the increase resulting from the development at Blockhouse.

54. In addition another adjacent district, Claines, was brought within the city.

55. **Census of Great Britain 1851 Population Tables II. Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations and Birth Places of People Vol.I Eyre and Spottiswoode 1854.** Returns for neighbouring villages indicate that this practice was still in existence in mid-century.

56. Ibid. One woman in neighbouring Suckley recorded her occupation as 'Glove Carrier'.

They collected bundles of finished articles\(^{(57)}\) distributed new work, and paid for previously completed bundles that had been declared satisfactory after inspection. The scale of these operations overshadowed other industrial activities, just as a decline in gloving affected the city and its immediate region. The decline can be said to have been initiated by the decision of William Huskisson\(^{(58)}\) to end the prohibition on foreign gloves in 1826.\(^{(59)}\) It was exacerbated according to the Chamber of Commerce, by changes in fashion and the practice of sending gloves from Worcester to be stitched. At least three other factors were also influential\(^{(60)}\). European competitors were spared the restrictive legislation that made English leather expensive and of poor quality\(^{(61)}\). Foreign manufacturers had easy access to kid and lamb skins of superior quality, produced in countries where the emphasis was on breeding for the hide not wool. Most important, continental glovers were more advanced economically. In part this resulted from cheaper raw materials. But the technological superiority, enjoyed particularly by the French, was decisive. Mechanisation, and innovations in the dressing and staining processes, gave competitors the double benefits of lower unit costs and higher quality goods. Worcester's gloving industry never regained its early position of pre-eminence. It survived by concentrating

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57. By this time individual parishes, or villages, had gained a reputation for one particular stage in manufacture. For example the close stitching of Crowle workers gained them a good deal of work even during the decline.

58. In 1826, Huskisson who lived in South West Worcestershire at Birts Morton Court, was President of the Board of Trade.

59. W.Cobbett op cit 1953 ed Vol.II pp 120-121. Cobbett's comments on the lack of hardship in the county were made only ten weeks after the lifting of restrictions on imports, long before the full effects of it were felt.


61. In England the hide could not be trimmed to a uniform thickness before tanning, in order to maximise duty received, which was calculated by weight. As a result it proved impossible to tan evenly.
on high quality goods, to capitalise on its former reputation, and on making its operations as cost effective as possible. This was achieved by dispensing with workers, frequently as a result of company bankruptcies, and improving individual levels of productivity in those factories which survived. It resulted in considerable hardship for the former labour force, mostly female, for whom the city provided few alternative outlets in mid-century. The difficulties of this period were subsequently presented to a wider audience by a local novelist, Mrs. Henry Wood, in a number of books. Though she had lived abroad for twenty years after her marriage in 1836, and had therefore not seen the city at its lowest point, she was in no doubt of the cause of its economic distress:

'The opening of our ports to foreign goods brought upon Westerbury, if not destruction, something very like it;'

or of the consequences for masters:

'...half the manufacturers went to total ruin',

and men:

'Hundreds upon hundreds were thrown out of employment, and those who were still retained in the few manufactories kept open earned barely sufficient to support existence', ...

Such hardships necessitated a process of industrial renewal to which the city was already well accustomed. Defoe had commented in the 18th Century on the city's reputation in the cloth trade. One hundred years later it was non-existent. Gone too were other industries, notably carpet manufacture and needle making, which had moved to

62. Worcester Royal Porcelain Company, another employer of women, was itself in difficulties in mid-century.
63. Mrs. H. Wood 'Mrs. Haliburton's Troubles' West and Johnson (U.S.) 1865. Mrs. H. Wood 'Mildred Arkell' Bentley and Son 1884 ed.
64. Mrs. H. Wood op cit 1884 ed. p 2.
65. Ibid p 137.
67. D. Defoe op cit 1959 ed Vol. II p 46. J. Bentley op cit 1840 p 34, quoted Leland, writing in 1540:— "The Wealth of the Town of Worcester standith most by drapering; no town in England at this present time maketh so many cloathes yearly as this town does".
Kidderminster, and Feckenham and Redditch respectively, supposedly because fewer restrictions were imposed on their manufacture than in Worcester (68). Porcelain and gloving were the city's oldest established industries, though both were in difficulties in the middle of the century. The city's pre-eminence as a centre of communication and trade was underlined throughout the century by its boat and barge-building yards, its rope and twine-spinning industry, its markets, mills and breweries, and by the activities associated with its river trade. The second half of the century witnessed a slow diversification of trade and industry (69), as an examination of contemporary trade directories shows (70). Railway engine works were established once a line reached the city in 1850. In addition there developed an extensive and prestigious carriage works, whose patrons included royalty, a brass and iron foundry, a plane and tool maker, a shoe factory, a spice and sauce factory and a vinegar works which the locality claimed to house the largest vat in Europe. Finally the city contained engineering and chemical plants. From limited beginnings (71) Worcester developed a diversified economy with employment opportunities for men and women, in factories or at home as piece workers, in manufacturing and service industries, as well as in domestic occupations. In view of this it is tempting to


69. The diversification occurred too late to make any significant mark on the Occupation Returns in the 1851 Census. Domestic, Agricultural and Labouring were major occupations as were trades relying on Leather, Engineers, Toolmakers, Machinists, Chemical and Railway workers featured rarely.

70. The details of local industry which follow are taken from: - 'Post Office Directory of Worcestershire' Kelly & Co. 1854. 1860. 1864.
'Slater's Royal, National and Commercial Directory and Topography' Isaac Slater 1850.
'Directory and Gazetteer of the County of Worcester' Billings 1855.

71. 'Limited' in view of the opinion expressed in the Children's Employment Commission .... op cit 1842. Para 12:
'Considering Worcester therefore as anything but a manufacturing town, and the few engaged being... continued...
ascribe a degree of civic pride to an ancient borough keeping pace with industrial times, instead of ossifying around tradition. Recent research has pointed to Worcester's increasing industrial importance. But it is clear that the city, and its leaders, had little formal part to play in this. A Chamber of Commerce was established at a public meeting in 1839:

'to promote the commercial interests of the city without reference to politics' (73)

In 1847 the City Council established a sub-committee to seek the return to the city of gloving work which had been sub-contracted elsewhere. In the same year a resolution was passed at a joint meeting of City Council, Chamber of Commerce, Boards of Guardians and glove manufacturers to establish a vocational school in order to improve the skill of gloveresses. But such efforts appear to have been the exception rather than the rule, and to have been more noted for good intentions than successful results.

71. ...cont'd.. mixed up with so large a population....''

This is a relative judgment, made in comparison with the Potteries, from where the Commissioner journeyed to Worcester. (Supra f.n. 34). In addition the Commissioner failed to inspect out work, where much glove manufacture was undertaken.


'Socially and historically Worcester belonged to those parts of the country which had been important before the Industrial Revolution. Through the period of industrialization Worcester still owed, to a considerable extent, its rise to its role as an historical (sic) centre, but at the same time became increasingly dependent on the growing trade activities and specialisations. An ancient borough, county town, and a bishop's see, Worcester is an example of a town which was an industrial as well as an administrative, cultural and religious centre of historical importance'.

73. T.C.Turberville op cit 1852 p 293.
The same might be said of attempts to improve communications further. By mid-century ships of up to 80 tons could navigate the Severn to Worcester, despite more than a decade's opposition by Gloucester, which feared for its own prosperity. Successive bills to dredge the river and control it by means of weirs, allowing even larger craft to reach the city's quays were frustrated by an alliance of Gloucester, Shropshire, and Birmingham interests who feared their own revenues would fall away.

The railway question offers a similar example. The county was relatively slow in acquiring a railway line: the Birmingham to Gloucester line being the first to traverse it, in 1840. Even then Worcester remained isolated. A halt was built at Spetchley, some four miles away, and for a decade any city passengers had to travel by carriage to the halt. It was with a combination of relief and gratitude that a local directory carried the information in 1850 that a line was soon to reach the city. The absence of a railway did not indicate an antipathy to progress. A large number of proposals had been publicised throughout the 1840s, but none had commanded the joint support of the City Council, Chamber of Commerce and citizens. For all the local interest in a line passing through the city, Worcester City Council was unable to elevate its campaign above the level of a sectional interest, or to deploy sufficient funds to combat opposition schemes. It remained rooted in petty and financial wrangling.

74. By contrast A.J. Peacock D.Phil op cit 1973 pp 4-5 shows that York's river trade was in decline at this time.
75. A. MacDonald op cit 1943 pp 134-35.
77. Many proposals were rejected on serious grounds, for example that they bypassed the city.
78. T.C. Turberville op cit 1852 pp 150-64 detail the...continued
Nor was united action possible in relation to Improvement. The rapid, and unplanned expansion on the outskirts of the city produced a situation injurious to health and morals, particularly because of the absence of any supervision. The reformed City Council turned its attention to these problems once boundary extensions brought them within its authority. A series of Public Health reports in 1840, 1842 and 1844, and two reports on the local situation in 1847 and 1848(79) left no doubt about the extent and gravity of the situation. The 1848 report observed:

'Most of the Worcester poor live in courts. They contain from five to twenty houses, are entered by a covered passage and have no thoroughfare. Most of the houses have a first, and many a second, floor. The court is generally narrow, ill-paved and without any drainage. It contains a pump, the water of which is too hard for washing and sometimes tainted; and near it are one, and sometimes two privies, the contents of which are received into a large cess-pool. In no case is any distinction of age or sex observed....' (80)

Houses in the vicinity of church yards in a number of poorer parishes were overwhelmed by smells escaping from the often-coffined ground, while it was reported that in the extra-parochial Blockhouse district bodies were sometimes left to rot in the streets(81). In view of such conditions it is not surprising that epidemics were common, or that the death rate approached that of an industrial conurbation(82), with infant mortality particularly high(83).

78. ... cont'd.. various projects and local reaction to them.
G. Clark 'Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the Sanatory Condition of the Inhabitants of the City of Worcester' Clowes 1849.
81. Ibid para 77.
82. Ibid para 47. Between 1838 and 1844 the death rate was 26.5 per thousand. In 1841 the Leeds death rate had reached 27.2 per thousand.
83. Ibid. In an appendix to the report Edwin Chadwick claimed that in 1841 more than 1 in 5 children died before their first birthday.
In one sense it might seem that Worcester was better placed than most cities to act on a Public Health issue. One of its most eminent and well-respected figures was Dr. Charles Hastings who had been appointed as a surgeon at the Worcester Infirmary in 1812 and who had been instrumental in the establishment there of the Provincial, Medical and Surgical Association twenty years later. In 1846 he appeared on the hustings and urged the crowd not to support any candidate for election who would not declare in favour of Public Health reform. He also addressed the City Council in the same vein. His success as a catalyst may be inferred from the number and range of local petitions to Parliament in support of the Health of Towns bills of 1847 and 1848.

Once legislation had been passed a government inspector, George Clark, was invited to inquire into the appropriateness of the act for Worcester. On the publication of his report in 1849 the government issued a provisional order applying the Public Health Act to the city, as it was entitled to do. The order was confirmed in Parliament in the same year, and the City Council immediately set about complying with it. At this opponents of the measure, who had already denounced the principle of central control, renewed their efforts. Ward meetings

84. T.C.Turberville op cit 1852 p 198.
85. Ibid p 278. Writing twenty years later Turberville maintained that the value and importance of the association was beyond dispute. It still exists – as the British Medical Association.
86. Ibid p 190.
87. One petition in support of the 1847 bill was said to have been signed by 700 of the working classes. Two others indicated the support of Anglican clergy and medical opinion.
88. Clark estimated that a penny rate would cover the costs of necessary improvements: a proper water supply, surface paving and drainage.
89. The Public Health Act 1848 could be applied to any borough whose death rate, according to the Registrar General's report, exceeded 23 per thousand. For some years Worcester's had been recorded as over 25.
90. Berrows Worcester Journal April 20th, May 4th and 11th 1848, contained a series of letters, hostile to Public Health reform, over the nom de plume 'Phylax'. Objections were specifically directed at central control of local affairs.
were held, and memorials drafted calling for the delay of the measure until its true financial cost was known. On the refusal by the Council to be influenced, a public meeting was called whose main speaker was Joshua Toulmin-Smith, founder of the Anti-Centralisation Society. His message, that centralisation was not only unnecessary but unconstitutional, was no less effective for being predictable. His proposal:—

'...to resist the application of the act ... and, if possible to obtain its repeal' (93)

was endorsed by the meeting, no doubt impressed by his contention, already rejected by government, that the city's death rate had been over-estimated. In 1849 and 1850 the city's electors returned councillors pledged to oppose the implementation of the Public Health Act. They attempted to revise the bye-laws necessary under the Act, to allow responsibilities to be vested in an Inspector of Nuisances instead of an Officer of Health. The Home Secretary refused to approve such revisions. The locality responded by nullifying any impact the act might have had. No Medical Officer of Health was appointed (95) The only immediate benefit to result from this period of controversy was the Worcester

91. T.C.Turberville op cit 1852 p 194.

92. J.Redlich and F.W.Hirst 'The History of Local Government in England' 2nd ed. 1972 rep. (ed. B.Keith-Lucas) pp 150-51. Toulmin-Smith held that centralisation was in violation of the common law, which embraced the whole ordering of the constitution, based locally on the parish.

93. T.C.Turberville op cit 1852 p 196.

94. Report from the Select Committee on the Public Health Bill, 1855, paras 1592 and 1594. Toulmin-Smith argued that the Registrar General's return for Worcester greatly over-estimated the borough's death rate, by including figures covering the large rural district attached to it. In 1849 a memorial making the same point had been rejected by the Central Board of Public Health.

95. A.Green loc cit 1977 p 35. The writer wishes to record his gratitude to Mr. Green for allowing him to see a manuscript on the Public Health question, prior to publication. The material here on Public Health and Model Dwellings owes a good deal to a discussion of his research with Mr. Green.
Model Dwellings Association, established in 1854, which attempted during the next twenty years to demonstrate how the working classes might be transformed by decent housing. The local press noted with satisfaction the presence in the Association of persons of all politics and social classes, acting together in the cause of Improvement. The evidence points to a different conclusion however. The Association was the product of the leading supporters of Public Health reform. Its major figures were professional men or men of independent means. The support of influential local aristocrats like Lord Ward of Witley Court, to preside over the Association, was sought. It was conceived and operated as a combination of philanthropy and commercial enterprise, by a small group of men who realised that the conflict within the city on the Public Health issue had been so fierce as to make any united action on social issues most unlikely in the immediate future.

Though the spectacle of citizens and council putting personal and financial considerations before necessary social programmes is inconsistent with civic pride, at least the Public Health issue aroused keen local interest and debate, and was concerned to a degree with the principle of who was the best judge of the locality's needs.

96. Ibid p 35. Its purpose may be inferred from its full title. 'The Worcester Association for Building Model Dwellings for the Labouring Classes'.


98. Henry Aldrich, manager of the National Provincial Bank and governor of Worcester Royal Infirmary, was the instigator of the Association. His letter to Lord Ward offering him the Presidency, dated 1st November 1853, made this point. Worcester County Record Office BA 5589/167.

99. T.C. Turberville op cit 1852 p 189 emphasised the need to safeguard all local citizens:- 'It might seem wise and well to leave the unerring laws of health and disease to work out their own results, in punishing those who neglect the necessary conditions by which alone health can be maintained where men congregate together; but as the epidemics engendered by such neglect cannot be confined to those who are their responsible producers, the legislature, on behalf of society at large, has the right to interfere.'
In the same way if the Model Dwellings Association fell short of total support within the city, at least it showed the city's leading citizens acting to alleviate an obvious social problem, which they felt brought discredit on the city. But not even this special pleading can be used to excuse the city's apathy towards cultural provision in relation to a public park.

A private company had built an Arboretum in 1850 in one of the most attractive parts of the city. The public were allowed to enter, free, every Thursday. Besides the lawns, gardens and sports facilities common to parks, it also contained such attractions as a fountain, two Russian cannon taken at the Crimea, and what was hyperbolically termed a 'Crystal Palace'. In 1866 the owners announced their intention of disposing of the Arboretum to a builder. The Earl of Dudley, who contributed to a number of aspects of civic life from his estate nearby offered to purchase the park intact and present it to the City Council, on condition that it be kept for ever for the use of the citizens. This was at the time when cities like Birmingham and Bristol were enhancing their own cultural pretensions by the establishment of public parks. But Worcester, when offered this amenity free of charge, declined it! Nor does there appear to have been any immediate criticism of this decision by citizens generally.

This brief and selective examination of Worcester in the 19th Century bears out an earlier assertion that it did not conform to a stereotype of a declining ancient borough. It remained proud of the features that brought it to national attention. If anything its important place


101. Lord Ward had been allowed to assume this ancient family title in 1860.

102. Helen Meller Ph.D. op cit 1968 p 250 (footnote). The cost of a public park at this time is conservatively estimated at £30,000: Bristol's first park cost £46,000.


104. However the incident left its mark locally. Twenty years later a pamphlet urging the public to recognise the importance of a municipal cultural enterprise was headed 'Citizens! Remember the Arboretum' (see App.XIV).
in the life of the region increased. It adapted to industrialization in the second half of the century. But in relation to particular social, cultural and communication issues its response was equivocal and often contradictory. If the desire to retain control of local affairs in local hands, and the determination to promote economical policies in relation to public expenditure can be claimed to be consistent with civic pride, they are obviously much less potent manifestations of that philosophy than the conscious attack on human and industrial problems found in industrial conurbations, commended by Kay and Chamberlain, in Manchester and Birmingham respectively.

Writing in 1852 Turberville suggested a reason for Worcester's lack of overall civic philosophy:

'There has, moreover, been a lack of unity and co-operation amongst the inhabitants in the promotion of the general good which has been the 'worm i' the bud' to many schemes which would in all probability have greatly advanced the prosperity of the city. Considerations of the common weal have been postponed to the interests of partisans. To make an application of our civic motto - Worcester, if faithful to herself, may flourish ever'.

His view may be over pessimistic. It was advanced shortly after the controversy over Public Health reform, which he himself had supported. It was obviously influenced by the low esteem of the city's two most notable industries, gloving and porcelain. At this time only twenty glove

105. S.R.Broadbridge op cit 1972 Vol.I pp 46-7, 56-8. The original proposals to link Birmingham and Worcester by barge canal were opposed by a rival company (and a barber in threatened Stourport, who cut the throat of the solicitor for the projected canal company). The completion of the Birmingham-Worcester canal in 1815 had economic benefits for the city and for local colliers and canal users, and had important consequences for the region.

106. Civic parsimony is an equally likely motive. Each issue has to be examined individually before arriving at a judgment. No prior generalisation is possible.

107. Supra pp 14 (Kay), and ix (Chamberlain).

manufacturers survived: in 1826 120 had flourished\(^{(109)}\).
Local porcelain manufactories were at a low ebb as a result of the popularity of plate dinner services\(^{(110)}\).
In addition Worcester Royal Porcelain Company's exhibits had been shown up as clumsy and ill-designed against rival displays in the Great Exhibition of 1851. But confirmation of his view came in the work of Mrs. Henry Wood, whose recollections of a divided city dated from the mid 1830s\(^{(111)}\).

However, to admit that not all issues were conceptualised in terms of a civic crusade is not to deny that Worcester did on occasion find itself motivated to united action in the city's interest. The decision to establish a vocational school in 1847 has been cited\(^{(112)}\). It is now intended to undertake a more thorough investigation of educational provision in the city.

\(^{109}\) Ibid p 17.

\(^{110}\) Ibid p 17.

\(^{111}\) Mrs. H. Wood op cit 1884 ed. p 1. Westerbury's (Worcester's)

'...beautiful cathedral rises in the midst, the red walls of its surrounding prebendal houses looking down upon the famed river that flows gently past; a cathedral that shrouds itself in its unapproachable exclusiveness, as if it did not belong to the busy town outside. For that town is a manufacturing one, and the aristocracy of the clergy, with that of the few well-born families time has gathered around them, and the democracy of trade, be it ever so irreproachable, do not, as you know, assimilate'.

\(^{112}\) Supra p 39.
CHAPTER THREE: EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INNOVATION
IN WORCESTER IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Worcester witnessed activity in relation to education at all levels, and for all classes, during the 19th century. Developments in elementary education began in the earliest years of the century, when it became clear that the established Sunday schools formed an insufficient base for instructing the lower orders. Even more important was the local publicity given to the Monitorial system. Day schools now became a practical proposition, because economies of scale rendered them capable of operation at a cost small enough to be borne by a single parish, or a small group of subscribers.

In 1809 a meeting of Worcester clergy and laity, representative of all faiths, agreed to open a subscription for the establishment of a free school for the benefit of children of the labouring poor. By chance, Joseph Lancaster was to speak in Worcester within a week of this decision. After hearing him expand the claims made in the advance publicity, the co-ordinating committee decided that the Free Subscription School, as it became known, should operate according to his principles.

However, this ecumenical initiative was soon

1. The title describes the chapter's contents: it is not meant to suggest that education and culture are entirely separate. On the contrary the writer accepts Cremin's view that schools were only one among several public institutions including churches, libraries and museums to educate the public. Educational and cultural innovation are seen as integral in the 19th century.
3. Ibid. The newspaper announcement of his visit concluded: "The chief advantages of Joseph Lancaster's system of tuition are that one Master may superintend the order and instruction of one thousand children, by one book only, and finish their education in a short time, and at one third the usual expense".
5. The group responsible for raising the money for the (continued)
replaced by a denominational rigidity. Gwilliam has suggested that this occurred in the 1830s as a result of a revival of interest in Church doctrine, and the claim of the Church of England to be the National Educator.(6) This overstates the position. Worcester was not noted for its support of Tractarianism. Nor did Anglican interests in Worcester ever claim an educational monopoly, but simply a dominance which accurately reflected their numerical superiority over other sects. (7) When can be dated from the 1830s is a growing parochial activity which resulted in the establishment of a number of Anglican schools, (8) with or without the support of the National Society, (9) occasionally in unlikely premises. (10) In addition a number of other sects provided and maintained their own schools. (11)

The main result of this activity was that when the City Council was directly involved in education, as a result of the Elementary Education Act 1870, Worcester was in a relatively healthy position in terms

5. (continued) establishment of the school included Anglicans, Catholics, Nonconformists and Quakers. Also at its opening tributes were paid to Samuel Galton and the committee of the Birmingham National School, for their assistance and advice.
7. J. Fletcher, M. Phil. op cit 1974 p vi.
8. Not all adhered rigidly to the National Society's methods however. St. Martin's Parochial School was reported in 1841 to be operating under a modified version of the Lancasterian System.
10. Ibid pp 63-5. St. George's School was reported to have begun in a cowshed.
11. For example, schools were established and maintained by Roman Catholics, Wesleyans, and members of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection.
of the number of places available for the children of the independent poor. The return to the Education Department, submitted by the Town Clerk, revealed only one area of education destitution - Birdport, the city's poorest suburb which was ringed by churches and abutted the old Deanery. (12) (See illustration 5 on p 51).

The response of the City Council was immediate. A resolution was passed in December 1870, requesting the Education Department to allow a School Board to be established. Elections were held on 31st January 1871, after a lively contest. There is some evidence that the School Board saw its responsibilities as embracing all city pupils and even extending into the county. The work of the Attendance Officers, and the School Board Visitors contributed to the education and welfare of all children in the city, no matter what school they attended. (13)

In addition the School Board responded to an initiative by the "Worcester and District Central Classes for Pupil Teachers Committee" (14) and established a Pupil Teacher Centre, initially in the Board School itself, whose classes were open to city and county students alike, whether at Board or Voluntary schools. (15)

During the century secondary education in Worcester exemplified two features. Its development was the result of government interest and local initiative. In 1818, Carlisle noted that while neighbouring schools had atro-

12. 'Berrows Worcester Journal' 8th April 1871.
13. Visitors were appointed by the School Board on a monthly basis. Not all Visitors were members of the Board itself. They acted as a liaison between the Board and such groups as local teachers, and voluntary school managers, frequently initiating discussions with these groups. Monthly reports, in manuscript, covering the period 1871-1886, still exist, among the School Board papers in the Guildhall.
14. 'Worcester School Board Minute Book' Vol IX pp 435-38. The committee was dominated by Anglican clergy, and represented voluntary schools.
Worcester still contained two endowed schools, each dating from the 16th century. One was Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School. Its name was misleading since it was an ancient foundation that had become attached to the Trinity Guild in the 14th century. In 1550 or 1551, the City Council had bought the Trinity Hall, in which the school was conducted, and had assumed some responsibility for it. In 1559 the City Council agreed to pay the salary of a master appointed to replace an absentee master. In addition a number of citizens bequeathed property to the corporation for the endowment of the school. The Council was recognised as a responsible body by the charter of 1561, which re-founded the school, and gave it the name by which it was still known in the 19th century. The Trinity almshouses and school were combined as a single institution, to be governed by a corporation of six members. These, the "Six Masters" were to be drawn from the City Corporation's senior body.

By contrast, the Worcester Cathedral School was, to all intents and purposes, a post-Reformation foundation. An earlier attempt by monks to establish a Choir School had failed in the late 15th century, in the face of opposition from the Bishop. But as part of the post-Dissolution refoundation, a grammar school was included, under the authority of the Dean and Chapter.

During the 19th century Worcester became important to the region as the centre for advanced education. In his examination of the county's endowed schools, James

17. Ibid pp 776-777.
18. A. Dyer op cit 1973, pp 244-45, are the source for the summary which follows.
19. In this sense the Worcester Corporation was in the same position as corporations in Lincoln and Liverpool (supra chap I p8) in having direct responsibility for schools long before the 19th century.
20. In common with many other boroughs, Worcester's pre-1835 corporation consisted of an Upper (the '24') and a Lower (the '48') chamber.
Bryce commended Worcester's two establishments, though this may have been the result of the destitution of provision elsewhere. (22) His recommendations for the reorganisation of the Cathedral school appear to have been made with the interests of the entire county in mind, (23) not just those of the city. Apart from this his opinions were curiously muted, (24) and appear to have been influenced by the poor building housing Queen Elizabeth's school, and its traditional relationship with the Cathedral school, (25) rather than by the genuine quality of the education offered at both. He suggested that if the schools were to be changed, this might best be achieved either by amalgamating them, or by assigning Grade II status to Queen Elizabeth's school, which could then act as a feeder to the Grade I Cathedral school. In the event,

22. Schools Inquiry Commission. Report 1868. Vol XV. pp 537-630. Dudley, Evesham, Halesowen and Hartlebury grammar schools were regarded as only semi-classical, while Feckenham, Hanley Castle, Rock and Wolverley were operating as elementary schools only, in terms of their curricula.

23. Ibid p 617: —

"Worcester is excellently fitted to be the seat of a great county school, not only as being the shire town and a cathedral city, but also at the point at which several great railway lines unite. The farmers and tradespeople in the smaller country towns are at present extremely ill-educated; and in the southern half of the county there is not a single grammar school capable of doing anything to educate them better."

With the exception of the Cathedral school, Bromsgrove was the only other potential Grade I school in the county, according to Bryce.

24. Ibid pp 624-5. ".... I do not know that there is much to regret in the present state of things; both schools are flourishing and the town seems to gain by their healthy rivalry. Possibly, however, it might be better ....".

25. The 1561 charter which refounded Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School clearly established it in a subordinate capacity to the Cathedral School. Advanced work was to be confined to the latter establishment.
the changes experienced by both these schools, which took a generation to decide, involved clerical and lay, formal and informal, central and local interests. They will be examined in greater depth in the next section.

However, in addition to the reform of these two ancient grammar schools, Worcester also witnessed the establishment of two special secondary schools, by purely voluntary effort. The two special minorities catered for were girls and the blind. In a recent book on the girls school in question appeared a foreword which can most charitably be described as a triumph of rhetoric over reality:

"The Alice Ottley School is a living demonstration of how, at the appointed time, the social conscience of a complete cross-section of Worcestershire people was awakened to a need for the further educating of girls" (26)

The establishment of the school appears to have been more prosaic, in fact. The Schools Inquiry Commissioners had drawn attention to the dearth of advanced education for girls throughout the country. In Worcester, as elsewhere, the idea that middle class girls might receive an advanced education was gaining ground. The catalyst arrived in the shape of Canon W. J. Butler, a proponent of girls education. (27) On 20th February 1883 he held what was euphemistically described as a public meeting in his home. (28) Those who attended represented the Anglican Church, the county's landed interests, and the city's professional and business communities. (29)

26. V. Noake "History of the Alice Ottley School Worcester" Baylis 1952 (Foreword by Viscount Cobham).
27. Before his arrival in Worcester, Butler had been instrumental in the establishing of Wantage Girls High School.
28. One wonders how many members of the general public would have felt free to attend a meeting at the official home, in College Green, of one of the Cathedral canons. The venue is likely to have imposed its own social exclusivity.
Within a month the Worcester High School for Girls Limited had been formed. The school opened in June 1883, with Miss Alice Ottley as its first headmistress (see illustration 6 on p 56). Its curriculum and scale of fees clearly established it as catering for the middle classes. A more accurate assessment of what the establishment of the school represented was made some years after its opening:

"This school is a conspicuous example of the power of exclusively voluntary effort, even in these days of state-aided, and rate-aided education, to create and maintain a great school" (31)

While the school was conceived as serving the country, not just the city, it was an enterprise devised by a narrow sectional interest for its own benefit.

So too was the final example of voluntary initiative in 'secondary' education. In 1861, R.H.Blair was appointed to the staff of the Cathedral school. He had an interest in the problems to be overcome in teaching the blind, and limited practical experience. This interest was shared by another Worcestershire clergyman, Rev. W. Taylor. The two men met. Their collaboration produced not only a number of papers on the subject, but also an institution. In 1866 the Worcester College for the Blind was established, in temporary quarters in the city's historic Commandery. Though the locality provided some financial support for the venture, and was helpful in the early years with regard to premises, neither the Council nor the city generally played any positive part in the establishment of so specialist an institution, whose appeal and clientele was national, not regional or local.

In turning to consider education by means of a cultural environment it has immediately to be conceded that

31. Ibid
33. See for example. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science 1868. Longmans, Green 1869. pp 410-18 and 458.
Worcester was entirely typical of cities, ancient and industrialised, in its development of cultural and intellectual societies. In considering such provision in Bristol, Meller suggested that one motive was to bring the city into line with provincial cities like Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield, where these developments extended back into the 18th century. Similar provision was a feature of Bath, Exeter, Lincoln and York in the early 19th century. In Worcester the premier cultural society for city and county was the Natural History Society, opened in 1836 as a result of the endeavours of a number of leading local figures including Mr. (later Sir) John Pakington, and Dr. (later Sir) Charles Hastings.

35. Among them were a Literary and Philosophical Society, a Statistical Society, a Microscopical Society, a Madrigal Society, the Philharmonic Society and an Athenaeum.


38. R.B.Newton Ph.D. op cit 1966 pp 38-9 Exeter included the Devon and Exeter Institution, founded in 1813, whose library contained 15,000 volumes by 1837, an Athenaeum which was opened in 1835 and a Public Select Library, which originated in 1807.

39. F.Hill op cit 1974 pp 150-51. Lincoln Library was formed in 1814, and soon accumulated a stock of 6,000 volumes. A Choral Society, a Harmonic Society and the Sons of Vulcan were amongst its cultural societies.

40. A.Peacock D.Phil. op cit 1973 pp 8-9 and p 21. York's facilities ranged from a Literary and Philosophical Institute to a Mechanics Institute, and included a museum.

41. Sir John Pakington (created Baronet in 1846) was returned to Parliament in 1837. He figures prominently in local life from his estate at Westwood Park, Droitwich.
It augmented local cultural facilities which ranged from an Athenaeum to a Society of Arts, whose exhibitions were patronised by such practitioners as John Constable. (42) In addition local directories listed four libraries, the earliest of which dated back to 1790. (43)

But some distinctions are necessary. In many cities the establishment of literary and cultural societies indicated only the aspirations of groups of citizens, rather than of the city itself. Meller has suggested that membership of such clubs and societies could, and did, cut across social barriers, creating a sense of unity among their members. Such institutions were neutral ground, largely outside the realms of politics. (44) Neither observation is particularly apt when applied to Worcester, as two examples will show. The cost of membership at the Natural History Society put it beyond the reach of the majority of local citizens (45) while the appearance in Worcester, in 1840, of George Holyoake of the Association of All Classes of All Nations, as a paid social missionary attached to the newly-established Chartist Hall of Science, (46) indicated not only that many

42. T.C.Turberville op cit 1852 pp 283 and 285 record that canvasses by Constable were hung in exhibitions in 1834 and 1835. Subsequently in evidence before the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, sitting in 1836, it was reported that operatives in the porcelain manufactories had felt visits to the exhibitions to have been professionally beneficial. The existence of a Literary and Scientific Institution was also reported, one of whose most successful early events had been a lecture by John Constable on Fine Arts. This too had been patronised by porcelain illustrators, and was claimed by them to have benefitted their taste and judgment. Report from the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures Part II 1836 pp 11-12.

43. J.Bentley op cit 1840 pp 30, 43, 46-7 and 53.
44. H.E.Meller op cit 1976 p 41.
45. J.Bentley op cit 1840 p 46. In 1840 costs ranged upwards from one guinea (£1.05) annually.
46. G.J.Holyoake "Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life" Unwin 1892 pp 133-35 describe his joining the A.A.C.A.N. in 1838, and his brief spell in Worcester, before moving to Sheffield.
of the working classes rejected the Mechanics Institute in favour of their own sectional institution, but also that a number of intellectual societies had political as well as cultural motives. If the Hall of Science symbolized the Chartist belief that the goal of social transformation could only be achieved by a direct appeal to the labouring classes, the Natural History Society by its social exclusiveness was an obvious buttress of the socially stratified society, with a minority acting in what they took to be the best interests of the lower orders. The absence of such intellectual and cultural institutions from many history of education texts does not nullify their educational implications. However, it would be equally misguided to regard all such societies as symbols of civic pride. Some examples of cultural innovation for civic motives can be identified, as in Exeter where the Albert Memorial Museum was conceived and promoted by the old social hierarchy,\(^{47}\) both as an appropriate mark of civic respect for the late Consort, and as a cultural facility for the city.\(^{48}\)

But for the most part cultural provision had vocational overtones. The decision of the Board of Trade, in 1836, to promote the establishment of a Normal School of Design, attracted a number of inquiries from the provinces for financial support towards the foundation of schools of art.\(^{49}\) One such inquiry came from Worcester. Impressed by the quality and range of exhibits at the Great Exhibition, and alerted by a letter\(^{50}\) from Lord Ward,\(^{51}\) who claimed to have seen the value of a School of Design to Industry, on a visit to

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48. Ibid p 375. The idea derived from a public meeting in 1862, called to decide on a public memorial to the late Prince Albert.
49. Q.Bell op cit 1963 records 21 schools which were created or subsidised between 1842 and 1852.
50. The letter was originally part of a private correspondence with the Chairman of the Worcester Chamber of Commerce. It was subsequently published, with permission, in Worcester Herald 25th January 1851.
51. The family later succeeded to the Earldom of Dudley. From the family seat at Witley Court, successive earls made a notable contribution to local life (Supra p. 45).
the Potteries, the Chamber of Commerce requested the Mayor to call a public meeting. Though thinly attended, the audience compensated in prestige for what it lacked in numbers. A proposal to establish a School of Design was adopted, as was a motion to seek assistance from the Board of Trade. As a result of the Board's co-operation, a School of Art was in operation by autumn of 1851. (see illustration 7 on p 61). The motives behind this campaign were anything but altruistic. A school was felt necessary in order to keep pace with the porcelain industries of the Potteries, and France, and also to avoid the city slipping behind other industrial towns which had already established such schools. The decline of the gloving industry was a salutory reminder of the risks of competition and technological innovation.

The foundation of schools which would improve industrial output and standards as a result of the application of the principles of design, was a major

52. Schools of Design existed at Hanley, and Stoke on Trent at this time.
53. Worcester Herald 8th February 1851 p 4, contains a full report of the meeting.
54. City Chamber Order Book 1850-1853. At a meeting on 18th March 1851, the City Council approved a memorial on the subject to the Board of Trade pp 219-220.
55. The scheme received official approval. The Board of Trade offered a grant of £150.
56. Worcester Herald 27th September 1851 p 2. A resume of the events leading to the opening of the school is given.
57. D.C.Lyes loc cit 1976 pp 20 and 33 show the industry failing to keep pace with foreign, particularly French, innovations in dressing, and staining leather. Markets declined in consequence; many firms ceased trading. In 1847 a girls School of Industry was established in the city to train gloveresses, after a joint initiative between the City Council, Chamber of Commerce and industrialists. Supra p 39.
The School of Art 1851
concern of William Ewart M.P. In addition he was one of a small group within Parliament anxious to relate education to notions of culture; a task which he felt would be facilitated by the systematic provision of museums and public libraries. The Museums Act 1845, and Public Libraries Act 1850 went some way towards this, and the Public Libraries Act 1855 was even more influential.

58. Q. Bell op cit 1963 pp 51-2. Ewart moved for a Select Committee to enquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the arts and principles of design among the people (especially the manufacturing population) in 1835. "Report from the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures" 1835. In reply to a question (168) as to the reason for the superiority of design in foreign manufactures, James Morrison pointed to 'the fact that they have public schools for teaching the art of design' (p 13).


60. Ibid p 11. In the 1835 debate on the £20,000 Education Grant, Ewart declared his opinion that: "the best mode of securing the happiness of a people is to educate them; and that, in furtherance of that object, public libraries are most necessary, in order to enable them to educate themselves". The original source is given as Barrow's 'Mirror of Parliament' 1835 Vol II p 1836.

61. Ewart introduced both the Museums Bill 1845, and the Public Libraries Bill 1850. The former allowed a ½d rate to be raised, in towns over 10,000 in size, for the acquisition, provision and upkeep of land and buildings. It was repealed by the latter, whose original intentions were much amended by the time it reached the Statute Book. The level of ½d rate was retained. The new act covered the provision of public libraries as well as museums. It could only be adopted after the approval of two thirds of all ratepayers, in a referendum. The Public Libraries (continued)
The presence of educational clauses in legislation whose fundamental objectives were cultural, together with the unprecedented requirement that Borough Councils consult ratepayers before taking action, have implications which educational historians have generally overlooked. The potential scope of the legislation was more far-reaching than other 19th century education legislation, possibly because the concept of education implicit in it was so diffuse. But its permissive nature rendered its adoption difficult in practice. A number of attempts were made in Worcester to gain public support for a scheme which combined cultural and vocational goals, originally by means of a Public Library, in the generation following the establishment of the city's School of Art. Since the ultimate success of the scheme represented the acceptance by the City Council of the collective will of the ratepayers, supported by wider sections of the public, it will be examined in detail later, to establish what were the significant factors in the campaign.

61. (continued) Act 1855 repealed the 1850 Act and was much more liberal. Adoption of the Act now required a two-thirds majority of ratepayers attending a public meeting. A 1d rate could now be raised, and used for the erection of a building, whether Library, Museum, School (of Art or Science), or for Books, Maps, Art and Science specimens for use in Library, Museum or Schools.


"... made it necessary for a Borough Council to submit the question of adoption to a referendum of the ratepayers with a two-thirds majority necessary to secure adoption (ss 1-3) - the first example of such a requirement being imposed on the Borough Councils."

63. T. Kelly op cit 1973 p 25, notes that rejections were common in ancient and industrial boroughs.

64. Ibid. Four attempts in Worcester were unsuccessful.
According to Meller\(^{(65)}\) the concept of cultural emity was an intellectual ideal which appealed most to the professional classes - clergy, doctors, lawyers, artists, writers, and scholars associated with the public schools and ancient universities. In Bristol, during the 1860s and 1870s this group was involved in the city's cultural institutions, and was largely responsible for a concerted effort to achieve cultural unity. The city was seen as an appropriate context for experiments in social equality:

'The inhabitants of a large city were but one large community and equal opportunities for all could be provided by civic institutions, equally available to all. Promoting this idea and working out its implications was the most important development in the cultural life of (Bristol)' \(^{(66)}\)

The picture in 19th century Worcester is significantly different in three ways. What may be termed an era of cultural capital occurred a generation earlier in Worcester than in Bristol. This conscious development of a civic imprimatur was not merely the expression of a professional minority in all cases. Depending on the issue and the nature and scope of any relevant legislation members of many sectors of society played an active role. Finally it is important to emphasise that Worcester witnessed no grand campaign, and possessed no overall civic strategy.\(^{(67)}\) This chapter has underlined the lack of any pattern in relation to the provision of education. Each issue was considered separately, and independently. Those that were

\(^{65}\) H.E. Meller op cit 1976 p 42.

\(^{66}\) Ibid.

\(^{67}\) A. Briggs op cit 1968 ed. pp 184-86 shows that a similar attitude prevailed in Leeds. (See also supra p 11 f.n. 52)
felt important at the time to a number of sectors of society were pursued. Many died away because of the absence of a broad base of support.

Worcester witnessed three major campaigns, in which the prevailing attitude could be seen as consistent with the public interest rather than sectional interests. However, even in these protracted educational campaigns the contributions of Council and Church, formal and informal groups varied. The first campaign began in mid-century, and focussed on the Cathedral School.
PART II

THE CLAIMS OF CLERICAL AND LAY INTERESTS IN RELATION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
CHAPTER FOUR : THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORCESTER CATHEDRAL

SCHOOL : 1) COUNCIL VERSUS CHAPTER

In the introduction to "New Trends in Education in the 18th Century"(1) Hans made it clear that his book was meant as a conscious corrective to the conventional contemporary view of the period as "a century of educational sleep:"(2) a view resulting from an inadequate understanding of events.(3)

Hans also claimed to have provided evidence to substantiate his concept of the 18th Century as :-

"... perhaps the most interesting period of English education: .... it was also a period of actual realisation of modern education"(4)

This evidence fell into two broad categories. One comprised a large number of examples of thriving academies and private schools, together with details in relation to such schools as Christ's Hospital and Manchester Grammar School(5) to indicate that innovation was also a feature of certain grammar schools. The other concerned the social composition of such schools, and the ancient universities. An analysis of entries in the Dictionary of National Biography(6) was held to demonstrate that advanced education was not

1. N.Hans 'New Trends in Education in the 18th Century'
2. Ibid p5. The view quoted was that of J.E.G. de Montmorency.
3. Ibid :-
   'Leach, Adams, Adamson, Foster-Watson, Archer, Montmorency, to name only a few, have done pioneering work, but they have inevitably left considerable gaps quite unexplored. Because the facts were imperfectly known the conclusions drawn from them were often one-sided and sometimes entirely wrong'.
5. Ibid pp 38-41.
6. Ibid. Chaps I & II pp 11-62. Chapter X contains the same exercise, but in relation to women. Different conclusions are reached.
the sole preserve of the aristocracy and growing professional classes, but was also enjoyed by a number of scholars of humble origins. If this polemic suffered from the usual weakness of overstatement, and has failed to become the standard interpretation, it has nonetheless produced enough evidence to challenge the conventional view of 18th century education, and also of 19th century education, which has been based on the foundations which Hans has shown to be questionable. In addition, his analytical approach, and recourse to contemporary evidence contrasted sharply with the descriptive style adopted by many of the historians of whom he was critical.

The contrast was at its most marked in relation to secondary education. Barnard was one of many historians to see the attempts of numerous grammar schools in the early 19th century to recover from a position of educational destitution, as thwarted by the supposed Eldon Judgment in 1805. This inaccurate assessment led to a misunderstanding of the curricula in many grammar schools, and also of the Grammar Schools Act 1840, which was identified as the means of breaking the Eldonian deadlock. His presentation of secondary education

7. This is not to say that others have not reached broadly similar conclusions, based on their own research. See for example R.S.Tompson 'Classes or Charity' Manchester U.P. 1973.
9. R.S.Tompson 'The Leeds Grammar School Case of 1805' Journal of Educational Administration and History Vol. III. No.1 December 1970 pp 1-6. This important article proves, after a detailed investigation of contemporary records that Eldon did not forbid additions to the curriculum; in fact he sanctioned some changes at Leeds itself. Tompson also claims such changes occurred in other schools.
at this time was essentially descriptive, and embraced
details of Eton, Hazelwood and parts of Dickens and
Thackeray, (11) together with the height of Keate, head-
master of Eton, and the number of boys whom he flogged
on one day in his sixtieth year. (12) Harrow was cited
as a school which had developed beyond the intentions of
its founders. (13) But the implication of this state of
affairs for local residents, and their attempts to have
the narrow original intentions confirmed by the courts
were ignored. (14)

In considering the changes that did overtake sec-
ondary education Barnard continued to ignore local,
grass-roots pressure as a factor. In addition to the
liberating influence of the Grammar Schools Act 1840,
he identified personalities as the main factor, (15)
whether in the form of reforming headmasters, (16) or in
the corporate shape of Royal Commissioners. (17) The re-
sult of this survey of secondary education in the first
half of the 19th century may be likened to a flight over
the Alps when wreathed in low cloud. A number of isolated
peaks can be clearly seen, signifying this school, that
headmaster, the other commission. But what joins them
together and gives them a common identity, if in fact they
have one, cannot be established and is therefore not the
subject of scrutiny.

14. N. Carlisle op cit 1818 Vol II pp138-145 point out that
parishioners of Harrow unsuccessfully petitioned the
Court of Chancery in 1810 to confine the benefits of
the institution to its ancient limits - the parish.
Harrow was a flourishing school that catered well for
all who attended, whether local children or 'foreigners'.
The parishioners wished to have exclusive patronage.
(The judgment is quoted at great length).
15. So too does Alicia Percival 'Very Superior Men' Knight
1973. Social pressures for reform are minimised.
16. H.C. Barnard op cit 1947 pp85-95. Also R.L. Archer 'Sec-
ondary Education in the 19th Century' Cass 1966 rep.
devotes four chapters (III, IV, VIII & IX) to catalo-
guing what he describes initially (p3) as :- "the
creative genius of individuals".
Fortunately not all examinations of this period have been so stark. Curtis presented an accurate assessment of the Eldon judgment, not least because he quoted from it. (18) He also adopted an analytical approach and identified a party political element in the controversy about the quality of grammar school education. (19) However the most scholarly analysis of these political elements has been provided by Simon. Not surprisingly his Marxist interpretation led him to identify conflict between supporters of the status quo (the Tory Party and Established Church) and of major change (Radicals and Nonconformists). (20) The latter group emerged as a new political force at the turn of the century.

Apart from labelling it 'Radical' in all senses of the term, it is difficult to define in other than negative terms. Even then the definitions can easily be contradicted in practice. For example, Radical opinion adopted a hostile attitude to Tory Party and Whig Party alike: both were stigmatised as concentrating exclusively on the best interests of the landowners - the traditional ruling class. (21) But Brougham was one of the most valuable supporters of Radical opinion in Parliament, (22) even though his commitment was to the liberal Whig tradition. (23) Similarly, while Simon saw the appearance of a class of forward looking industrialists and professional men, engaged in struggles against the landed aristocracy and against the emerging proletariat, (24) there were occasions when middle-class and working-class radicalism could come together. (25) Again, the term 'class' is misleading when applied to the early 19th century. It implies a narrow identity of purpose, and a rigidity of membership which are belied

19. Ibid p141 :- 'Unfortunately, party politics obtruded into the controversy as it has many times since, and there was a tendency for Liberals to lose sight of the educational ends for which they stood'.
25. H:Silver op cit 1975 p21. An example is cited in 1817 in Leicester. However, Silver does indicate that in the early Cont'd
by the ability of certain individuals to move from one
group to another, depending on the particular issue invol-
ved. (26) However all Radicals could unite against certain
contemporary institutions, and support the calls made by
such figures as Hume, Mill and Roebuck for reform:—

"Their fight for reform - regarded essentially as
the means to political power - took the form of
demands for a radical overhaul of the machinery of
the state: of Parliament, the Church, the judiciary,
and of old established corporations - including the
semi-ecclesiastical colleges at Oxford and Cambridge
and the endowed grammar schools" (27)

In view of its special position, and the numerous privile-
ges enjoyed by its adherents the Established Church was the
subject of particularly severe attack. It was seen as reac-
tionary - not only failing to come to terms with change,
but also attempting to obstruct popular reforms. Its bish-
ops were credited with a decisive contribution to the fail-
ure of the Reform Bill of 1831, (28) and opposed attempts by
the State to develop a more active role in popular education
in 1839. (29) They were generally unpopular, not only because
of their reactionary activities in the House of Lords, (30)
but also as a result of their disregard for their dioceses. (31)

25. (continued) 19th century the two traditions of radica-
   lism did become identified with different social classes.
27. B. Simon op cit 1974 ed. p 73.
28. M. D. W. Poole 'The English Bishops and Education 1830-
   1870: An Introductory Study' Ph.D. University of Sheff-
   field 1972 pp 22-3. The Bill was rejected in the House of
   Lords at its Second Reading: the bishops' votes proving
   crucial to the outcome. In many dioceses popular opin-
   ion ran high, as a result of these actions. The Arch-
   bishop of Canterbury was pelted, the Bishop of Bristol
   had his palace razed by fire, while on the walls of
   Worcester Cathedral was inscribed the legend 'Judas
   Iscariot - Bishop of Worcester'.
29. J. Murphy 'Church, State and Schools in Britain 1800-1970'
30. M.D. Poole Ph.D. op cit 1972 pp 21-2. In 1807 bishops had
   opposed Whitbread's Parochial Schools Bill, since it
gave too little power to clergy. They had also voted
   heavily against Catholic Emancipation.
31. Ibid p 18. Bishops Lonsdale (Lichfield) and Fraser
   (Manchester) are cited as exceptions to this generali-
sation.
A similar disregard for their minor clergy led to further alienation: as late as 1870 clergy regarded bishops as a race apart. (32) Nor was the Church united. Deep divisions divided it on theological grounds, and influenced the attitudes of various elements on social questions. At a time when radical opinion was questioning tradition the Established Church was at its most anxious to retain its 'Established' relationship. Particularly severe criticism was contained in the Edinburgh Review and Westminster Review, both of which supported the Radical cause. It may be summarised in the words of the Edinburgh Review:

"The whole Church of England is losing the attention of the great mass of the people; it is too closely associated with the court and the aristocracy". (33)

Not surprisingly Anglican interests dissented from this opinion. Far from being too closely associated with the court and the aristocracy, the Church saw itself being abandoned. A number of its leading, and most reactionary figures, including Archbishop Howley (Canterbury), Bishops van Mildert (Durham) and Phillpot (Exeter) saw such legislation as that repealing the Test and Corporation Acts as a betrayal of the Church of England. (34) The reform of central government in 1832, and local government in 1835 dislocated the close relationships that had previously existed between the lay and clerical wings of the Establishment. (35) Furthermore innovations in relation to the Poor Law, Public Health and Sanitation were deemed to be socialist and utilitarian, and equated with atheism, by the more conservative elements within the Church. (36)

32. Ibid pp18-19.
34. M.D. Poole Ph.D. op cit 1972 p52.
35. This accident was only temporary. See P.J. Welch 'Blomfield and Peel: a study in co-operation between Church and State' 1841-46', Journal of Ecclesiastical History Vol XII 1961 pp71-84.
36. M.D. Poole Ph.D. op cit 1972. Chapter III 'The Social Order' is the source for material relating to the attitudes of High Churchmen.
They also reacted with alarm to the rise of industrialism and the spread of working-class consciousness, and sought to maintain what they saw as the checks and balances of society, in the face of Chartism, trades unions and Radical demands for constitutional reform, which they saw as subversive. (38) In the face of the spate of reforms carried through in the 1830s, when it had little constructive to offer, the Church found its position becoming increasingly isolated, and had to fight to retain its position as guardian of the best interests of ordinary people.

Education is a good example of this contest. Poole has succinctly located the Church's claim to a monopoly over education:

"When St. Paul exhorted the faithful of Ephesus to pay heed to their reading (I Timothy IV 13) he forged a link between the Christian Church and education which has endured until modern times" (39)

As the 19th century progressed its claim to monopolise education was challenged on at least four grounds. First of all the various dissenting groups, liberated by the Test and Corporation Acts, challenged the right of Anglicans to instruct the children of Dissenters particularly if the instruction included denominational teaching. Secondly, civil authorities grew sceptical about the capacity of the Anglican church to deal with a task of such magnitude. Thirdly, interest groups, local and national, became increasingly critical of the rigidity of church leaders towards popular education. Finally, middle class radicals mounted an onslaught on the conditions, methods

37. (continued) sympathetic to reform, embodied in the radical campaigns of Kingsley who wrote under the pseudonym 'Parson Lot'.

38. This was not the opinion of the whole Church. There were liberal bishops even in the 1830s. But the conservative view was dominant. It was still to be heard in 1870, and seen in response to the 1870 Act in some dioceses, notably Hereford, Lincoln, Salisbury and Winchester.

and curricula of endowed grammar schools, which they felt to be entirely inappropriate to the society to which they hoped their offspring might contribute. (40) Educational reform was integral to the success of the constitutional reforms they had obtained, and still sought. (41) Impotent in their efforts at radical change, many resorted to the emerging joint-stock schools.

The response of the Anglican hierarchy was at once predictable and inflammatory. In 1830, Howley claimed that the National Society, and Bell's system, represented the supreme educational achievements. Van Mildert was even more cautious. He opposed all educational provision for the poor on the grounds that it was likely to disturb the status quo. (42) For their part Anglican educationists Samuel Butler and Kennedy saw joint-stock schools as a cause for concern: they might eventually ruin older foundations. (43) Such statements in no way consoled those pressing for radical change.

40. T. Wyse 'Education in the United Kingdom' Central Society of Education. 1837 publication. Taylor and Walton pp59-60. 'The middle class, in all its sections, except the more learned professions, finds no instruction which can suit their special middle class wants. They are fed with the dry husks of ancient learning, when they should be taking sound and substantial food from the great treasury of modern discovery'.

41. Edinburgh Review Vol. LIV. December 1831. p499: 'With a patriot king, a reforming ministry, and a reformed Parliament, we are confident that our expectations will not be in vain. A general scholastic reform will be, in fact, one of the greatest blessings of the political renovation, and perhaps, the surest test of its value'.

42. M.D. Poole Ph.D. op cit 1972 Chapter IV. Popular Education I Conflict and Confusion. Again Howley and Van Mildert spoke with the most influential, but not the only voice in the matter. P.132 claims that only in exceptional cases were bishops involved in the education of the poor.

Even those clerical interests in support of popular education fell short of the programmes advanced by such bodies as the Lancashire Public Schools Association, the National Education League, or of individual cities.

In one other important respect the Church was failing to meet the needs of industrial society. Just as its relationships and attitudes reflected pre-industrial society, so its physical deployment mirrored a pre-industrial way of life. Its strength lay in its rural, parochial system. It was completely inadequate to the task of ministering to the masses in new conurbations. Nor were its finances equal to the task. Its claims to be the national church appeared as specious as its aspirations to be the nation's schoolmaster. But many Anglicans feared that the financial proposals embodied in successive reports by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would further inhibit the Church's efforts to maintain, let alone strengthen its position. Cathedral chapters were particularly hostile to these reports which they felt to be damaging to their interests. William Selwyn, canon of Ely Cathedral adopted a more constructive, though still critical approach. He attacked the Ecclesiastical Commission for thinking of cathedrals purely in financial terms: duties and local circumstances merited more attention than was given to them. He asserted that cathedral chapters were exactly what the Church needed if it was to organise education effectively on Anglican principles. But by the time events bore out this claim, the damage had

been done. The Deans and Chapters Act hit cathedrals particularly hard. (47) Despite episcopal opposition (48) it gave effect to a massive redeployment of Ecclesiastical funds - from places of greatest plenty to districts suffering greatest deprivation. (49) Cathedral cities were therefore placed in a particularly vulnerable position. Not only were they subject to criticism by lay interests, they were also suffering, at the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the expropriation of estates and endowments. The loss of status which saw such cities declining from their former positions of national significance to quiet country towns can now be seen as much more than a consequence of a failure to attract industry. (50) As Chadwick has pointed out, it represents a failure on the part of cathedrals themselves - cathedrals symbolizing the Church of England - to appreciate and adapt to the needs of an industrializing society. (51)

Therefore the dispute between a locality and a cathedral over its school has to be seen against a background of the Church under mounting attack by increasingly assertive lay interests. The attack itself had a number of dimensions whose origins were national rather than local. The responsibility for determining what was in the best

47. O. Chadwick op cit Vol I 1966 p137. Among other reforms the Act suppressed non-residential prebends, and imposed a gradual reduction in the number of canons to four in most chapters.
50. Supra pp16-20. This general conclusion was adduced from research undertaken into 19th century Bath, Exeter, Lincoln and York. It has been shown not to have been applicable to Worcester. Nonetheless it is possible, with hindsight, to see that by the end of the 19th century Worcester's former national significance had been overtaken by that of the major industrial conurbations.
51. O. Chadwick op cit Vol.I 1966 p523 :- 'The cathedral list its place as England became industrial'.
interests of the locality in educational terms was one particular example of the contest between the old clerical/aristocratic faction and the new industrial/professional alliance that had occupied national attention in the 1820s and 1830s and eventually led to some reforms of central and local administration in the 1830s. The challenge to the Church's control over educational provision embraced the curriculum, and brought about a debate on the content of education that had a good deal in common with similar disputes between radicals and conservatives in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Finally, as the controversy became more complex the local ecclesiastical/lay dimension became intermittently caught up in national, political affairs.

The suggestion that the Worcester Cathedral School might not be operating in the best interests of the locality was originally brought to the notice of the Town Council by a vigilant press. In 1849, one of the city's three weekly newspapers carried an extensive report on a book recently written by Robert Whiston, Master of Rochester Grammar School. The controversy, which had

52. Worcestershire Chronicle 20th June 1849. This paper was established in 1838 by local supporters of Reform. Its motives in publicising this issue may not have been entirely disinterested, in view of its political sympathies, although there is no evidence that demographic factors had any direct bearing on the issue.

53. R. Whiston 'Cathedral Trusts and their Fulfillment' (Rochester) 1850 ed.

54. G.F.A. Best 'The Road to Hiram's Hospital: A Byway in Early Victorian History' Victorian Studies Vol.V Dec. 1961 pp135-150. Whiston transformed the fortunes of Rochester Grammar School following his appointment in 1842, However, he was dismissed in 1849 after publishing a lengthy correspondence between the Dean and Chapter and himself, about the diversion of funds to which he felt the scholars were entitled. Though a new master was appointed he refused to vacate his official residence: instead he turned it into a private school. The Bishop, the Chancellor of the diocese, Chancery and Queen's Bench Courts all declined to intervene; the latter court referring the matter back to the Bishop. After a further delay of four months after its conclusion, a grudging verdict in favour of Whiston
occasioned the book rapidly assumed the proportions of a 'cause célèbre', not just because of its implications for all cathedral schools reformed, or remodelled by Henry VIII, but because of the unsympathetic stance into which the Church was cast. Whiston's general thesis was that the statutes of remodelled or reformed cathedral schools required that free education should be provided for poor scholars, and that this meant in practise the payment not of the sums specified in the 16th century statutes, but an equivalent amount in 19th century terms. He contended that scholars in such schools had not benefitted from the huge increase in the revenues of capitular estates, whereas the emoluments of ecclesiastical figures associated with cathedrals had risen spectacularly.

Two contrasting exceptions to this general thesis were noted. At Durham scholarships had been raised from their original level of £3.6.8d (£3.33p) to £26 a year. However, in the case of Worcester Cathedral

54. (cont'd) was delivered. He was restored to the headship of the school with effect from 1st January 1853, but received no compensation for lost earnings. The Times declared it 'a shabby sentence' and commented: 'If Mr. Whiston has been pronounced, even comparatively speaking, guiltless by such a court....he must be considered free from blame indeed', (quoted p146).

55. The complete absence of any reference to the controversy in the Whiggish R. Archer op cit 1966 ed. is not felt to invalidate this judgment in any way. Allusions to it in Trollope's 'The Warden' show its significance to contemporaries.


57. G. Best loc cit 1961 p146.

58. Ibid:- "Thus Robert Whiston found himself, perhaps at first reluctantly, adopting the stance of a radical church reformer, and advocating the causes both of cathedral schoolmasters and scholars, and of the sub-capitular clergy, on whose joint behalf it could be fairly argued, in respect of most English cathedrals, that their shares of the revenues had got progressively smaller over the past two or three centuries". See also Appendices II a) and b)

59. See Appendix II c)
School the change was even more startling. The original scholarships had been fixed at £2.13.4d (£2.66p). But according to Whiston they had actually declined, and scholars in the 1840s were receiving only 5s-10d (29p). (60)

During the same period the income of the Dean of Worcester had risen from the original sum of £100, to £1,486.11.9d (£1,486.59p), whilst the annual emoluments of Prebendaries had increased from £20 to £626.3.1d (£626.15½p). (61)

Even before the dispute between Whiston and the Dean and Chapter of Rochester was publicised, part of the Worcester press was involved in a campaign directed to show that certain local ecclesiastical interests were pursuing educational objectives that were contrary to the best interests of local children. (62) It was alleged that the Vicar of Kidderminster was attempting to reform the local grammar school in such a way as to place the interests of boarders above those of local pupils. (63) This dispute revolved around the question of who was best placed to safeguard the best interests of local children. Worcester Cathedral was only indirectly involved inasmuch as the vicar in question was an Honorary Canon. (64)

The Whiston disclosures were more significant for the locality in two respects. They suggested that members of the Chapter were depriving local children of their rightful dues. (65) But more important they showed the local-

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60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Berrows Worcester Journal, 21st December 1848 reported on the controversy in Kidderminster. This paper, established in 1690, was ultra-conservative in the 19th century, and usually supported the Church.
63. G. Griffith op cit 1870. Vol.I Chapters XI and XIV present the controversy in minute detail. However, since Griffith was a leading figure in the campaign, his objectivity may be suspect.
64. Thomas Legh Claughton became an Honorary Canon in 1846. Ironically he resigned the living in Kidderminster on his induction as Bishop of Rochester in 1867. In 1878, as newly inducted Bishop of St. Albans he was a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission that received a deputation from Worcester City Council to consider the future of the Cathedral School.
65. Worcestershire Chronicle 30th July 1851.
ity suffering because of the quality of the churchmen who were determining local educational provision, and because of the practice of absentee incumbents. By co-incidence the Bishop of Rochester had also been Dean of Worcester for a number of years.\(^\text{66}\) In the latter capacity he had been the subject of a memorial, in 1837, calling for the enforcement of statutes which he was ignoring.\(^\text{67}\) Whiston's charges were felt to reflect upon the integrity of the Bishop of Rochester, and by implication upon the Church itself, by Sir John Pakington. His defence of clerical interests in Parliament and his correspondence with Whiston was publicised locally.\(^\text{68}\) The local press was largely sympathetic to Whiston, and published a letter in which he defended himself against the latter's charges.\(^\text{69}\)

Therefore when the City Council finally turned its attention to the matter it had the benefit of a clear exposition of the Cathedral's neglect of its obligations, by Whiston,\(^\text{70}\) and an unequivocal opinion in the press that the Chapter was more interested in diverting funds intended for educational purposes into its collective pocket, than in safeguarding the interests

\(\text{66. Lord George Murray became Bishop of Rochester in 1827. He was appointed Dean of Worcester a year later, and held both offices until 1845, when he resigned the Deanery (and a number of other livings) in the light of the 1840 legislation.}\)

\(\text{67. R. Whiston op cit 1850 ed. p114.}\)

\(\text{68. Besides press reports the issue was also taken up and publicised by the ubiquitous George Griffith in 'The Free Schools of Worcestershire and their Fulfilment' Charles Gilpin 1852.}\)

\(\text{69. Worcester Herald 30th July 1851. Founded in 1794, the 'Herald' claimed to be independent of party or interest in the 19th century. Its views were less dogmatic and reactionary than those of Berrows Worcester Journal, though its tone was not radical.}\)

\(\text{70. Worcestershire Chronicle 30th July 1851. Though the issue of the reform of the Cathedral School was featured in all three local papers, the Chronicle's support was the most enduring, and constructive.}\)

\(\text{71. The only copy of Whiston's book known to exist locally was found amongst the Council's records relating to the reform of the Cathedral School.}\)
of local children. It was clearly influenced by Whiston, since its discussion on 18th November 1851 was restricted to the criticisms he had voiced. But it appears to have been even more impressed by the prestige of the body it was confronting than by the case made in the press. The memorial which it approved did represent its opinions, but was apparently not its work: credit for it was subsequently claimed by a local paper, and by Whiston himself.

But for all the Council's diffidence the memorial does have important implications. Its opening remarks established the Council's formal position as representative of the public interest in both city and county:

"We, the Mayor and Aldermen and citizens of the City of Worcester, in Council assembled, beg most respectfully to address the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Worcester on a subject of great importance to the Public generally, and of the deepest interest to our own City and neighbourhood in particular ........"

Also its elaborate conclusion went to such lengths to disclaim any intention of challenging the rights of the Dean and Chapter, as to overlook the fact that the memorial itself was an implicit challenge:

"We then venture to express the earnest hope that the Dean and Chapter will exercise their unimpaired right to make the due provision required by their statutes for the support of those who constitute the Grammar School, while we trust that in making this application credit will be given us in disclaiming every purpose and intention other than the sincere desire of doing what we feel to be our duty to our fellow citizens, and with becoming deference

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72, City Chamber Order Book Vol.XII pp303-6.
73. See Appendix III for the full text of the memorial.
74. Worcestershire Chronicle 18th March 1876.
75. Worcestershire Chronicle 26th March 1881. The claim was contained in a letter written by Whiston.
76. Many of the councillors had been swept into office by the heat of the local controversy over the imposition of the Public Health Act 1848. (supra pp42-43). They had relatively little experience of public office.
77. See Appendix III.
and respectful courtesy to a dignified Ecclesiastical Corporation, the individual members of which have, by their eminent virtues and distinguished position, so many claims upon public consideration and regard" (78)

The issues involving the Deans and Chapters of Rochester and Worcester Cathedrals were identical - the misappropriation of funds designed for educational ends. The catalyst was the same - Robert Whiston. (79) But the similarities end there. At Rochester, Whiston's position as a master in dispute with his governors or trustees had numerous precedents. (80) In the case of Worcester the negotiations between lay and ecclesiastical corporations over the interests of local scholars represented a much less common phenomenon. Also Whiston argued his case with increasing passion, (81) whereas the Worcester memorial adopted a muted, legalistic tone, as befitted serious correspondence between ancient civic and clerical bodies. Finally, if the reference in the Worcester memorial to "a subject of great importance to the Public generally" is a little exaggerated, (82) the memorial is indicative

78. Ibid.
79. At the time of the Worcester memorial Whiston was still under a cloud: sacked and without a date for the hearing of his case.
80. In relation to the Leeds Grammar School case R. T ompson loc cit 1970 p1 points out that:- 'The Leeds case grew out of a common sort of falling out between school governors and schoolmasters occurring in the late 18th century'. In addition, B. Simon op cit 1974 ed. pp96-7 cites similar disputes in Leicestershire in the early 19th century.
81. G. Best loc cit 1961 claims Whiston grew more vehement as his case dragged on until at his hearing (p146):- 'Despite the warnings of the palpably hostile judges and the protests of the Chapter's counsel, he turned his self-defence into an indictment before the great British public of the Chapter, Dean and Bishop of Rochester for misappropriating charitable funds and furthermore for treating him in an abominably unjust fashion'.
82. It is not certain that this claim is exaggerated. G. Best loc cit 1961 p144 asserts that the case was widely known, and cites articles on it in 'The Times' between 1848 and 1853. However, if Whiston was behind the Worcester petition, his involvement in the matter may have resulted in some undue emphasis being placed on the importance of the issue, in the memorial.
of the fact that the City Council did accept that it had a public duty to fulfil on this issue.

The Cathedral Chapter accepted the Council's interest as legitimate, and considered the memorial on the day after it had been approved by the Council, as its reply was at pains to point out:

"... I am directed by the Dean and Chapter of Worcester to acknowledge without delay the receipt of a memorial from the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of the City of Worcester, in Council assembled, and to inform them that the subject to which it refers had occupied the attention of the Dean and Chapter on the 19th instant, being the first day of their annual audit"(83)

As a result of this attention the Chapter agreed to rescind Chapter Orders passed in 1639 and 1834 relating to the admission of King's Scholars, to restore their stipends to the original amount set in 1542 (£2.13.4d or £2.66p), and to cease to include choristers among the forty places earmarked for King's Scholars. (84) The Council's limited objectives had been achieved without delay or rancour.

The matter of the Cathedral School and its finances did not come before the Council again until 1867. As in the previous incident it responded to an approach, this time by parents of King's Scholars. It appears that as a last resort (85) they were proposing to submit a memorial to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on the subject of funds for the King's Scholars, and approached the Council in the hope that it would draw up a supporting petition. Instead the Council took control of the matter.

83. City Chamber Order Book Vol.XII p310.
84. Worcester Cathedral Chapter Act Book 1848-1869 p41.
85. There is a lack of external evidence to prove this. Cathedral sources for this period are unhelpful in that they record only decisions, not discussions. No reference to an approach by parents to the Dean and Chapter exists; however, a resolution was passed at a Chapter meeting in 1854 vesting nomination of King's Scholars in the Dean (16) and the Canons (6 each). (Worcester Cathedral Chapter Order Book 1850-1862 p84). A number of occasions are recorded where King's Scholars were brought before the Chapter, by the Headmaster, and either suspended or stripped of their King's Scholarship for a variety of misdemeanours. In view of the direct responsibilities the Dean and
At a Council meeting on 2nd July 1867, a Cathedral School sub-committee was established. It took in hand the parents' memorial, and drew up its own. In reporting back to the Council it displayed not only a more independent approach to the problem, but also a more assertive manner. Whereas in 1851 it had been satisfied to see the city's interests being met by the strict enactment of the original statutes, in 1867 it consciously progressed beyond them, and offered its own solutions:-

".... while desiring that justice should be done to the King's Scholars in accordance with the intentions of the Founder .... this committee is of the opinion that the interests of the public would be promoted more effectually (sic) by increasing the number of scholars, and restoring the exhibitions at the universities, and adding to such exhibitions, than by giving to each of the 40 scholars a proportionate part of the increased revenues".

In February 1869 the Council instructed its Town Clerk to inquire if the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had any comments to make on the memorials. A formal reply was read to the Council on 5th April 1869: the Ecclesiastical Commissioners did not feel that they

85. (continued) Chapter exercised over King's Scholars, it is felt unlikely that parents made no approach to them at all, especially since Chapter records contain hundreds of examples of successful approaches for financial support for many reasons.

86. City Chamber Order Book Vol.XVII (It has no page numbers).

87. Among the city's records, the original draft by the parents is pinned to other drafts, together with a completed memorial on behalf of the parents, and another on behalf of the Council. All but the parents' original draft are in the same hand.

88. The parents' original draft mentioned Whiston by name, and drew heavily on his book. The Council's memorial was less derivative, and put the city's case more clearly.

89. City Chamber Order Book Vol.XVII. (It was the practice to offer the scholarships for open competition in the diocese).
were able to intervene in a financial dispute involving a cathedral school. (90) The response in Worcester to what was considered an evasion, was immediate and prolonged. The Cathedral School Committee drew up a memorial, which was submitted to Parliament on 6th May 1869. (91) One of the city's M.P.s (92) was instructed to obtain the necessary information, by means of Questions in the House. (93) A series of letters between the M.P. and Town Clerk are still in existence. (94) They suggest that the Ecclesiastical Commission was unwilling to divulge the information required, and also that the Liberal government was equally anxious to avoid a public debate. Eventually the pressure of government, especially that of H.A. Bruce the Home Secretary, was decisive. The offer of a limited disclosure of information, made by the Ecclesiastical Commission was accepted,

90. The Dean and Chapter had voluntarily ceded the capitular estates to the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1859, in return for a guaranteed income. (Worcester Cathedral Chapter Act Book 1848-1869 pp152-59) Section 18 of the Chapter Act 1868 stated: 'When the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are or may be in receipt of any income arising from the Estates that belong or have belonged to any Dean or Chapter, or any major or minor corporation of any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, the said Commissioners shall be at liberty...out of such income to make such provision as to them may seem needful for securing adequate stipends and allowances to the Minor Canons, Schoolmasters, Organists, Vicars-Choral, Lay Clerks, Officers, Choristers, Bedesmen, Servants, and other members of the Cathedral or Collegiate Church, and for securing adequate sums of money for the maintenance of any existing college or school in connexion with the Cathedral or Collegiate Church'. In effect the Commissioners made clear, in this circular letter, that they did not propose to exercise the powers which Section 18 conferred upon them.

91. See Appendix IV for the full text of the memorial.

92. A.C. Sherriff, a Yorkshireman by birth, had moved into the area as manager of a local railway company. He was returned as a Liberal member for Worcester in 1867 for a second term.

93. He was required to ascertain what proportion of the revenue deriving from the estates ceded in 1859, was being returned to the Dean and Chapter.

94. The letters are contained in the Muniment Room of Worcester Guildhall (Shelf C9 Box 4, marked 'Charities').
even though Robert Whiston had expressed the opinion that even the full details the city was seeking would not provide the information they really sought. (95)

Though the Council's efforts between 1867 and 1869 were largely unsuccessful, the incident is revealing in a number of ways. Obviously it shows that in the period from 1851 to 1867 the Council had become more self-confident as the champion of local interests. The approach by parents suggests that they too accepted it in this capacity. But its major significance is in what it reveals about the Church. Each individual chapter could now be seen to have suffered a curtailment in its autonomy, following the legislation of 1840 and 1868. (96)

In 1851 it had been possible for the financial affairs of a cathedral school to be resolved at local level: this had happened in Worcester. By 1869 this was no longer so. The loss of autonomy by Deans and Chapters weakened their claims to be regarded as arbiters of the best way to develop local advanced educational institutions. Only lay interests now had the potential to realise the educational needs of localities in such cities. Also, in concentrating estates in its own hands, the Ecclesiastical Commission unwittingly created a situation in which local bodies could pose as the guardians of civic interest against a remote, uninterested central bureaucracy.

Best has summed up the dilemma of Rochester Cathedral, faced by Whiston's attacks, as follows: -

"The Ecclesiastical Commissioners had left them with barely enough money to keep a Dean and four Canons properly nourished, let alone embark on improvement - and now this turbulent usher was arguing, before a sympathetic public that one of their main responsibilities was boys' education! The servile bands of minor canons, vicars choral, and so on were already inclined to disaffection. Whiston's words were music in their ears. His attitude and determination alike spelled danger to all capitular and collegiate churches" (97).

95. Letters from Sherriff on June 1st and 9th refer to correspondence he had with Whiston who had seen a notice about the questions in the 'Times' and written to him. Whiston's own suggestions were contained in a letter dated June 10th.


An almost identical dilemma faced the Worcester Chapter in mid century. In addition, in view of Whiston's participation in the struggle to reform the Worcester Cathedral School, Best's comment on his 'danger' to cathedrals was pertinent to the point of prophecy. Certainly the fears that had been expressed at the early reports of the Ecclesiastical Commission were fully substantiated in the 1860s. In concentrating on a meeting the: - 'popular cry for church room and for preachers' (98) by a redistribution of capitular funds the Commission had overlooked the importance of the cathedrals' connection with learning. (99) Thirty years later, with fierce competition from joint-stock schools (100) and Royal Commissions recommending the reform of secondary schools, chapters found themselves unable to meet the educational needs of their dioceses, and denied the funds to revive cathedral schools.

98. P.J. Welch loc cit 1954 p187. Blakesley, Dean of Lincoln expressed this opinion in a letter to Gladstone in March 1837.
100. Kennedy's concern about this competition (cited supra p73 f.n.43) was contained in his evidence before the Clarendon Commission.
For all the reforms which had been set in train during the generation following the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commission, the Church of England was in obvious difficulties by the 1860s. With the benefit of a century of hindsight, it can be seen to have encountered progressive difficulties from the 1830s onwards.\(^{(1)}\)

Financial problems were amongst the most acute, since they restricted the Church's ability to extend, or even maintain its activities. The redistribution of funds in the wake of the Deans and Chapters Act 1840 underlined that the State could no longer be relied upon to finance reform;\(^{(2)}\) the Church was to make use of its own resources. Such resources were already strained when, in 1868, church rates were finally abolished.\(^{(3)}\) In the same year an act was passed which ratified schemes whereby Chapters

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1. P.J. Welch loc cit 1954 pp193-96. A number of leading churchmen were aware of the difficulties at the time, and were prepared to give credit to the Ecclesiastical Commission for its contribution to alleviating them. Even the once-reactionary Howley saw church reform as the likeliest counter to escalating difficulties, in the debates on the Dean and Chapters Act 1840.

2. O. Chadwick op cit Vol.I 1966 pp130-32. That this action had a significant symbolic aspect was made clear by calculations undertaken by Sydney Smith. He estimated that to redistribute capitular funds among all livings would increase stipends by a mere £5.12.6d (£5.62\%) per annum.

3. Olive Anderson 'Gladstone's Abolition of Compulsory Church Rates: A Minor Political Myth and its Historical Career' Journal of Ecclesiastical History Vol.XXV No.2 1974 pp185-98. It is claimed (p187) that fewer people actually paid church rates, after the case at Braintree in 1853, which saved Nonconformists from being compelled to pay such rates against their will. The financial consequences of the abolition of church rates upon the Church may not have been as great as is often inferred, in view of this.
had handed estates over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in return for a steady income. (4) It was intended that, once restored, they would be returned. However, the laudible intention of restoring these lands to a position of profitability was destroyed by the agricultural depression of the late 19th century. Instead of enjoying the financial benefits anticipated from a reform of tenure, the Church found its financial position growing more precarious.

Cathedrals were placed in a particularly difficult position by the redistribution of funds. Chadwick has cited a number of examples to support his contention that nearly every cathedral was in difficulties in the 1880s. (5) But the difficulties extended beyond the financial, to fundamental questions of value. The gap between Chapter and diocese was still wide; in some quarters it was argued that reform was extending, not closing that gap. (6) A good deal of discussion continued to focus on the purpose of a cathedral. (7) While few participants shared the extreme sentiments of the Earl of Harrowby, (8) many contributors shared a dissatisfaction with cathedrals themselves, and the numerous attempts to reform them. These reforms generated hostility in some cities, as did the reformers. Chadwick cites Worcester as the scene of the most violent clash between reformers and the public. (9)

The Dean and Chapter attempted to change the ethos of the Three Choirs Festival, which gave them legitimate

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4. O.Chadwick op cit Vol.II 1970 p367. Worcester had transferred its estates in 1859. (The 1840 Act had only redistributed the incomes of separate estates of Deans and Canons. Corporate estates were unaffected by legislation until the appearance of the 1868 Act)

5. Ibid pp367-70.
7. Ibid p379. Also Best loc cit 1961 p146 records proposals to develop cathedrals as models of public worship, or as centres for the training of clergy.
8. O.Chadwick op cit Vol.II 1970 p379. Harrowby's view, expressed in 1865, was that it was doubtful whether the cathedrals could ever be made useful to the Church.
grounds for concern. (10) In 1874 they decreed that no music should be played unless it formed part of a service. The following year the festival was held in Worcester, with a choir and organ only. For the next two years the diocese rang with protest, much of it reverberating in the local press. The matter was only resolved when in 1878, with Worcester once again the host city, Bishop Philpot refused to support his Chapter, and it had to relent.

But Chadwick fails to appreciate what lay behind the public protest. The episode he recounts came just as another was concluding. In the early 1860s, the cathedral was urgently in need of restoration. (11) Despite the nominal value of the estates it was administering on behalf of Worcester Cathedral, the Ecclesiastical Commission announced that it could only meet one sixth of the cost of the restoration from its own funds. It was suggested that an additional £70,000-£80,000 would have to be raised locally. The Dean and Chapter stressed the urgency of the situation, and motivated local effort, by announcing that failure to raise the necessary funds would lead to the Cathedral being denied the public as a venue for the Three Choirs Festival. Public subscriptions were generously supported, (12) and the balance was donated by the Earl of Dudley, demonstrating yet again the philanthropic concern the Ward family (13) had for the city.

But, to the astonishment and fury of the city, the Dean and Chapter then proceeded to charge the public to

10. They objected to its secularity, to the 'fact' that the atmosphere at performances seemed more redolent of a concert hall than of a cathedral, but most of all to the practice of erecting stands over the altar. The issue is recorded (with the aid of press cuttings) in Worcester Cathedral Chapter Act Book 1873-1895 pp18-21. (N.B. Numbers denote double pages, not single sides).


12. Supra p30. A public subscription opened in 1864 raised £16,000. A meeting in 1867 produced £4,700, while another in 1870 realised over £16,000.

13. Supra pp45 and 59 f.n.51. The Earldom of Dudley was revived and conferred on the 11th Baron Ward in 1860.
see the results of the restoration.\(^{14}\) An extended correspondence between the Council and Chapter during 1873 and 1874 on the merits of free admission to the cathedral brought no satisfactory results. The correspondence was terminated by the Council's receipt of a resolution passed at a Chapter meeting\(^{15}\) held on 23rd June 1874. The Chapter supported the existing arrangement on the grounds that it appeared to work satisfactorily elsewhere!\(^{16}\)

These two events, which held public attention from 1862 to 1878 did untold harm locally to the prestige of the cathedral. Neither the Council nor the public at large fully appreciated the extent to which the Chapter was held in thrall by the Ecclesiastical Commission,\(^{17}\) and denied almost any financial freedom of action. What the locality thought it saw was the cathedral, which had once occupied an important place in local life, treating the locality with a combination of indifference and contempt. Its disregard for the generosity of the city and neighbourhood, as shown by its imposition of admission charges and its sanctions during the 1875 Festival, acted as a powerful disincentive on subsequent occasions when its poor financial position forced it to appeal for funds. Worst of all was its brusque dismissal of what the locality felt was a genuine case for letting the citizens enjoy what they

\begin{enumerate}
\item Charges were 6d (2\(\%\)p) per person, or 2s.6d (12\(\%\)p) for parties of at least 10.
\item City Chamber Order Book Vol.XVIII pp470-71.
\item Worcester Cathedral Chapter Act Book 1873-1895 p15.
\end{enumerate}

The text of the Resolution ran:

'\[\text{That it is not desirable to make any change in the present regulations for the admission of Visitors to the Cathedral. The present system, which is that adopted at York, Westminster and St.Paul's, and other cathedrals has so far proved to be quite satisfactory and seems to secure to the public the greatest amount of convenience and attention, with the necessary maintenance of order in the Cathedral}.\]

\begin{enumerate}
\item G.Best loc cit 1861 p146 :-
'...the chapters were in these years sheltering high-mindedly behind their statutes against the cold blast that blew upon them from the Ecclesiastical Commission's offices in Whitehall Place'.
\end{enumerate}
had paid to restore - on the grounds that other cathedrals adopted the practice of charging admission! It was felt to have relinquished its right to claim any interest in the well-being of the city, and was to find the City Council a more successful rival for the role of defender of the civic interest.

The period also witnessed a renewed challenge to the spiritual claims of the Church as the National Church-the spiritual wing of the Establishment. The Religious Census of 1851 had suggested that the hold of the Church of England over the population was far from total, (18) since it had only a small majority of those whose attendance was recorded. (19) A further indication of popular feeling towards the Established Church emerged during the taking of evidence before the Newcastle Commission. Witnesses from places as far apart as Cumberland, Durham, Hull and the Potteries indicated that the religious affiliation of a school was not a relevant factor in their decision as to whether or not to patronise it. (20)

   On the most generous calculations, at least 30% of the population had not attended a church service at all on Census Sunday.

   However M.Drake in E.A.Wrigley (ed) '19th Century Society: Essays in the uses of quantitative methods for the study of social data' C.U.P. 1972 p18, quotes Lord Robert Cecil's allegations that Dissenters had invalidated the accuracy of the 1851 Religious Census by submitting inflated figures, and transporting congregations from one chapel to another.
   These remarks formed part of the Committee Stage of the Census Bill. (Hansard. Third Series Vol.159 cols 1692-1742 11th July 1860). During this debate Edward Baines provided detailed evidence (cols 1695-1702) to explain apparent discrepancies between attendance figures and chapel sizes, which Cecil ignored in his allegations of deliberate malpractice (cols 1722-23).
   No other speaker took so strong a view, though Sir George Lewis (cols 1702-15), Sir John Pakington (cols 1729-32) and Lord Palmerston (cols 1732-34) all suggested the figures might be suspect. (Palmerston 'I do not believe there was any fraud practised' col 1734).
   Besides Baines, Sir Bernal Osborne (cols 1715-17. 1717-19) defended the result of the 1851 Religious Censuses, citing an inquiry conducted by the Bishop of Oxford, which confirmed its findings in his diocese, as evidence.

Curriculum and school fees were regarded as the really important criteria. Since the Church claimed that its educational responsibilities were as fundamental as its spiritual obligations, and that all education should be characterised by an infusion of Christian principles, a weakening of its spiritual hold had implications for education too. Until the 1860s a fear of direct state intervention had united voluntary interests. But the forces of Dissent, recently described as consciously and militantly political, combined against the Established Church in a series of campaigns. If the abolition of church rates has been customarily held to mark their most spectacular success, the isolation of Anglican education policy represented the most fundamental victory.

22. G. Kitson Clark op cit 1973 p231: 'Politically minded Dissenters were apparently very successful at the elections which followed the Second Reform Act, and they persuaded themselves that the new Parliament would start the process of disestablishing and disendowing the Church of England'.
23. For example: M. Sturt op cit 1967 p300 and J. Murphy 'The Education Act 1870' David & Charles 1972 p31, both attribute the abolition of church rates to Gladstone's reforming government of 1868, D. Fraser op cit 1976 p266 claims: 'Church rates were removed as a grievance in most towns by vestry activity specifically designed to abolish ecclesiastical financial imposts', P. T. Marsh 'The Victorian Church in Decline' R. K. P. 1969 p251: 'In 1868 at Nonconformists' insistence, compulsory church rates had been abolished'. It has been left to O. Anderson loc cit 1974 pp185-198 to point out that: i) the bill concerning church rates received its Royal Assent on 31st July 1868, during Disraeli's ministry (p192) ii) amendments by the Lords preserved the machinery for raising church rates. The act only declared that no suit should be instituted to compel their payment, in the future (p195) iii) the act was the result of consensus, carried by both front benches, and supported by moderates of both parties, having originated as a Private Member's Bill (p193).
for Dissenters. It opened the way for the Liberal government to legislate, since the means of the Church fell short of its will to be the nation's educator.

Nor was this situation restricted to popular education. Attempts to reform endowed schools had generally been fruitless despite the Grammar Schools Act 1840. Eventually middle class concern at the inadequacy of much secondary education and the decay of endowments prompted a deputation of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science to meet Palmerston. (24) As a result a Royal Commission was established under the chairmanship of Lord Taunton. (25) Its recommendations reflected another failure on the part of voluntary initiative, and pointed to state intervention. However the Liberal government adopted a less highly structured solution, than in the case of popular education. Taunton's proposals for provincial authorities to mediate between the Endowed Schools Commission and individual schools were not embodied in the Endowed Schools Act 1869. (26) Secondary schools were to be reorganised in the light of discussions between the Endowed Schools Commissioners and governing bodies of individual schools, with the Taunton grades as the framework. Interested parties were to be invited to comment on draft schemes (27) and could appeal on points of detail. (28)

25. Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science for the Year 1864' Longman Green, 1865 p319. The Report of the Standing Committee on Education contains the claim that its deputation was instrumental in the establishment of the Taunton Commission.
27. A liberal interpretation was placed on what were 'interested' parties. In 1881 the Chairman of Worcester School Board was invited to join a deputation to the Charity Commission and the Ecclesiastical Commission, on the Cathedral School's future. Worcester School Board Minute Book, Vol.VI p82.
28. City of Worcester Chamber of Commerce 49th Annual Report 1888 pp4 and 7 refer to correspondence between the Chamber and the Charity Commission about the proposals to reorganise the city's two grammar schools in line with Endowed Schools legislation.
But they were given no part in the drafting of the schemes. Secondary education appeared to stand out against a general trend which saw the authority of the Church challenged and undermined.

But this generalisation does not apply in the case of the Worcester Cathedral School. While neither the Council nor the public at large realised the full extent of the difficulties facing the Dean and Chapter, it is unlikely that their motives would have changed had they been apprised of the situation, since the issue was increasingly seen as involving will, and pride. At local level the question of the reform of the school gave a context to a dispute as to who spoke for the city and its surrounding area, and determined what comprised an appropriate amenity. The traditional claims of the Cathedral were challenged by the Council, anxious to assert its own authority. Authority was at stake in a different sense as the dispute progressed, since the Council confronted the Ecclesiastical, and Charity Commissions. The fundamental issue at stake in these contacts was seen to be whether the locality, or a distant central bureaucracy was better equipped to appreciate, understand and resolve the needs of the locality.

Three other elements are apparent in examining the development of the dispute. The contribution to be made by the press to such an issue, as the vehicle for news, comment and correspondence is clearly evident. So too in relation to the finances of the Dean and Chapter, is the fact that the distinction between civic pride and civic chauvinism could be a fine one, on occasion. Finally the dispute affords an opportunity to observe local interests coming to terms with the techniques of pressure group politics in their relations with central bureaucracy.

The attempt by the Council to extract information from the Ecclesiastical Commission by means of Parliamentary questions, put down by a local M.P. is one example of this. Prior to the publication in 1871, of a return giving the approximate value of those episcopal and capitular estates which had passed into the hands of the
Ecclesiastical Commission, the Council's claims had lacked authority. The estimates made by Whiston of the increase in the value of estates had to be used in calculating the amount by which endowment should be increased, to ensure that the school continued to receive its traditional proportion of capitular funds. But estimates were unnecessary after the 1871 Return which revealed an increase in the value of the Worcester estates so great that it took a decade for the city to grasp it. The knowledge of this increase, which now appeared to explain the reluctance of the Ecclesiastical Commission to answer Sherriff's questions in 1869, and Whiston's claims that Deans and Canons had enjoyed its fruits in increased emoluments, strengthened the determination of the City Council to secure an improvement in the level of endowment for the school. It approved a

29. See Appendix V.
30. See Appendices II a) and b).
31. The Council based its claims for increased finance for the school on the founder's intention that one-sixth of the total endowment should be devoted to education. However, A. Macdonald 'A History of the King's School, Worcester' Benn 1936 pp280-81, denies that Henry VIII had stated this.
32. The total annual value of the estates endowing Worcester Cathedral and its school, had originally amounted to £1,301.11s.10¾d (£1,301.59p). The 1871 Return divulged that the estimated current value of episcopal estates was £950,000, and of capitular estates was £1,300,000. Not until a letter appeared in the local press in 1881 was it realised that these two figures needed to be added to give the total value! Whiston was the correspondent on this occasion.
33. The information contained in the Return confirmed the suspicions of the Council that King's Scholars appeared to be failing to secure their legitimate dues. The data in the Return was not as detailed as Sherriff, or Whiston had hoped for. However, it did correspond with the first question Whiston had suggested in 1869.
motion:—

"That in view of the approaching inquiry into the adequacy of the endowment of the Cathedral School of this city, the Council would respectfully urge on the consideration of the Endowed Schools Commissioners the just claims of the School on the Capitular Estates, and to a large augmentation of the funds at present applied to educational purposes." (34)

The inquiry in question took place in 1876. It occupied only one two-hour session, but for all its brevity proved spectacular and revealing. The Dean and Chapter represented by the Chapter Clerk, and the City Council represented by the Mayor and the chairman of the Cathedral School Committee, appeared before an inspector appointed by the Charity Commission. The exchanges revealed clearly how sensitive were ecclesiastical interests in Worcester to the Council's interference, (35) and how bitter the Council still felt towards the Chapter's claims to represent the interests of the city in view of the wrangle over admission charges to the cathedral, (36) and the King's Scholars in view of recent

34. City Chamber Order Book Vol. XVIII pp202-3. The meeting was held on 1st April 1873.
35. The Chapter Clerk refused to answer questions which sought to elicit the amount by which stipends had been increased from capitular funds. He denied that the Town Clerk was entitled to ask such questions, although it was stressed that the Council was not criticising increases in stipends, but trying to contrast the increase in funds devoted to the Chapter, with the lack of increase in funds relating to the school.
36. During the inquiry the Council representatives twice referred to the ill-feeling in the city towards the Dean and Chapter. They pointed out that, as the city's representatives, they could not recommend public support for any subscriptions opened by the Dean and Chapter in the future. The admission charges were not the only bone of contention. At the special meeting of the Chapter on 29th November 1874, when permission to run a conventional festival was refused, the Chapter rejected the inference that civic and public support for the restoration of the Cathedral had been conditional on its continued use as a venue for the Three Choirs Festival. The Chapter was under no obligation: contributions had been voluntary Worcester Cathedral Chapter Act Book 1873-1895 pp21-3 (Also supra p 89).
disagreements over the amount of financial help given. (37)

In his own statement the inspector showed himself to be ill-informed about the issues and clumsy in his efforts at reconciliation. (38) His remarks implied that he accepted the opinion contained in the Taunton report that cathedral schools were in a special category, (39)

37. Prior to the 1876 inquiry (but after receipt of the City Council's motion) the Endowed Schools Commission wrote to the Chapter for information including :-

"3rd. Is there any statute or authority whereby the Chapter were relieved from the incidence of Statute 26 (Cathedral Statutes) which enjoins them to maintain 12 boys at the two universities (6 at Oxford, 6 at Cambridge).

4th. Can you inform me how the Chapter or the Ecclesiastical Commission or the two bodies together arrived at the precise sums which are now paid for the support of the Cathedral School, i.e.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Headmaster</td>
<td>£200.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Master</td>
<td>£150.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Master</td>
<td>£100.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 King's Scholars</td>
<td>£106.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>£556.13.4 (sic)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On what principle was the amount fixed? As it seems at some variance with the terms of the foundation relatively considered".

The relevant part of the reply read :-

"3rd. I have given to Mr. Day (the Headmaster) for you all the information I have.

4th. I am unable to answer this except that each King's Scholar has been paid £2.13.4d a year for upwards of 200 years".

Worcester Cathedral Chapter Order Book 1862-1873 pp100-1. Letters were dated July 2nd 1873 and July 19th 1873.

38. The inspector so far misunderstood the Council's intention as to suggest that if it was anxious for lay representation, it should transfer its attention to the Royal Grammar School, where it might encounter less opposition, and enjoy a greater chance of success.


"We have already said that the Cathedral Schools do not appear to us to stand on the same footing as the other grammar schools. They are the property of the Church, and can only be dealt with under the reserve implied in that admission".
despite the erosion of this position by the Endowed Schools Act 1869. It was clear from detailed reports in the local press that he found the spectacle of a city council attempting to determine the curriculum and facilities of such a school, and thereby challenging for a measure of control over its future, quite extraordinary.

In only one respect did the opinions of lay and clerical representatives co-incide: the endowment of the school was inadequate. The inspector's report, published in 1877, accepted this opinion and recommended that £7,000 be granted for improving the level of endowment. It also repeated Bryce's recommendation that the school should be developed, when the Charity Commissioners turned their attention to it, as a Grade I school serving the city and its neighbourhood. The rest of the report concentrated on the means of achieving this objective. With the exception of lay representation, every one of the Council's requirements was implicitly accepted and embodied in the report. In view of this the report can be seen as the imprimatur of the Council's efforts on behalf of the school, in fact if not yet in principle.

40. In addition to an increase in the level of endowment, and lay representation, the Council also called for an increase in the numbers of scholarships to the school, and exhibitions to university, the provision of houses suitable for the receipt of boarders, grounds for drill and athletics, and proper facilities for the study of Physical Science. These requirements were summarised in the 1878 Memorial (See Appendix VI).

41. Berrows Worcester Journal 26th February 1876 p7. 'The Inspector observed that it was natural that, when a school was connected with a cathedral those who controlled the cathedral should also claim control of the school, and it would be difficult to get it out of their hands.'


If the Chapter and Council had been at odds before the Charity Commission's inspector in 1876, there were signs of consensus in 1878, when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' response to the Charity Commissioners' report was received in Worcester. This became apparent during a meeting of the Council to consider a draft memorial protesting at the ungenerous proposals from the Ecclesiastical Commission. It was reported that Canon Barry had been consulted, and shown a draft of the memorial. The news that his comments had been valuable and the draft amended accordingly was greeted enthusiastically. The Chapter was apparently satisfied that the Council should plead the case of the Cathedral School by means of deputations to the Ecclesiastical, and Charity Commissioners.

But this accord has to be put in perspective. From 1878 onwards the Chapter accepted that the Council should take the lead in attempts to wrest more money from the Ecclesiastical Commission. But it does not appear to have conceded to the Council the right to determine the future development of the School.

44. City Chamber Order Book Vol.XIX pp539-545.
45. W.E.Bolland 'Recollections of the Worcester Cathedral Grammar School 1879-1896' (typescript) 1917. Prior to his installation at Worcester, Canon Barry had been the headmaster at Leeds Grammar School, and Cheltenham College. He was also Principal of King's College, London at this time. (M.C.Morgan 'Cheltenham College' Richard Sadler. 1968. pp42 and 57 note).
46. Worcestershire Chronicle 11th May 1878 carried a long and detailed account of the Council meeting. The news about Canon Barry was greeted with cries of 'hear, hear!' (The views seem to have been proffered in a personal capacity, not as a representative of the Chapter).
47. The Bishop of Worcester did offer to plead the school's cause before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners but it is not possible to ascertain whether or not he did so. He did not join either of the deputations. He was a retiring individual, who shunned public life and formal occasions generally.
48. But the Council was not accorded a monopoly. In 1881 the Chapter made a formal application to the Ecclesiastical Commission under Section 18 of the Chapter Act 1868 (supra p84, f.n.90) Worcester Cathedral Chapter Act Book 1873-1895 p100.
49. Ibid p114. The Chapter gave an effusive welcome to the Charity Commission's revised scheme for the Cathedral (continued)
hoped that improved endowment for the school would ease the strain on its own precarious finances; the Council sought additional funds to improve the number of scholarships and exhibitions.\(^{(50)}\) So the agreement to press for improved financial aid hid differences of motive.\(^{(51)}\)

At the same time the governors of the Cathedral School were negotiating with the Charity Commission over the re-organisation of the school in the light of Endowed Schools Acts 1869 and 1874. The appearance of a draft scheme for re-organisation in 1881 showed how fragile was the agreement between clerical and lay interests. The Council had not been informed of the progress of these negotiations, and was only allowed the same opportunities to comment on the draft proposals as such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce, and School Board. Its response indicated its pique at being taken lightly. It organised another deputation and encouraged representatives from every kind of local organisation to join it, to reinforce its claim to be the hub of local opinion. It also formally included the Cathedral School Committee in its list of official sub-committees. All its reports, from now on, were presented to the Council for debate and approval.\(^{(52)}\)

The force of local protest led to the withdrawal of the Charity Commission scheme, for amendment. When

49. (continued) School, which demurred at lay representation, suggesting instead that the Dean and Chapter be constituted the governing body.
50. See Appendix VII for a summary of the Cathedral School issue, dating from this period.
51. And continued to do so. In their response to the 1881 draft proposals the Dean and Chapter asked that the £106.13.4d be given to the governors to apply as they thought fit, not formally earmarked for King's Scholars as clause 53 specified. Worcester Cathedral Chapter Act Book 1873-1895. p91.
52. City Chamber Order Book Vol.XX p500. Its duties were:-
"to consider and watch over the interests of the Worcester Cathedral School with reference to any scheme that the Charity Commissioners may propose to make for the administration thereof".
the revised version was published in 1883 the Chapter and Council differed in their responses to it. In view of the improved financial arrangements, the Dean and Chapter accepted it unreservedly. Because of the unexpected omission of the principle of lay representation on the governors of the Cathedral School, (53) the Council decided to oppose it. (54) News of this brought about a change of heart by the Chapter. (55) Apparently accepting that it could not combat the Council, the Chapter unconditionally accepted lay representation at a meeting between one of its number and the city's senior M.P. (56) Chapter and Council were at last in agreement. To mark this the Council passed a resolution :-

"... accepting this proposal of the Dean and Chapter and cordially acknowledg(ing) the friendly and generous spirit with which the Dean and Chapter have recognised the exertions of the Council on behalf of the School, and have met the wishes of the Corporation and the citizens" (57)

The Council could afford to be magnanimous in victory, for that was what the Chapter's concession represented. The Council was acknowledged as the body with the authority to determine the future of the Cathedral School and to speak for the public, since it had the ability, which clerical authority lacked, to withstand pressure from central bureaucracy on this issue.

53. In anticipation that lay representation would be retained the Council had already nominated its first lay governor. It took his rejection by the Dean and Chapter as a civic and personal affront.

54. City Chamber Order Book. Vol.XXI pp200-2. At a meeting held on 6th October 1883 the Chapter had declined the City Council's suggestion of a joint conference to discuss the re-organisation of the Cathedral School.

56. City Chamber Order Book Vol.XXI p226-28. This was reported to a Council meeting held on 5th February 1884.

57. Ibid p228.
In fact it had been clear in the 1860s that the reform of the Cathedral School was incapable of resolution between local clerical and lay interests. Even before the passing of the Endowed Schools Act 1869 the Ecclesiastical Commission had been integral to the dispute. Therefore while at local level one issue had been to decide which body had the authority to speak for the city, the fundamental area of conflict had revolved around whether the city's interests were to be decided by the locality itself, or by central agencies. The Council's attempts to put pressure on the Ecclesiastical Commission through Parliament had shown a locality seeking a way to strengthen its own power at the expense of its central adversary. On the failure of that attempt, local interests next attempted to have the Endowed Schools Bill 1869 amended, in order to remove from the Ecclesiastical Commission the discretion in relation to cathedral schools that the 1868 Act offered. Once the measure had become law the Town Clerk was instructed to lay before the Endowed Schools Commissioners a copy of the petition submitted to Parliament in 1869, together with a request that the Commissioners use the powers vested in them

58. Edward Webb, a major industrialist and one of the city fathers, who was Chairman of the Cathedral Schools Committee, wrote to Lord Houghton, asking him to sponsor an amendment, but with no success. G.W.Hastings who played a leading part in city and county affairs for thirty years as a Director of the Chamber of Commerce, Chairman of the Worcester School Board, and later M.P. for East Worcestershire had more success. He was Chairman of the Council of the Social Science Association, and persuaded another Council member, the Earl of Carnarvon, to introduce an amendment to the bill. It eventually became Section 27 of the Act.
59. Supra p 84, f.n.90.
by Section 27 of the 1869 Act to inquire into the adequacy of the Cathedral School's endowment. (60) At the resulting public inquiry Chapter and Council contested the right to speak for the Cathedral School. (61) It was only after the inspector's report, which included all the Council's suggestions, that the City Council came to be accepted as the sole defender of the city's interests in relation to the endowment of the Cathedral School. (62) Its two most notable campaigns in this connexion occurred in 1878, and 1881.

Dissatisfaction with the official response to the inspector's report of 1877 (63) led the Council to press its views on the Ecclesiastical and Charity Commissioners by means of deputations. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners presented a formidable picture. The group which met the deputation was led by the Archbishop of York, (64) and included the Bishop of St. Albans (65) who had some reason to understand the cathedral schools' issue in general and the Worcester situation in particular. However, reports of the event in the local press (66) indicated

60. City Chamber Order Book Vol. XVII Meeting held on 1st February 1870. It was as a result of this request, and subsequent correspondence with the Chapter, that the 1876 Inquiry was held (Supra p 96 and f.n.37).
61. Supra pp 96-98.
62. The Chapter was felt, locally, to be interested solely in its own, vested interests.
63. The inspector had recommended £7,000 to increase the endowment and £9,000 for additional building. The Ecclesiastical Commission offered only £3,000 for endowment and £4,000 for building: this latter sum to be conditional on the raising locally of a similar amount.
64. William Thomson, formerly Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, supported the extension of the secondary school curriculum and the inclusion of science.
65. Thomas Legh Claufton, formerly Vicar of Kidderminster, Honorary Canon of Worcester Cathedral 1846-1867 and Bishop of Rochester, was the new inductee at St. Albans. (Supra p78 and f.n. 64)
66. Worcestershire Chronicle 1st June 1878.
that the deputation had acquitted itself well. It was clear that local leaders had not been overawed by the Commission. For example after the Mayor had made the customary claim for increased revenue, based on the traditional proportion of one-sixth of the total value of cathedral estates, the following exchange was reported to have occurred:

"... the Archbishop here remarked that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners did not attach importance to abstract arguments of right, as they were limited in their action to do that which was directed by Acts of Parliament.

"The Mayor thereupon said that, such being the case, he would respectfully call the attention of the Commissioners to the Endowed Schools Act 1869" (67)

The report also revealed that the Council's case was too carefully constructed to be dismissed out of hand as a combination of greed and selfishness. It contained a claim of £15,000 for buildings, and endowment providing £2,000 a year, based on a comparison between the value of Worcester's and Rochester's estates, and the recent settlement on the Rochester Cathedral School:

"The Archbishop asked what authority the Mayor had for saying the revenues from Worcester were greater than those from Rochester.

"The Mayor replied that his authority was a return by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners dated August 3rd 1871" (68)

In addition the report showed the deputation, conscious of its position in representing clerical and lay opinion, presenting what it felt the public was entitled to expect of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to maintain its legitimate interests:

"The Mayor proceeded to say that the Memorial of the Town Council of Worcester asked for the very least that they thought could reasonably be granted, and he might state that the memorial had the sympathy and support of the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and also of the Dean and Chapter, and he wished to state, with all deference and respect, that the people of Worcester considered that what they asked for was a matter of right and justice, and not an act of grace and favour" (69)

67 Ibid.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
Perhaps the most significant product of the meeting was the fact that it ran its course. At no point did the Commissioners question the Council's right to appear on behalf of the Cathedral School. The deputation had apparently won from the Ecclesiastical Commission, recognition of the legitimacy of the Council's concern for the school. (70)

But the success proved Pyrrhic in the short term. A principle might have been tacitly conceded, but otherwise there were no tangible results. In fact, when three years had elapsed since the deputation had appeared before the Commission in support of its memorial, the Town Clerk was again instructed to draw the attention of the Ecclesiastical, and Charity Commissioners to it. (71) Three weeks later a series of letters were laid before the Council. The gist of the correspondence from the Charity Commissioners was that they had been engaged in agreeing a draft scheme for the re-organisation of the Cathedral School with the Chapter. The Council expressed its anger that the special problems of the Cathedral School, whose scholars were still receiving only £2.13.4d (£2.66p), had been allowed to continue until this routine re-organisation was ready for publication. (72)

But this anger appeared slight when compared to the Council's reaction to the draft scheme, published by the Ecclesiastical Commission in 1881. (73) For once the press caught the spirit of the Council meeting succinctly: -

"The Council could not receive the scheme without feelings of astonishment and disgust (hear, hear!)" (74)

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70. It has to be remembered that the Council was not engaged in post-Taunton re-organisation, but was occupied in an attempt to secure financial justice for the school, to improve an amenity for the city and its neighbourhood.

71. City Chamber Order Book Vol.XX p324 (11th January 1881).

72. This anger may also have been because the Council had been omitted from the negotiations.

73. City Chamber Order Book Vol.XX pp340-1 (1st March 1881).

The financial provisions were at the root of these feel-
ings. (75) The scheme was rejected out of hand, and the
Cathedral Schools Committee instructed to enter into
negotiations with the Dean and Chapter to discuss what
comments should be submitted in response to the scheme. (76)

The correspondence columns of the local press also
reflected public feelings. Among the letters was a state-
ment from W.E. Bolland, Headmaster of the Cathedral School,
underlining that funds for building were inadequate. He
also indicated where responsibility for the school's plight
lay - not with the Charity Commissioners:—

"who are as powerless as the Dean and Chapter to
grant more money, and are themselves as dissatis-
ified with the provision made as any citizen of
Worcester could be" (77).

At a recent meeting with one of the Charity Commissioners,
Bolland had been encouraged to foment local protest and
direct it at the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Charity
Commissioners would be willing to endorse it!

A letter submitted under the nom de plume 'Trin Coll
Cam' (78) indicated both the method the locality would have
to employ to obtain justice, and also the nature of its
adversary:—

"Unless the Ecclesiastical Commissioners can be made
uncomfortable, and uneasy, nothing will be got out
of them. They are a body with great powers of res-
stance; they are proof against compulsion" (79)

75. The 1881 scheme offered only £5,000 for endowment, in
contrast to the £7,000 recommended by the Charity Com-
missioner's inspector in 1877. Also the building grant,
now reduced to £3,000 was still conditional on the
raising of an equivalent amount locally, despite the
Mayor's categorical assurance in 1878: "...(that)
unless the grant of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners
was greatly increased it was quite useless to ask his
fellow citizens to subscribe a single shilling".

76. City Chamber Order Book Vol.XX p341.
77. Worcestershire Chronicle 18th March 1881.
78. It is tempting to ascribe this to Whiston: he was a
Fellow of Trinity and its views matched his. However,
he had previously corresponded openly on this issue,
and did so again in the weeks after this letter
appeared.

79. Worcestershire Chronicle 11th March 1881.
Yet again Whiston appeared as an eager participant in the debate. He contributed a series of letters designed to inflame civic emotions by showing the huge amounts of 'Worcester' funds being enjoyed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and by detailing how ungenerous were the offers to Worcester when compared to other cathedral schools.

At the same time he was making a more constructive, and less public contribution to the Council's efforts, by advising it on the content and presentation of its formal statement, as he had done in 1851 and 1869. The 'Observations and Suggestions of the Council to the Charity Commissioners' was heavily modified in the light of his comments. The document appears to have been written with the warnings of 'Trin Coll Cam' in mind, to make the Commissioners uncomfortable and uneasy. Its concluding section was as hostile as the 1878 deputation had been studiously polite:

"In conclusion, the Council feel bound to enter an emphatic protest against the treatment that this question has received at the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Act of Parliament under which the present scheme is framed, has now been in operation for more than eleven years. The Report of the Charity Commissioners, as to the inadequacy of the school, was made nearly four years ago. During the interval, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with a full knowledge of the facts, have made no effort to remedy the flagrant injustice with which the school has been treated, but with an entire disregard of the educational requirements of the district, have continued to apply to other purposes funds upon which the school has a first claim. After a lapse of so much precious time they at length make a proposal altogether inadequate".

80. Worcestershire Chronicle 18th and 26th May 1881.
81. A handwritten draft of this statement, in the Guildhall, has been amended in red ink. The insertions are identical to suggestions drafted by Whiston in a series of letters, which are also available in the Guildhall for inspection.
82. 'Observations and Suggestions respecting the scheme of the Charity Commissioners, adopted by the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of the City of Worcester' Section 17.
The force of the emotions obscured a rather naive concept of ecclesiastical finance. More to the point, the document accurately expressed the determination of the Council to achieve what it regarded as the appropriate treatment which would be necessary to restore the school to its rightful condition for the city and its neighbourhood. It brushed aside a rather clumsy attempt by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to divide local opinion in 1883, \(^{83}\) and repeated its demands. The amended scheme was rejected, just as its predecessor had been.

When a scheme was finally sanctioned by Order in Council, \(^{84}\) the City Council was able to derive a good deal of satisfaction at the results of its persistence. Everything that it had demanded had been conceded. The locality was even spared the earlier condition of matching the Commission's building grant. \(^{85}\) But the financial provisions reflected most clearly the magnitude of the city's achievement. No limit was set on the amount to be allowed for school building. A total of £22,000 was allocated to the school, £15,000 of which was to come from the Common Fund. This was five times the sum offered in 1877!

However the Order in Council had a deeper significance. It marked the successful conclusion of a campaign hesitantly begun by the Council thirty three years earlier, which had been consistently directed to the reform of the Cathedral School, in such a way as to make it into an establishment which befitted the city and its neighbourhood, and which met the needs of local children. The financial aspects of the campaign had been accepted by clerical and lay interests as crucial. The Council had proved to be the more powerful institution in extracting what it saw as the city's just deserts from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Chapter's declining contribution to the dispute reflected its declining local influence faithfully.

83. Supra p101.
84. The scheme received the Royal sanction on the 17th October 1884.
85. To dispose of any possible suggestions of greed, the Council then sponsored a fund to raise £4,000 for the school, which succeeded largely owing to the generosity of civic leaders.
But perhaps the most remarkable feature of the campaign was its resilience, over such a long period of time, regardless of the political complexion of the Council, or of the various newspapers reporting it. After some early misgivings in 1851, a bipartisan approach had been developed and maintained. Apart from one or two minor disagreements, this consensus had only been threatened once; in 1881 when a difference emerged as to whether King's Scholarships should be restricted to boys already in the school, or awarded on merit among local children. Even this difference was resolved satisfactorily.

The spectacle of a city council united in the furtherance of a long campaign against a remote and uninterested national body, to protect a local institution and the interests of the neighbourhood, would in itself suggest that Worcester's secondary education developed in accordance with the City Council's concept of civic pride. But the suggestion must be resisted until after a brief examination of the Queen Elizabeth School.

Bryce's recommendations for the two Worcester schools have been referred to already. Since the City Council was personally involved in the government of the school it might be expected that its pride would have impelled it to contest a recommendation that either legislated the school out of existence, or severed its connection with university. After all the matter clearly suggested an alien intrusion into the affairs of the city, and civic pride could be expected to rise to this challenge. The challenge was accepted. Though the Taunton Report was published in 1868, a scheme for the Queen

86. Conservative members of the Council had been reluctant to support the 1851 memorial initially. They felt that the Council was interfering in a Chapter matter.

87. Some councillors felt in 1878 that the memorial was not sufficiently outspoken. In contrast an amendment was moved to delete Section 17 of the Council's reservations on the draft scheme, in 1881, on the grounds that it savoured of menace (Supra p107, quotes Section 17).

88. Supra p53.
Elizabeth School was not finally approved until 1892. Successive schemes were fiercely contested and withdrawn, until the school achieved a satisfactory compromise. (89)

But the Council's role in this defence of local interests against central authority appeared negligible. It saw itself as an impartial arbiter between opposing groups. For example in 1889 it called a series of public meetings, to test public reaction to a scheme for amalgamating the two schools, as a preferable alternative to demoting the Queen Elizabeth's School. (90)
The amalgamation scheme adopted and promoted by the Chamber of Commerce, (91) was opposed by the school's supporters, who wanted to press for Grade I status. When the public was called upon to express a preference for one scheme or the other, the vote was tied! (92) Nor did any clear consensus emerge at the Commission of Inquiry held in 1890, to consider objections to the official scheme. (93)

89. The school was to be nominally Grade II, but was to be allowed to take boarders and to retain pupils beyond the age of 16, subject to the consent of the governors.
91. City of Worcester Chamber of Commerce 48th Annual Report 1887 p10. At the A.G.M. of the Chamber, held on 19th July 1887 a resolution was passed calling for the amalgamation of the Cathedral and Queen Elizabeth's Schools. op cit 49th Report 1888. p4 suggested that if the current local discussions resulted in amalgamation, Queen Elizabeth's buildings could be used for a School for Commerce.
93. Ibid.
City of Worcester Chamber of Commerce 51st Annual Report 1890 p4. After appearing before the Inspector in support of amalgamation, the Chamber of Commerce was informed that no action was to be taken on the proposal, in view of local differences of opinion towards it.
If the Council failed to take the initiative, and public opinion remained confused, it might be wondered who sustained the opposition for thirty years. Follett was in no doubt. He saw the appointment of F. J. Eld as headmaster as a turning point in the school's fortunes. Eld raised the money to provide fine new buildings into which the school moved in 1868 (95) (see illustration 8 on p112). He raised additional funds for extensions in the 1890s, to keep pace with the increase in pupil numbers (see illustration 9 on p113). He succeeded in enhancing the school's prestige by obtaining Royal consent to a change of name. From 1869 it was officially called The Worcester Royal Free Grammar School. (96) Eld marshalled the opposition to the Charity Commission's and Chamber of Commerce's schemes. The pride that secured the future of the Royal Free Grammar School was the pride of its head, governors and old pupils.

However the apparent contrast in the Council's attitude to the two schools really reflects their different situations. The Council had a measure of control over the Royal Free Grammar School by virtue of its authority to nominate the Six Masters, who governed the charity which included the school. (97) In the case of the Cathedral School the Council had no control, or even nominal responsibility for its affairs. Therefore while the Council was indirectly involved in discussions concerning the Royal Free Grammar School, through its nominees, it was excluded from discussions concerning the Cathedral School until it won an uneasy acquiescence from the Chapter and the Ecclesiastical Commission at its claims to a legitimate concern. Its campaign in relation to the Cathedral School ultimately secured for it the involvement it always enjoyed in discussions about the Royal Free Grammar School.

94. F.V. Follett op cit 1951 p81.
95. Though the Taunton Report was not published until after the school had moved into its new premises, Bryce's report was based on his visit to the school in 1865, when it had been severely handicapped by its premises.
96. F.V. Follett op cit 1951 p97.
97. Supra p52.
Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School
New buildings 1869
9  Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School
Extensions (on the right) 1890s
In addition the circumstances which led to the reform of the two schools were different. The Royal Free Grammar School underwent a perfectly straightforward post-Taunton re-organisation. The involvement of the Council in the affairs of an endowed secondary school was unusual though by no means unique. The delay in finalising a scheme was lengthy, but delays were commonplace as commissioners toured the country holding inquiry after inquiry, seeking a compromise which would suit themselves and a majority of local interests. In the case of the Cathedral School, Taunton was not the first, and was never the most important element in the re-organisation - in fact from the Council's viewpoint it often hindered its efforts. The issue had more to do with ecclesiastical re-organisation and its financing, and also involved related questions of justice to pupils, and authority. The Council began its campaign well before the Taunton Commission was instituted. It continued while Taunton was still deliberating, and maintained its offensive without regard for the progress of Taunton re-organisation in Worcester. It relied heavily on an unsophisticated concept of the episcopal and capitular estates as being 'Worcester's' property to be used solely for the benefit of the locality. As far as education was concerned that meant financing the school adequately enough to allow pupils who were unable to pay the private fees, to obtain the benefits of the school through King's Scholarships. It also meant an expenditure on the school to transform it into an amenity worthy of the city and its neighbourhood. (98)

98. B. Simon 'Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920' Lawrence and Wishart 1965 ed. p98. Simon dates the process by which old-established grammar schools detached from their localities and became public schools from the 1850s. This was the very opposite of what was happening in Worcester. W. Bolland op cit 1917 took pride in being a member of H.M.C. while the school retained its local links.
The reorganisation of both schools in the best interests of the locality was fundamental to the City Council's aggressive approach, since in pressing the locality's case, it was advancing its own claims to be the legitimate authority to secure appropriate educational amenities for the city. But there are broader implications also. The episode can be seen as an encounter between traditionalism and modernization, with the Chapter falling back on its traditional authority in this matter, to the extent of denying that the Council's representatives were entitled to pursue inquiries.\(^{(99)}\) It received support for this stand by the attitude of the Ecclesiastical Commission and the Charity Commission's Inspector, both of whom failed to respond positively to the Council's initiatives.\(^{(100)}\) The Council's stance can be seen to be consistent with modern attitudes to education, which places responsibility for schools in the hands of publicly elected, and accountable representatives. The increasingly self-assured campaign by the Council presented it as operating on behalf of the city and its inhabitants, to develop an institution which was appropriate for the area in terms of its structure and curriculum. In part this has to be seen as an example of local authority assumption of public responsibilities and duties after municipal reform in 1835. As presented here it has extended that example however, by emphasizing the conflict inherent in a situation of the transfer of authority to influence decisions.

The lack of popular participation does not necessarily indicate a widespread indifference to the issue. It does reflect the importance that economic as well as educational factors had over the power to participate, since councillors and electorate alike had to be of satisfactory financial standing in mid-century when the Cathedral School first

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\(^{99}\) Supra p 96 f.n.35. This point was made to the Charity Commissioners Inspector at the 1876 Inquiry.

\(^{100}\) In 1869 the Ecclesiastical Commission decline to act on the Council's memorial on the grounds that they could not intervene in a financial dispute in a cathedral school (Supra pp 83-4). In 1876 the Charity Commission
became an issue. (101) It also results from the categories of legitimate interests identified by the Charity Commission, to comment on its draft proposals for school reorganisation. The response of the City Council was more liberal in that its deputation to the Charity Commission in 1881 was drawn from a much wider range of local bodies and interests. In addition, though the bulk of the city's population was denied direct involvement in the campaign to reorganise the school, by a restricted franchise, it was kept informed of the issues by the press. The correspondence columns were resorted to for the expression of opinion; in general support was offered. Finally, it should be remembered that parents of Kings' Scholars had turned to the Council for support in 1867, since their own efforts to move the Chapter had been unsuccessful. (102) Therefore while the Cathedral School issue appears to have been resolved by means of subject/participant relationships, (103) a restrictive franchise rather than alienation governed the lack of participation.

It is now intended to examine local elementary education, which afforded much more generous opportunity to participate as an elector and as a candidate for a seat on the city's School Board.

100. (continued) Commission's Inspector acknowledged the de facto control of a Cathedral over a cathedral school, following Taunton's lead (Supra pp 97-8 f.n. 39 and 41).

101. Councillors had to be ratepayers, and have residential qualifications in order to qualify as candidates. The opportunity to vote was restricted to those who themselves paid rates.

102. Supra p 82.

PART III

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF NATIONAL AND
LOCAL INTERESTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF POPULAR EDUCATION
It has already been asserted that for much of the 19th Century increases in government activity occurred in the face of severe pressure from localities and special interests.\(^{(1)}\) Recent attempts to account for the motivation underlying this activity have been influenced by two interpretations - emphasising the role of ideas and empiricism respectively.

Most modern historians have remained unconvinced by the theories of A.V. Dicey, recently reinterpreted by Henry Parris,\(^{(2)}\) Jenifer Hart\(^{(3)}\) and S.E. Finer,\(^{(4)}\) attributing the main impetus for the growth of government to the influence of Benthamism.\(^{(5)}\) Instead they have been sympathetic to the 'model' devised by Oliver MacDonagh, and cautiously described by him as :-

"...simply a description, in convenient general terms of a very powerful impulse or tendency, always immanent in the middle quarters of the 19th Century.\(^{(6)}\)

While not denying that Benthamism was influential, MacDonagh argued that officials tended to respond pragmatically when confronted by particular problems, which became apparent as a consequence of the identification of a 'social evil' of 'intolerable' proportions. The immediate response, to legislate such problems out of existence, provoked a reaction from vested interests and an inevitable compromise. Legislative action was

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4. See G. Sutherland (ed) op cit 1972 pp 11-32.
taken, though usually ineffective. The next stage in the model was signalled by the recognition that government action was not ameliorating the situation, and concluded by the appointment of executive officers, such as inspectors, to ensure that government action was respected.

The experience of these officers was doubly significant. Their reports testified to the continuation of 'intolerable' circumstances. Their lack of formal authority inhibited their ability to mitigate the social evil. In consequence their calls for new legislation and a supervising central body were eventually met. This completed the third stage and began the fourth, which was a gradual recognition that social problems could not be legislated out of existence, but must be subject to continuing experience and:

"...the substitution of a dynamic for a static concept of administration and the gradual crystallization of an expertise or notion of the principles of government of the field in question" (7)

In its turn this recognition led to the development of the final stage in the process, namely the appearance of legislation which encouraged the growth of administrative discretion in the framing of regulations and the imposition of penalties.

The poor moral condition of children was a recurring theme in the early 19th Century. It was emphasised in a number of reports by commissions investigating child employment. (8) It was evident in the reports from the Select Committee on Education, in 1834, 1835 and 1837-38, which confirmed the fears of widespread educational destitution raised by the papers published by many

7. Ibid p 60
of the local statistical societies in existence at this
time. (9) It was implicit in James Kay's examination of
industrial Manchester. (10) He saw the city as the exem-
plar of 'commercial' society which, having passed through
the stages of 'savagery', 'barbarism', and 'feudality',
now possessed the resources to enable man to control his
surroundings. (11) Control was important since 'commer-
cial' society also contained a number of disorders, not-
ably cholera, the collapse of family life, crime, drunk-
keness, irreligion, pauperism and prostitution. (12) Halévy
has claimed that the public conscience was shocked by such
revelations. (13) One consequence was legislation, in
relation to Factories and Mines for example, which received
parliamentary support from both parties. (14) But the
ineffectiveness of early enactments in safeguarding the
moral wellbeing of juveniles (15) led to further measures,
which included the authorisation of inspectors to enforce
and supervise the observance of regulations, (16) and the
development of education as a redemptive agent. Both gov-
ernment commissions and James Kay saw education as import-
ant in rehabilitating disadvantaged and outcast minorities,
through moral and religious training. (17) Legislation

9. J. R. B. Johnson Ph.D. op cit 1968 p 5. In 1834 the statis-
tical section of the British Association received papers
from the Manchester Statistical Society on Bolton, Bury,
Liverpool and York. Before 1839 other groups in Bristol
and Newcastle also reported.
10. J. P. Kay 'The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working
Classes engaged in Cotton Manufactures in Manchester' 1832
11. Ibid p 27
12. Ibid p 28
14. W. C. Lubenow, op cit 1971 p 139. This applies to the 1833
and 1844 Factory Acts which focussed on the moral and
educational condition of children, rather than the 1847
Act which was primarily concerned with the question of
the number of hours to be worked.
15. Ibid p 151. According to Sir James Graham in 1844, the
most defensible aspect of factory legislation was its
extension of protection to children who were otherwise
defenceless. This Benthamite justification is not felt
to invalidate the writer's use of MacDonagh's 'model'.
16. For example inspection had not been included in factory
legislation before 1833. Even then the act called for
the appointment of only four such officers.
17. W. C. Lubenow op cit 1971 p 144. claims that the 1843
report of the Commission into the Condition of Mines
and Manufactory's made this point.
H. Roper Ph.D. op cit 1972 p 3 shows Kay asserting this.
embodying this function was passed in relation to the children of paupers, and juvenile criminals and vagrants. By mid-century a number of government departments including the Admiralty, the Home Office, the Poor Law Board and the War Department had assumed bureaucratic, educational and supervisory responsibilities as a result of the exposure of 'intolerable evils', and a general pattern of official investigations, inspection and succeeding Acts of Parliament.

A similar pattern of government growth can be observed in relation to the education of the children of the independent poor. For all the conscious Benthamite sentiments with which John Roebuck justified his call in 1833 for a scheme of national education, a profound dissatisfaction with opportunities currently offered by the voluntary societies was implicit in his statements. Roebuck was one of a large group of Radicals in the reformed House of Commons who took up the education issue, formerly championed by Brougham. But

18. Poor Law Amendment Act 1834. J.R.B. Johnson Ph.D. op cit 1968 pp 18-20, sees the Poor Law as the matrix of government action in elementary education, revealing a change in attitude from one of deterrence, to one of rehabilitation through education. (A commitment to education in earlier Poor Law administration is acknowledged). Education of Pauper Children Act 1862.

19. Industrial Schools Acts 1857, 1861, 1866. In the case of Reformatory and Industrial Schools Acts a change in function was ensured by grant regulations, not the provision of new state schools.

20. G.C.T. Bartley 'The Schools for the People' Bell and Daldy 1871 pp 175-284 detail their activities.


22. Roebuck has been identified as a follower of Bentham by E. Halevy 'The Triumph of Reform 1830-41' Benn 1950 ed. p 64, and H. Silver op cit 1975 pp 27-8 among others.

23. Chapter XIII considers the activities of this group in relation to the development of cultural and vocational opportunities.

though they supported the view that only a state-controlled national system of education was capable of combatting so severe a situation of educational destitution, and anticipating a further expansion of political democracy, a number of Radicals, including Joseph Hume, Richard Potter, and Henry Warburton, voted against the proposal to grant £20,000 to the two major voluntary societies for new schools in the subsequent estimates from the Committee of Supply. (26) They did so because they regarded the sum as wholly inadequate to accomplish anything in terms of national education. (27) Nevertheless Parliament approved the grant: an action that modern commentators have seen as exemplifying MacDonagh's first phase. (28)

If anything Radical pressure intensified. The Central Society of Education under the chairmanship of Thomas Wyse, M.P. was designed: -

"...to collect and disseminate information, to exert pressure, to influence local action and national legislation" (29)

It gave maximum publicity to, and attempted to extract maximum effect from the findings of the statistical

26. R. Aldrich loc cit 1972 p 4. The Supply Debate took place almost three weeks after Roebuck's speech. Aldrich maintains that he was not in the House during the debate, and did not vote. If this is the case, E. J. Evans (ed) 'Social Policy 1830-1914' R. K. P. 1978 p 89 misleads in quoting selectively from Roebuck's speech introducing his resolution and following this extract immediately with the result of the vote on the Supply Debate, as if the two occasions happened at the same time.

27. Aldrich loc cit 1972 p 4. Cobbett also opposed the grant, as a French doctrinaire plan.


societies. For example in the Society's first publication Wyse claimed that :-

"The reports of the Statistical Society of Manchester present a painful and humiliating picture of the general mass of our so named, but misnamed, education. ...Bad sites, bad air, garrets and cellars for school rooms - everything to produce both physical and mental injury - are a few only of these features: a much more afflicting characteristic is the want of teachers, of books, and instruction; the very essentials, in fine, of education are wanting" (30)

The Society was predominantly Whig in membership and had close connections with the Whig administration. Within Parliament similar pressure was exerted, notably by Robert Aglionby Slaney. Concerned with the condition of the poor and ameliorative action in many fields, including education, he has been credited with responsibility for the establishment of the Select Committee on Education in 1837. (31) He was supported in his attempts to devise a scheme for government action by Whig-members of the Select Committee, including Wyse and other members of the Central Society for Education. (32) The scheme appears to have envisaged a central government board with powers of enquiry, inspection and grant aid. (33)

In the face of this activity Anglican interests began to frame their own proposals. A small but influential group including Ashley, Dyke Acland, Gladstone and Sandon, drew up a programme to strengthen the position of the Church in education and religious teaching, by equipping the National Society with diocesan machinery. (34) But the deep differences between the two groups does not

32. Ibid p 46.
33. Ibid pp49-50. A footnote indicates that no copy of this scheme appears to have survived. Its contents have been surmised from correspondence.
34. Ibid p 48. Boards of education in dioceses were envisaged. Gladstone's concern for the position of the Church was seen in the opening remarks of his book, 'The State and its Relations with the Church' Murray 1838:- "Probably there never was a time in the history of our country when the connection between the Church and the State was threatened from quarters so manifold and various as at present".
disguise the fact that they were agreed on one fundamental principle - the necessity for further action. The same conclusion was reached by Russell late in 1838.\(^{35}\) Despite the inevitable denominational furore and consequent compromises, the principle of inspection was conceded,\(^ {36}\) and an executive officer appointed - James Kay, the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education.

In the light of the experience gained by the inspectors and the knowledge absorbed from their reports, Kay Shuttleworth\(^ {37}\) was able to combat the most obvious shortcomings of publicly provided education. Minutes of the Committee of Council, and later its Codes, gained the status of delegated legislation by lying on the table of the House for thirty days,\(^ {38}\) and attempted with varying degrees of success to extend central, bureaucratic influence in localities. The Minutes of 1846 introducing the Pupil Teacher system, offer perhaps the best example of action designed to reform an unsatisfactory situation, while at the same time increasing the influence of the Committee of Council.\(^ {39}\) But an ever-increasing number of special grants, for books, capitation and equipment were introduced through the Minutes,\(^ {40}\) as were financial incentives to improve the

35. Ibid p 54. Johnson cites a letter from Lord Cottenham, dated 25th October 1838 (in the Russell papers) as his authority for Russell's decision to take some action.

36. H.Roper Ph.D. op cit 1972 p 12. Denominational inspection proved an inconvenient and inefficient compromise. By 1859 there were seven different inspectoral maps.

37. Kay assumed his full surname in 1842, on his marriage.


40. Ibid p 206.
fixtures and fittings of school rooms. (41) Kay Shuttleworth's position gradually became anomalous:—

"Gradually he became not only the servant of the Committee but in an ad hoc manner the overseer of an expanding bureaucracy. There was bound to be a tension between the roles of policy-maker and bureaucrat" (42)

Later official encouragement to extend the curriculum was seen, as a result of inducements to teach Drawing in elementary schools. (43)

There was also legislation - to create the new political post of Vice President of the Privy Council Committee on Education. He was to be a member of government, answerable to Parliament for the Committee's affairs, (44) and was to take over the responsibility for the daily supervision of educational business from the Lord President, who had assumed responsibility for the Department of Science and Art and for the inspection of training and remedial schools. (45) At first sight such legislation appears consistent with MacDonagh's description of a superintending central body, produced because the inadequacies of its predecessor had become evident over a period of time. After all the Committee of Council had originated in extra-legislative activity, by an Order in Council, (46) and its relationship with the Education Department was not clear, either initially or

41. Ibid p 211. Allowances were made for boarding floors in 1855.
42. H.Roper Ph.D. op cit 1972 p 11. J.R.B.Johnson in G.Sutherland (ed) op cit 1972 p 131 sees this ambivalence also, calling Kay Shuttleworth a statesman in disguise.
44. M.Sturt op cit 1967 p 238.
46. J.R.B.Johnson Ph.D. op cit 1968 p 60. The Committee gained its constitutional propriety as a result of this exercise of the Royal Prerogative.
as the service progressed. (47)

However in the case of this legislation, as in other cases of legislative action, education fits uneasily within MacDonagh's 'model'. The 1856 Act was not intended to strengthen the central educational bureaucracy. Quite the reverse! Its hurried passage through a Parliament preoccupied with the Crimean War was a mark of the concern felt by politicians at their inability to influence the activities and expenditure of the Education Department. (48) The Vice President was seen as a means of bringing some control over education within the reach of Parliament, (49) particularly in relation to its traditional preserve - supply. But in itself this objective reinforces the general relevance of the 'model' since the act can be seen as a reaction against the self-generated bureaucratic growth that had been a feature of the Education Department under Kay Shuttleworth the statesman manque, and Lingen the archetypal bureaucrat.

The contract between the two men was sharp. The former had gained first hand experience of the hardship of the poor as a doctor in Glasgow and Manchester and as an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner. (50) The latter, after attending school in rural Bridgnorth, had had a distinguished academic career at Oxford. (51) Their regimes

47. Johnson in G. Sutherland (ed) op cit 1972 p 112. The Committee of Council, a political instrument whose origins owed much to the lack of a Parliamentary concensus on education, shared office space with the Education Department, an administrative unit which came into being in August 1839 when the Treasury handed over the responsibility for processing applications for building grants. As the amount of administration increased, Kay Shuttleworth negotiated additions to his staff in consultation with the Lord President in person, not with the Committee.

49. Ibid.
51. Ibid p 48 f.n. 2.
were diametrically opposed. Kay Shuttleworth's expansionist approach exemplified his belief in the efficacy of education.\(^{52}\) Lingen's narrow interpretation of departmental obligations bore out his view that local communities were primarily responsible for their social services: the role of central government being supportive.\(^{53}\) This required a docile inspectorate, which was achieved by a ruthless inhibition of inspectorial initiative. The conferences they had held since 1847 were discontinued in 1860.\(^{54}\) Their opportunities to express opinion on matters of policy were further curtailed by the Revised Code 1862, which gave them the responsibility to examine every child annually,\(^{55}\) and altered the nature of the reports they submitted. From this point their advice on policy was neither sought nor needed at the Education Department.\(^{56}\)

Lingen's development of a style of administrative discretion predated the Revised Code by at least a decade, though. It was evident in the practice of issuing Supplementary Rules, as in 1852 when he limited the number of pupil teachers apprenticed each month to 100.\(^{57}\) It was also present in relation to the approval of building grants, on occasions when the Department attempted to determine where the proposed schools should be sited.\(^{58}\) It was apparent in a number of attempts to enforce the insertion of conscience clauses into the management deeds of National Society schools, from 1859.\(^{59}\) Lingen later admitted

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53. Supra p 10, and f.n. 46. However, J. Hurt op cit 1971 p 157 suggests that the presence of a Vice President inhibited Lingen's freedom of action.
56. Ibid p 25.
59. Ibid pp 31-2. Between 1861 and 1864 the Department objected in 71 cases, on conscience grounds. In 41 cases, the promoters agreed to a conscience clause.
that no Minute existed authorising this action. But the clearest such example was the Revised Code 1862, which Johnson sees as an indication of the degree of independent action that the Education Department had become accustomed to exercise, even from the Committee of Council. It is also the most obvious indication of the change which Lingen made to Kay Shuttleworth's dynamic, expansionist policies.

This change, and the nature of the Committee of Council provoked considerable speculation during the 1860s. At issue was its suitability to administer and control elementary education. Lord Robert Cecil was one of its most unremitting critics. He argued that the Education Department possessed a quasi-judicial power, that negated parliamentary opposition to its minutes, and amounted to an abuse of the sovereignty of the legislature. This was all the more reprehensible since in practice, power was concentrated on a permanent official. Sir John Pakington was typical of a more temperate group. He saw the activities of bureaucrats in relation to Supplementary Rules as symptomatic of the Education Department's timidity, not its despotism. He had supported the appointment of a Vice President of the Committee of Council in the hope that the concentration of responsibility into the hands of one man would result in an improved education service. However,

60. Ibid p 33. This admission was made before the Select Committee 1865. Lingen claimed its imposition was a matter of discretion for the Vice President.
62. Though the change was not simply from a policy-making, to an administrative regime as suggested by Johnson in G. Sutherland (ed) op cit 1972 p 136. M. Sturt op cit 1967 p 251 indicates that Lingen was commonly thought to have been the main architect of the Revised Code 1862. The policy objectives of the two men differed sharply.
64. J. Hurt op cit 1971 p 149.
this did not happen. A number of ministers remained in association with the Education Department, and the seat of responsibility remained difficult to locate. (65) In moving for the establishment of a Select Committee to enquire into the modus operandi of the Committee of Council, in 1865, (66) he stated that the principal sin of the Education Department was its lack of action. (67)

Evidence given before the Select Committee exposed the Committee of Council as a facade. Lingen, (68) and Salisbury and Russell admitted that Minutes had been tabled without the Committee's ratification. (69) Lowe and Bruce supported the structure of the Committee, on the grounds that additional weight attached to the regulations because they were (nominally) passed by a body of cabinet ministers. (70) In addition evidence revealed a confusion over the division of responsibilities between the Lord President and the Vice President. Granville claimed that the existence of a Vice President did not threaten the superior authority of the Lord President. Lowe agreed. But H.A. Bruce saw the relationship between the two posts as equal. Both Lowe and Bruce had served as Vice President under Granville. (71)

Pakington had supposed that change could be generated from within the Education Department. The Select Committee had invalidated this hope. The narrow, legalistic concept of the role of the Education Department

65. Ibid p 150.
69. Ibid pp 39-40. Both were former Lords Presidents. Another, Lord Granville, accepted this as a perfectly proper procedure. All three saw the Committee of Council as a purely advisory body.
70. Ibid p 42.
71. Ibid pp 43-8.
shared by Lingen and Lowe fitted well into the Gladstonian view of good government as unobtrusive government, but failed to provide the dynamism necessary to meet the needs of the 1860s. Direct action by Parliament was increasingly seen as the only way of satisfying these needs. Even Robert Lowe acknowledged, during the passage of the 1867 Reform Bill, that the education of the poor had become a political question.

It is tempting to see the 1870 Act as the answer to this question: the final stage in MacDonagh's 'model'.

When the education of the poor is seen against this pattern of government growth two important points emerge. The existence of the Education Department, distributing grants in return for adherence to the Minutes and Codes, and acceptance of the practice of inspection, placed localities and central government in a contractual relationship which was not paralleled in relation to post elementary education. The freedom enjoyed by Worcester to dispute the future development of the Cathedral School before the passing of relevant legislation, and as a separate issue from Taunton reorganisation, was not possible in relation to elementary education once the 1870 Act was passed. Nor was the city's

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72. Ibid p 50.
73. Ibid p 51.
75. H. Roper Ph.D. op cit 1972 p 106, and loc cit 1975 pp 203-4. Both contain the following statement: 'In explaining the origins of the Education Act 1870, it is easy to be blinded by the longstanding nature of the education question to the similarity between the passage of the Education Act and other great pieces of social legislation. The most common motivating force behind such legislation was the cry of 'intolerable'. It was the discovery of a valid basis for such a cry and the exploitation of that discovery which made the dream of education legislation a reality'
76. The Grammar Schools Act 1840 is not seen as relevant. Its objective was to facilitate changes in the ethos and curriculum of a school. Local interests in Worcester claimed the right to be involved in the restructuring of the Cathedral School also.
ability to decide whether or not to adopt permissive Public Libraries' and Technical Instruction legislation(77) possible in the face of mandatory Education Acts. Local autonomy was respected but curtailed nevertheless. Civic pride, if an element in the provision of popular education after 1870, was subject to bureaucratic constraints, including the imposition of, or dismissal of a School Board, and the threat of default.

But perhaps the most important consequence of applying MacDonagh's 'model' to popular education is what it reveals by omission. Prior to 1870 civic pride scarcely featured in relation to the education of the poor. A generation after Kay's expose of Manchester,(78) a paper prepared by the Manchester Education Aid Society and reported to the Social Science Association revealed a similar situation,(79) which was borne out in reports on other industrial conurbations. Whatever pride industrial cities like Birmingham and Manchester could claim for their municipal programmes generally, the extent of educational deprivation was a source of shame. Instead of initiating what they felt to be in the best interests of their citizens, industrial conurbations had to respond to the central initiative embodied in the 1870 Act.

But if it was a consequence of the social shortcomings of Victorian cities, the 1870 Act offered little consolation to cathedral cities. For all the conciliatory statements of Tait(80) many bishops and chapters saw their task as defending their legitimate interests from further

77. See Chapters VIII and IX for a fuller examination.
78. Supra p119.
79. 'Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science 1866' Parker 1867 p 55. The paper's revelations were described by H.A.Bruce as the 'thunderclap from Manchester'.
80. P.T. Marsh 'The Victorian Church in Decline' R.K.P. 1969 p 66 draws attention to the realistic attitude of Tait, the new Archbishop of Canterbury: - 'Again and again when the interests of Church and State threatened to conflict, he sought to avert the clash by referring to public opinion. He was not reluctant to admit that this public opinion demanded the remoulding of old institutions to meet contemporary
inroads by the State. The Bishop of Lincoln struck an appropriately militant pose in comparing cathedrals to fortresses whose baileys, the cathedral cities, were to be defended as vigorously as possible. Adams attempted to show the Anglican church, led by its bishops, making every attempt to reduce the need for school boards. More recently Sturt has provided further material to support this case, while the limited amount of research into the educational activities of cathedral cities at this time has provided additional corroboration. Hicks has estimated that of sixteen ancient cathedral cities, half had no school boards, and one (Salisbury) possessed a board with no schools to control. Finally, the see of Hereford marked the expiry of the period of grace by advertising, in the local press, on behalf of fifty parishes in the Archdeaconry of Salop which had building funds for parochial

80. (continued) needs, a demand with which he urged the church to co-operate even when it hurt; but equally, he believed, the public would insist that in enacting reforms the State continue to make provision for the religious requirements of its subjects. In no sphere was Tait's trust in the English public more evident than in his handling of the transformation, at all levels, of education during his archiepiscopate...

82. H. Adams 'History of the Elementary School Contest'. Chapman and Hall 1882 pp 241-44. Activities in this context by the bishops of Chester, Ely, Hereford, Lichfield, Peterborough, Salisbury and Worcester are touched on.
83. M. Sturt op cit 1967 pp 308-10 detail activities in Ely and Chester, and identify York as avoiding a School Board.
84. Margaret Sterry 'Elementary Education in Lincoln 1870-1903' M.Ed. University of Nottingham 1957. J.W.Hicks 'A School Board in a Cathedral City' M.Ed. University of Bristol 1971 (Salisbury)
In turning to consider the development of elementary education in Worcester after 1870, an attempt will be made to assess the degree to which the enterprise was seen as a civic enterprise, rather than as a sectional exercise. This entails the consideration of certain questions - what interest was shown in the passage of the bill in 1870? did local debates merely reflect a national picture of conflicting Leagues and Unions or was there an important local dimension? what sectors of society were involved and with what motives? The local situation will be considered in three phases: 1870, 1871-1883, and 1883-1903. Attention will be concentrated on the School Board since legislation afforded it special responsibilities for a school district.

To judge from the press local interest in attempts to legislate on popular education before 1870 was minimal, even though Sir John Pakington had been a protagonist in the campaigns. Two related factors changed this situation however - the foundation of the National Education League and geography. In 1869 the local press contained a report summarising the League's policy. Worcester and Birmingham were sufficiently close to take an interest in each other's affairs, and to report them. The League's significance was not lost on the Bishop of Worcester or Sir John Pakington: both made major speeches

86. Worcester Herald 31st December 1870. The advertisement filled two columns.
87. The Education Act 1870 gave school boards specific responsibilities for repairing deficiencies by providing schools. (ss 18 and 98). It also gave boards powers to enact bye-laws, covering compulsory attendance (s74).
88. Worcester Herald 18th September 1869.
89. Worcester Herald 20th November 1869 and Berrows Worcester Journal 30th April 1870 both contained letters defending the writers against reports that had been carried in the Birmingham press.
locally warning of the dangers following 'the total severance of education from religion'. (90)

From the publication of this account until the return of the first Board in January 1871 education became a major concern of the local press, to judge from the number of editorials, letters, news items, reports of local meetings and national developments, and special supplements. The literate public was provided with a detailed analysis of the bill, (91) and a range of leading opinions on its likely impact. At first sight the local debate was typical of the national pattern, with Leagues and Unions engaging in a lively debate. In January 1870 two local newspapers described, in their characteristic ways, a noisy meeting to establish a local branch of the League. (92) Once established it began to play its part in the education debate. As a defensive measure steps were immediately taken to set up a local branch of the National Education

90. Worcester Herald 25th September 1869 (Supplement). The speeches had been made at the opening of a school.

91. Berrows Worcester Journal 26th February 1870 carried a lengthy summary. ibid 14th June 1870 an editorial discussed the bill's amendments, giving particular attention to Clause 7.

92. Berrows Worcester Journal (Supplement) Worcester Herald (Supplement) both 22nd January 1870:

'Thus, by dint of great perseverance the local promoters of the League got a small majority in a crowded meeting (where order was set at nought) to pronounce in their favour, but it was not a victory to be proud of'. (Berrows Worcester Journal)

'Mr. Melville's amendment was then put and lost by a decisive majority, and Mr. Hastings' proposal met with a similar fate. Ultimately the meeting broke up in disorder, the resolution being adopted amid continued interruptions; and although an attempt was made to propose the usual complimentary vote of thanks to the chairman, it was unheeded and the proceedings which had lasted nearly four hours were brought to an abrupt conclusion' (Worcester Herald). The contrast between the partisan 'Journal' and the more detached 'Herald' was a characteristic of their reports.
Union, to uphold religious teaching. But surprisingly, in view of the city's religious significance, it took three attempts and four months before a meeting, packed with Anglican clergy, informed that Bishop Philpot was prepared to act as president, agreed to form a local Union branch.\(^93\) Even then one of the leading local educationists refused three offers to join, claiming that three of the Union's four original principles were untenable.\(^94\) On closer examination the two major pressure groups made little impact on the education question locally. Supporters did not adhere rigidly to their organisations' national policies.\(^95\) Instead opinion began to turn inwards, to consider what was in the best interests of the city, not of particular interests within it. Committed individuals played an important role in this stage of the debate.

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\(^93\) Berrows Worcester Journal 28th May 1870.

\(^94\) Canon David Melville had formerly been headmaster of Radley College. He was a member of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science on its establishment in 1857, and a year later acted as joint secretary of the Education section at the Liverpool congress, where he delivered a paper. His writings on education in the 1860s ('The Conscience Clause, its Meaning, its Authority, its Use' Rivington 1865, 'Probable Course of Legislation in Popular Education' Rivington 1868) established him as a liberal in this field. He attended the inaugural meeting of the National Education Union, in Manchester.

\(^95\) At a public meeting in February 1870, Alderman Edward Webb, a local Leaguer, and Canon Wood, who was to secure the establishment of the Union locally, agreed on a number of necessary steps to improve popular education.
The most significant such contribution was made by George Woodyatt Hastings. Before 1870 his humanitarian preoccupations had limited his local appearances and activities, while at the same time enhancing his prestige. As a Liberal he accomplished one of the most notable distinctions of this period by being lionised in the Conservative 'Berrows Worcester Journal'. As a veteran of campaigns and public meetings he was able to use the events of 1870

96. George Woodyatt Hastings was born locally in 1825, into a family which included Warren Hastings as an ancestor. Two uncles received knighthoods for public services, as did his father Sir Charles Hastings, whose medical services to the community were still highly esteemed. Hastings qualified in law and became a barrister, practising on the Oxford circuit, but devoted the bulk of his time to social welfare. He was a Vice President of Worcester Infirmary, and a supporter of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, and the Vagrants Relief Society. In addition he acted as Secretary of the Law Amendment Society, and played an important part in the founding of the National Reformatory Union in 1856, of which he became Honorary Secretary. The success of this body's first conference gave him the idea for a more comprehensive new association, and he was instrumental in establishing the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in 1857. On the death of Lord Brougham he became Chairman of its Council. At the same time he became interested in women's rights. He allied this with his skill as a draftsman of bills in 1869, and constructed the Married Women's Property Bill.

In 1860 he became a member of the Worcester Chamber of Commerce, on accepting the title of Corresponding member of the Board. He represented the Chamber in London at deputations. His other local associations in the same decade included support for the newly established Malvern College, and membership of the Educational Council of the Worcester College for the Blind. (Sources E. Yeo, D. Phil. op cit 1972. R. Pemble 'The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science: some Sociological Aspects' M.A. University of Nottingham 1968).

97. Worcester Herald 22nd January 1870. On attending the meeting called to form a local branch of the League Hastings was elevated to the platform by popular demand. The paper noted his reception: 'Mr. Hastings, who on coming forward, was received with applause'.

to capitalise on his initial reputation and enhance his own cause. (98) He was adept at interspersing his speeches with asides that indicated the important people he knew, and the important events he was caught up with. In case this appears uncharitable, it is also fair to add that at all the meetings he attended, apart from his own, he deliberately held back until the main alternatives had been advanced, and then sought to conciliate. His experience in committees stood him in good stead in seeking common ground, and in the language of consensus, if the press reported him accurately.

It is only possible to identify one notable contribution from the working class. James Fisher Airey was a working tailor, who came to prominence in 1870 as an unsuccessful candidate for the City Council and as a champion of working class education. The press report his presence at most meetings on this subject. He was a founder member of the League in Worcester, and was amongst the deputation to Gladstone in March 1870. (99) He was one of the most unremitting critics of Anglican efforts at educating the masses, and won little support at the meetings, except from the group who comprised his ward committee at elections.

98. Berrows Worcester Journal 12th February 1870. Worcester Herald 12th February 1870. Both papers reported at length a meeting called by Hastings at which he explained at length his own views on education, and attempted in the ensuing discussions to explore the common ground shared by all interested in popular education in Worcester.

By the time the Education Bill received the Royal Assent, local debate had lessened, and the press was concentrating on the Franco Prussian War. Interested parties in the debates, overwhelmingly representative of the providers of education, not its recipients, were in agreement that the locality was best placed to discover and administer to its needs. At its September meeting the City Council accepted the Town Clerk's advice that there was no urgency in the situation. It decided not to invoke Section 12 of the 1870 Act, but to wait and see if the official return revealed a deficiency. But just two months later the Council changed its stance. A hurriedly drafted resolution was introduced, to form a School Board as soon as possible. There appear to have been three reasons for this. Estimates now suggested that the return would identify a deficiency. It was also argued that compulsion, which had been accepted on all sides locally, was impossible without a School Board. But the most important reason appears to have been related to civic pride. In urging his resolution Edward Webb indicated that twenty six of the principal towns in the land had already obtained the Act, and Worcester should not lag behind. While the dividing line behind civic pride and civic chauvinism may be fine, and on occasions indistinct, the Council do appear to have put aside sectional interests in passing this resolution. It had been proposed by a prominent local Leaguer, and seconded by another who had already attracted opprobrium by advancing Secularist views. But none of the supporters of the Anglican cause had any qualms about accepting the resolution. It had been published only three days

100. Berrows Worcester Journal 10th September 1870.

Resolved:— "That the formation (as soon as practicable) of a school board under the provisions of the Elementary Education Act 1870, for the district of the City of Worcester is desirable, and that this Council hereby applies to the Lords of the Privy Council for Education to cause a School Board to be formed for such district under the powers of the 12th section of the said Act".
before the meeting, and a delaying amendment was initially proposed by an alliance of Nonconformist and artisan interests. But it was withdrawn when it was pointed out that Worcester was in danger of being left behind. The motion was passed by acclamation, apparently in the city's interest rather than as a result of a sectional campaign.\(^{(102)}\) The Education Department named 31st January 1871 as election day: January 1871 witnessed feverish activity in the city.

Sadly civic pride proved the first casualty of this activity. Agreement had not been hard to achieve while the debate about the Education Bill had been conducted at a theoretical level. But the existence of an Act lent proceedings a new inevitability. All the participants in the debate now had to consider whether or not they could trust people with whose religious or political convictions they did not always agree. In the event they appear to have decided to leave nothing to chance,\(^{(103)}\) in seeing their particular interest represented on the School Board.

The 1871 election campaign saw three distinct stages: an attempt to avoid a contest by empanelling a Selection Committee to agree a Board, a conference of nominated candidates to choose nine of their number for the Board, and a period of sophisticated organisation and campaigning once a contest became inevitable.\(^{(104)}\)

Though neither the City Council, nor the League nor Union as such played any direct part in the proceedings, groups did emerge. A strong 'Church Party' developed in support of the right of Anglicans to a majority on the board. An equally vocal working class group, led by Airey, attempted to deny clerics any part in the campaign on the grounds that the Act was itself an

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103. J. Fletcher M.Phil. op cit 1974 p 121.


(continued)
indictment of their past record. Nonconformist groups were less influential because they failed to unite. Individuals failed to maintain their influence in the face of this organisation. Political affiliations were irrelevant, in spite of the attempt by 'Berrows Worcester Journal' to identify Conservatives with denominationalism, and Liberals with secularism.

In response to a requisition the Mayor called a public meeting whose dual objective was to spare the city the cost of an election, and to forestall dissention by agreeing a Board representative of all relevant interests. This naive procedure failed in the face of suspicion that the proposed Selection Committee was rigged: a device to foist on the city a list that had already been drawn up in secret. It proved impossible to find nine people, who could be commended to the city, who satisfied all interests. By the time that nominations for election to the Board had closed, thirty two had agreed to stand.

With the election date only two weeks away, and ill-feeling mounting, there appeared no alternative to a contest. However, at the suggestion of the 'Worcester Herald', the candidates met in conference to try and decide which nine should be allowed to appear, unchallenged, on the ballot paper. This attempt at consensus failed also. Working class

104. (continued) pp 83-5 indicate, by contrast, that no trace of large-scale management could be seen in the election of the first Nottingham School Board.


106. Hastings reminded the Committee members of their obligations to select those whom they thought the city would want returned: not those whom they wanted to be elected. But partisanship proved too much for altruism.

107. They included 6 Gentlemen, 6 Professional men, 6 Clergymen, 4 Industrialists, 1 Teacher and 9 Tradesmen. (2 Tailors, 1 Clothier, 1 Draper, 1 Glover, 1 Nurseryman, 1 Wine Merchant, 1 Tobacconist and 1 Dealer).

representatives objected to the presence of Anglican clergy, who in their turn refused to entertain the presence of a secularist on any agreed Board. In addition a dispute raged as to who should represent the working classes. Anglican interests included a working man among their number.\(^{109}\) Alderman Wood, a veteran of civic life, claimed to have been urged by the working classes to continue to represent their interests.\(^{110}\) Airey, on the other hand, argued that only a genuine working man (implicitly himself) could genuinely understand and act for workers. The immediate cause of the breakdown of this conference was the refusal of J.W. Scott, a draper, to withdraw his candidature. He claimed that he had given an undertaking to go to the poll and could not revoke it. But many others were equally intransigent, if less direct.\(^{111}\)

From this point the press becomes an unreliable guide, since its reporters were barred from some meetings, and ejected from others, after votes to exclude them had been taken.\(^{112}\) However, it is clear that a Wesleyan/Methodist alliance was forged, committed to plump for J.W. Scott.\(^{113}\) Also a meeting was reported to have been held at which it was agreed to commend two 'official' Nonconformist candidates to the electors.\(^{114}\) But the activities of the 'Church Party' are easiest to identify, not least because the Minute Book of its coordinating committee has recently come to light.\(^{115}\)

\(^{109}\) Richard Smith, a nurseryman. However he was bottom of the list of Church candidates, in terms of priority, and did not stand as an official candidate.

\(^{110}\) Joseph Wood was identified on the ballot paper as a 'Gentleman'. He had taken a direct interest in the education of the working classes for half a century.

\(^{111}\) Hastings offered to withdraw (again), pointing out that membership of the Royal Commission on the Operation of the Contagious Diseases Act would prevent him canvassing in the week before the election, though canvassing on this issue was anathema.

\(^{112}\) Worcester Herald 21st January 1871.

\(^{113}\) Worcester Herald 28th January 1871.

\(^{114}\) Ibid. They were Aldermen T.R.Hill and Joseph Wood.

\(^{115}\) J.Fletcher M.Phil op cit 1974 pp 110-13 contain a more detailed account of events, based on its contents.
Two thousand canvass cards were obtained, containing an agreed address on behalf of the four 'official' Church candidates, and a small army of paid canvassers hired. To facilitate the efficient conduct of the canvass street lists of voters were obtained, at four guineas a set. Daily reports from district committees were considered and additional help deployed where necessary. On election day committee rooms were hired as near polling stations as possible, and each district committee was allowed to position a clerk at the station itself, to record the names of voters. Every half hour these names were conveyed to the district committee, by one of a team of messengers. As the day progressed district committee helpers were despatched to bring to the polling station people who had responded favourably to a canvasser, but had yet to vote. The scope of the operation may be judged from the fact that no less than twenty seven cabs were hired, and that the finalised plans for polling day contained the names of over fifty people. (116)

In view of this the result of the election is no surprise, with six 'Churchmen' returned to only three Nonconformists. The result also proved a victory for organisation, since the seven 'official' Anglican and Nonconformists occupied the first seven places. Alderman Wood and J.W. Scott, both of whom had claimed to be sympathetic to the interests of the working classes were returned, though Airey was not. Neither were Father Waterworth, nor J. Longmore successful in the Roman Catholic and Secularist causes respectively, despite some evidence of plumping for the former (see illustration 10 on p 142). 'Berrows Worcester Journal' rejoiced at the success of Anglicans, and the failure

116. In addition a number of pencilled entries detail a range of electoral malpractices, identified by Church Party observers, and immediately reported to the Town Clerk.
## ELECTION OF SCHOOL BOARD FOR THE CITY OF WORCESTER.

31st JANUARY, 1871

### ANALYSIS OF VOTING

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF THE CORPORATION OF WORCESTER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Analysis of Votes recorded in favour of each Candidate</th>
<th>Total No. of Persons who voted for each Candidate</th>
<th>Total value of Vote</th>
<th>Division of Votes</th>
<th>Number of Candidates Voted for</th>
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<td>Rev. William Wright</td>
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<td>407</td>
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</table>

10 School Board Election results 1871
of Nonconformists. "Worcester Herald" took no comfort from the accuracy of its prediction, made once an election contest was inevitable:–

"All attempts to effect a compromise or save the city the annoyances, the heart-burnings and jealousies of a contest have signally failed ... it is feared, however, that at the election, as at the attempts at an arrangement, present rivalries, and personal pretensions may operate detrimentally to the truest interests of the city."(117)

What is surprising is that after so hotly contested an election, twelve years should have elapsed before polling took place again. This cannot be attributed to apathy. In 1874, 1877 and 1880 the pattern of events closely resembled that in 1871, with numerous nominations, candidates' conferences and intransigent individuals. But on these occasions a Board was agreed, without recourse to a contest.

The main reason for this was the skill of the Board in elevating itself above sectional interests, and gaining acceptance of its attitudes and policies by all shades of local opinion. 'Berrows Worcester Journal' does not appear to have exaggerated, in commenting in 1874 that:–

"It has not often happened in the brief history of School Boards that such a degree of unanimity is met with as has characterised the Worcester Board, notwithstanding it consists of gentlemen who entertain strong diverse opinions on religious creeds and politics."(118)

Roland has suggested that the cumulative vote divided boards into distinctive blocks on a denominational basis, and that these groupings determined the approach of their members to school board policy. (119) This chauvinism was not a characteristic of the Worcester Board however. It consciously set out to operate in

the interests of children of the wage-paid classes - in rate-aided and voluntary schools alike.\(^{(120)}\) As a result it lacked the need to capture the maximum number of pupils in its own schools, that was a feature of the policies of the more aggressive boards. From the outset it saw its task as supplementing not supplanting voluntary efforts. Instead it set about remedying the initial deficiency, in order that it could concentrate on the more important task of enforcing attendance, in line with its byelaws. In addition it established itself as an economical dispenser of public funds, taking literally Forster's estimate of the likely impact of school boards on the rates.\(^{(121)}\) As a result the Board schools did not challenge voluntary schools by virtue of their expenditure and facilities.

Equally important, in order that it gain credibility in the eyes of an electorate divided on religious, rather than political or educational grounds in 1871, was its policy on religion. The place of religion in elementary education was never seriously challenged by the Board. It quickly established, and maintained, an agreed position on the place of the subject in the curriculum. The religious affiliations of members of the Board became unimportant. This was seen most clearly in 1877 when the Anglicans accepted a minority position on the agreed Board, as a result of retirements and a wish to include a lady on the Board.\(^{(122)}\)

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120. For a detailed examination of the operation of the School Board see Chapter VII.
121. J. Murphy 'The Education Act 1870' David and Charles 1972. p 75. Forster had given 3d as the highest likely rate, during the Second Reading debate.
122. The Board had seen its first change in 1874 when Anglicans ceded a seat to a Nonconformist. In 1877 Anglicans allowed one of their retiring members to be replaced by Miss Lucy Westcombe, a Quaker.
As a result of this consensus no major issue existed, in the early years of the Board, to provoke a contest.

The Board's efforts to enhance its civic status were considerably strengthened by the press, who became united behind it once 'Berrows Worcester Journal' realised that the voluntary cause had nothing to fear from it. The detailed reporting of Board meetings, and of candidates' meetings prior to the return of new Boards enabled the reading public to know what was being done, and also conveyed a sense of satisfaction with the Board's efforts. Instead of criticising the Board for what it might do, as had happened in 1871, the 'Journal' supported Hastings' call for the return of the original Board in 1874, on the grounds that its programme was not fully implemented. (123) The press projected succeeding School Boards as a public spirited group of men and women, worthy of support, working in what they saw as the best interests of the city. (124)

Since the period of agreed Boards, from 1871 to 1883, co-incided with the City Council's successful campaign in relation to the Cathedral School, there exists the possibility that the Board's local esteem derived from the fact that its members were councillors, as assertive

124. For this reason the 'Journal' changed its mind in 1874, and advocated a contest, in the hope that it would prevent James Fisher Airey from taking the seat ceded by Anglican interests. The 'Journal's' initiative failed: Airey was accepted without a contest. But the paper made its point about Airey's unsuitability for public service by publishing a letter critical of his conduct at the pending General Election.

Airey had declared his intention to stand as a Liberal in the 1874 General Election, and had campaigned for the working man's vote. For no apparent reason he withdrew, commending his support to vote for T.R.Hill, a manufacturer. Hill was unacceptable to many artisans, who felt also that Airey had betrayed them in his claim to be the 'Workers' Friend'. A number of his former friends chased him through the streets in an attempt to bring home to him their disfavour. (Berrow's Worcester Journal 31st January 1874).
in the elementary field as they were showing themselves in the secondary. This is not to suggest that the School Board was a Council sub-committee. The original intention of the 1870 Bill to make town councils the elementary authorities had been removed by amendment. The ad hoc principle of school boards was contrary to the spread of representative participation as councils' responsibilities increased. In many towns Council and School Board existed in a state of uneasy tension, especially when the latter presented its precept. There is no evidence of such tension in Worcester however, perhaps because, though city councillors had no automatic right to sit on the School Board, they did occupy a majority of the places on the first three Boards. Tributes in the press to the public spiritedness of the Board and its members might seem to suggest that the City Council was motivated by a sense of public duty in relation to the wage-paid classes.

But such tributes almost invariably indentified Hastings by name and credited him with the Board's altruism. His chairmanship of the Board from 1871-1883 was crucial to its policies and attitudes. He was fortunate in the public spiritedness of other Board members, who elected him to the chair though many had more years of public service in Worcester than he had. As an official candidate of the Church Party, he was also lucky that the leader of the Nonconformists and former leader of the local branch of the League, Alderman T. R. Hill, searched for agreement rather than disagreement. In an extended discussion of the politics of the Nottingham School Board, Wardle concluded that political activity was at a lower ebb in the city than elsewhere because

126. Ibid
127. Hastings never combined membership of the School Board and the City Council.
128. Hastings and Hill were both Liberals. Both stood for Parliament in 1874. From 1880 both sat on the Liberal benches in Parliament.
no national figures ever sat on its School Board. (129) It is precisely because of the experience and stature of Hastings that the Worcester Board experienced so little political conflict. He established the Board's commitment to all children of the wage-paid classes. He encouraged the tolerant interpretation of religious policy. School Board Minute Books show that he allowed the widest possible debate of issues until a consensus had been reached. Hardly any votes were taken. An examination has failed to reveal any vote on a major issue while Hastings was Chairman. (130) An extract from a letter from the Rev. Wright, a founder member of the Board, provides an appropriate assessment of its development under Hastings' leadership:

"Happily, for twelve years, a Board has existed animated by the one desire of promoting the education of children of our wage-paid classes, without regard to the particular interests of any party, political or religious" (131)

In addition it serves as an appropriate epitaph. From 1883, until the winding up of the Board in 1903, the attitude of the Worcester School Board changed dramatically. Without strong leadership it lost its unity of purpose, and with it the undivided support of the city.

An election was the first sign of the impending change. As there were no major issues or new policies, a contest is no easier to understand now than it was then. A number of Board members had announced their intention of retiring in 1883, so an election was an appropriate means of replacing them. There was a general feeling that it was about time that the electorate was given an opportunity to show its opinion. But probably the main reason was the retirement of Hastings, on the grounds that his parliamentary duties prevented him devoting adequate attention to the affairs of the Board. Whatever the reason, the election of 1883, like its successor in 1886 was uneventful. Having grown

130. Not all Minute Books for this period exist. The press has been used as an alternative source.
accustomed to a Board, and with no policy clashes to report, the press gave little space to the events. The public shared this apathy. Fewer people voted in 1883 than in 1871, while in 1883 many wards recorded polls of less than 50%. (132) Though old policies on religious teaching and economical expenditure remained throughout the life of the Board the 1886 election led the Church Party to revise its strategy, since the electorate rejected it at the polls. (133)

The implications of this were profound for Anglicans. Two Board members were identified as members of the Libertarian Society, (134) a body unsympathetic to the voluntary networks. (135) Free education had been touched on in the latter stages of the campaign, and stigmatised in the reactionary press as:

"... nothing less than a long stride in the direction of national socialism" (136)

The Church Party had a vested interest in preserving the local situation as it then existed, true to the letter not the spirit of the 1870 Act, which grew more urgent each year. The recent boundary extension increased the product of a penny rate, but also foisted on the Board an area of educational need. Also the growth of the city created an increasing pupil population. If the School Board was not to threaten the voluntary sector by asserting its right to provide those children with extra places, (137) it must remain firmly under the control of men sympathetic to the voluntarist cause. (See illustration 11 on p.149). In addition many voluntary schools were themselves in need of restoration and extension and this task, together with the provision of a new voluntary school whenever a deficiency became so obvious as to excite the notice of the H.M.I. (138)

132. Except in wards with local candidates, where considerable activity was recorded, especially during the evening.
133. Only one official Church candidate was returned - at the foot of the poll.
134. Airey and Rev. J. Lewitt were so identified in the press on the day of the poll. The mud failed to stick: both were returned.
137. Elementary Education Act 1870. s.18 gave (continued)
SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION.

A WORD IN SEASON!

The Board School in Hound’s Lane, educating only one out of nine of the Children attending School in Worcester, cost in building £8,162 8 4

And since its erection, it has been a further cost to the Ratepayers of 8,223 5 3

Total £16,385 13 7

(Many of the expenses of the Board are not included in the above sum. This is the cost of building and maintaining the School only).

The Voluntary Schools, educating eight out of every nine of the Children of the City, have cost the Ratepayers NOT A PENNY.

The Worcester School Board has not been an extravagant Board. What, then, would be the cost if a hostile Board crushed out the Voluntary Schools as such Schools have been crushed out in other Towns?

Erectors, support the Church Candidates who are opposed to the erection of unnecessary Board Schools, and an unnecessary increase in the Rates.

To be fairly represented, the Church ought to have nine out of the eleven Seats on the Board, because nine out of every eleven Children are educated in Church Schools. The Church only asks for Six.

To return the Six Candidates, Electors should give:

In S. Martin’s Ward: 11 Votes to Mr. CURTLER.
In S. Nicholas Ward: 11 Votes to Mr. STALLARD.
In All Saints’ Ward: 11 Votes to Mr. CLAUGHTON.
In S. Peter’s Ward: 11 Votes to Mr. FRANCIS PARKER.
In Claines Ward: 11 Votes to Mr. WINWOOD.
In S. John’s Ward: 11 Votes to Mr. DERRY.

Printed and Published by J. S. Coop, Reliance Works 9, Sansome Street, Worcester.
made enormous financial demands on voluntarists. In such circumstances Chamberlain's demands for free elementary education were potentially catastrophic.

It is therefore understandable that from 1886 the Board's affairs should have been characterised by conflict rather than consensus, with civic interests subordinated to sectarian integrity. City councillors occupied fewer seats. The conflict was between the Church Party, increasingly dominated by the clergy and two overlapping interests: genuine working class candidates and socialists. It centred on the control of the Board, and the related ability to determine Board policy. The Church Party felt this so deeply that it began to discourage independent church candidates, lest in splitting the church vote they weaken the official Anglican hold over the Board. The arrogance of this position was exposed by one candidate.

School Board policy under the Church Party was tactlessly though accurately described by one of its supporters as negative. This was later defined as looking after the rates, ensuring that Board schools taught as much religion as the law would allow, and keeping a friendly eye on voluntary schools.

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137. (continued) a School Board the authority to determine the extent of any deficiency, and to take steps to remedy it.

138. In 1895 the Board denied that it was ignoring a deficiency in the Redhill district. Voluntarists had just remedied it.

139. Worcester Daily Times 18th January 1889. A meeting to elect a Church candidate for the Claines ward expressed support for the return of clergy to an active part in the election. The poor showing of official candidates in 1886 was attributed to the withdrawal of clergy from an active role.

140. Worcester Daily Times 12th January 1892. R. Spofforth, a solicitor, complained that it was now impossible for an independent person to come forward, for Board or City Council: "A certain number of gentlemen thought they had a prerogative — though he failed to see where they got it from — of electing certain gentlemen to sit on certain boards".

141. Worcester Daily Times 20th January 1892.

sections of the working classes. One of their most active campaigners was George Lewis, a carpenter for the Great Western Railway in the city. Prior to his arrival he had been a keen supporter of the Co-operative Movement in his native Stroud. He retained this interest, becoming President of the Worcester branch in 1885 and Secretary in 1888. During the 1892 campaign he complained that for too long genuine working men had been kept off the Board: it was time to remedy this. Parents would gain confidence in a Board if it had such a member. He could obtain more reliable information than could members less well acquainted with the way of life of working people. He rejected the claims of self-made men to represent the working classes, whom he defined as men who depended on their hands for their livelihood. He stressed that he saw himself as the representative of a social class, not a religious sect or political party, neither of which he accepted as valid criteria for selecting a School Board.

Despite this he was identified with a 'Labour' candidate, though their campaigns were entirely distinct. The pro-Church organs of the press attacked them as fiercely as they had attacked anyone in the history of the Board, but both were returned.

From 1892 onwards the Church party on the School Board had to contend with members who identified by experience as well as emotion with the recipients of

143. Berrows Worcester Journal 8th April 1899. (Lewis's obituary). He was proposed as a candidate for the School Board in 1892, by the Worcester Trades Council, and arranged with his employers to be allowed leave to attend meetings.
144. Worcester Daily Times 12th January 1892.
145. Worcester Daily Times 14th and 16th January 1892.
elementary education. Board members saw themselves as representatives of sects, or class groupings, not of the city. In consequence their policies were suited to the interests of their supporters in particular, not of citizens in general. The three issues which dominated the 1890s were the provision of places, advanced education opportunities and finance.

In 1889 the Board applied to its own schools the policy of non-intervention which it had developed since 1883. It justified refusing to extend the Cherry Orchard School and directing children to St. Peter's parochial school, on the grounds that it was acting in the interests of ratepayers. (See illustration 12 on p 153). It rejected the charge of angry parents that it was propping up the voluntary system, and remained obdurate even when offered support at the ballot to relent. Its attitude to advanced education appeared as contemptuous of public opinion. In 1889 the question of Technical Education was seen as an important matter for the new Board. But it did nothing. Three years later an independent Church candidate conceded that since hundreds of local children were capable of benefitting from a more advanced education than was offered at the Board school, but could not afford the fees at the Royal Grammar School, it would be appropriate for the city to provide such an amenity, but at a lower cost. Still no action was taken. In 1895 support for a Higher Grade school was widespread. The School Board had acknowledged its desirability.

146. Every School Board in Worcester from 1892 onwards contained at least one such member.
147. Illustration 12 shows this tactic being used during the 1889 Triennial election, to commend Church candidates to the electorate.
148. Berrows Worcester Journal 26th January 1895. The offer was made at an election meeting to a Church candidate.
149. Berrows Worcester Journal 12th January 1889. This comment was also made at an election meeting.
150. Worcester Daily Times 12th January 1892.
The School Board Election.

The duty of a School Board is to provide Schools where they are needed, and to see that all the Children in the district attend School.

School Boards do not make the laws: they only carry out the laws made by the Queen and Parliament. It is, therefore, idle talk for Candidates for School Board seats to say they are in favour of Free Education and the like—they might as well seek the suffrages of the people because they are in favour of a further extension of the franchise. At a Parliamentary Election Free Education is a fitting subject for discussion, but School Boards can have nothing to do with the matter until it has been settled by Parliament.

The School Board now about to be elected will consist of eleven Members, and each Elector has therefore eleven votes.

In nearly all large towns there are many Board Schools, but in Worcester there is only one—excepting the small Cherry Orchard School which was taken over by the Board when the City boundary was extended.

In addition to grants from Government, which are paid to all Schools alike, Board Schools are built with, and supported out of, the Rates. The School in Hound's Lane has cost the Ratepayers £16,385 13s. 7d.

The Voluntary Schools were built, and are maintained, by generous people, without a penny from the Rates.

The Voluntary Schools teach eight out of nine of all the Children in the City without touching the Ratepayers' pockets. The Board School has taught one out of nine of the Children to the tune of Sixteen Thousand Pounds!!!
Schools Union admitted to being in sympathy with the idea. (152) An official Church candidate also approved of the concept; but he then pointed out that since the school must be free, it would be a heavy burden on the rates. He regretted that the Church could not establish such a school because of its cost. This preoccupation with finance, and of restricting Board expenditure in line with the interests of the voluntary cause was entirely typical.

Boards were agreed, in 1898 and 1901, with retiring members being allowed to nominate their successors. (153) The period of conflict had ended. The Board's inactivity had allowed voluntarists to cater for the increased pupil population, apart from the initial deficiency. (154) For the most part expenditure had been rigidly held to the level envisaged by Forster. (155) In 1896 the opening of the Victoria Institute (156) rendered any scheme for a Higher Grade school irrelevant: the Board's Higher Grade sub-committee was formally disbanded. In 1903 the Board was wound up with a flourish of self congratulation in the form of a laudatory biographical pamphlet. (157)

152. J.W.Hicks M.Ed. op cit 1971 p 61. This body had been founded in Worcester to defend the interests of voluntary schools in the same way as had the Salisbury Church Day Schools Association. The activities of the Worcester and Salisbury Associations broadened subsequently.

153. Even the working class member became a party to this. In 1898, on his withdrawal from the Board, Lewis was able to nominate James Manning of the Worcester Trades Council as his successor.

154. See Appendix VIII.

155. See Appendix IX.

156. See Chapter Nine.

157. "Review of the Work of the Worcester School Board from its Foundation in 1871 to its Abolition in 1903".
In claiming that the cumulative vote divided school boards into denominational blocks and impaired their efficiency, Roland cited as evidence churchmen with a vested interest in existing schools who sought places on boards to nullify, or at least reduce the threat from rate-aided schools.\(^{(158)}\) The Worcester Board appears to bear out fully this observation, from 1883 onwards. But under the Hastings' leadership the Board had demonstrated that it could operate in the best interests of the city without resorting to an expensive building programme.\(^{(159)}\) In so doing, it was acting independently of the City Council, and also free from the dominance of any sect or political party. The spirit in which policies were interpreted was crucial. In the right spirit even the experience of Board members who had been voluntary school teachers, and who were voluntary school managers, could be an advantage.

However, to concentrate on a series of gladiatorial contests once every three years provides an incomplete and in some ways artificial picture of the contribution of a School Board to a school district. The daily operation of the Board will be considered next, in order to supplement the assessment of its contribution to local life.

\(^{158}\) D. Roland B. Litt op cit 1957 p 570.

\(^{159}\) C. Webster 'Changing Perspectives in the History of Education'. Oxford Review of Education Vol. II No. 3 1976 pp 201-213, looks critically at a number of features of traditional history of education, including examinations of School Boards which stressed their liberal provision of places. While modern writers have distinguished between aggressive boards, spending heavily to remedy deficiencies and building Higher Grade schools, and parsimonious, captive boards, there is no evidence that Hastings' low key approach was anything but a source of satisfaction to Worcester citizens.
CHAPTER SEVEN : POLITICAL AND PROFESSIONAL PARTICIPATION :  
THE OPERATION OF THE WORCESTER SCHOOL BOARD

At the inaugural meeting of the School Board in February 1871 Hastings and Hill emerged as the spokesmen for the Anglican and Nonconformist members. Each indicated that he did not see one of the Board's prime functions as the building of a number of new schools, but rather the development of a working relationship with voluntary schools and their managers. Neither man was clear about the nature of this relationship. Hastings envisaged the possibility of bringing voluntary schools under the Board. Hill hoped that the management of the Board would lead to an amalgamation of all the schools in the City. For all the Board's collective experience, its members' individual uncertainties about what this administrative innovation might achieve are clearly evident from the reports in the press. In the event the early years of the Board saw an attempt to work out the concept that Hastings had tentatively advanced on taking the chair. The paradox implicit in legislation at this time, with the 1870 Act, suggesting that elementary education was essentially the 3Rs, conflicting with the inference that it could embrace a much wider field, as Codes grew more comprehensive from 1867 onwards, did not concern the Board. Nor did its clientele. Unlike Roper

1. Worcester Herald 18th February 1871
2. Besides Hastings a number of Board members had been involved with schools for some time. Joseph Wood had been a Sunday School teacher for fifty years, and was President of the Science and Trade Schools. Edward Webb had founded a school for juvenile workers at his factory in 1846. Canon Wood was a member of the Diocesan Board of Education. Rev. W. Wright supervised the development of St. Peter's parochial school into the best school in the city.
4. H. Roper Ph.D. op cit 1972 pp 116-117 contain the startling claim that Forster : "refused steadfastly to include in the 1870 Act any statement limiting its application to a particular sector of the population, and so opened up the possibility of elementary schools becoming more than schools for the impoverished." (p117). This assertion overlooks sections 7(4) and 97 of the Act.
the Board was never in any doubt about the social origins of elementary scholars.\(^{(5)}\) Instead it devoted its attentions to four policies designed to influence elementary education in all local public elementary schools.

Eaglesham has pointed to the school board as the heart of the elementary system.\(^{(6)}\) The Worcester Board's first concern was to occupy this focal position, and to be accepted in it. Evidence from the early years of its existence suggests that, if anything, the Board was accepted as having more power than it really possessed. In November 1873 an approach for financial aid, made by the Severnside Ragged School was properly rejected because it was not a public elementary school.\(^{(7)}\) However

5. Report of the Committee of Council for Education 1869-70. The Revised Code for 1870 contained the following statement as part of Article 4 (pxxvi): "The object of the grant is to promote the education of children belonging to the classes who support themselves by manual labour".

Appendix II Supplementary Rules pp lxxix-lxii. Rule 10 offered the following guidance to assist in the completion of the Exam Schedule:

a) Does the parent work for himself or a master? If for himself, does he employ journeymen or apprentices? (Article 4 had emphasised earning one's own living).

b) Would it be unreasonable to expect the parent to pay 9d (3\(\frac{3}{4}\)p) a week in school fees? (The estimated cost of education).

c) Does the parent rank or associate with working men or with tradesmen?

The answers to these questions determined whether or not a family was of the appropriate socio/economic status. Among the examples cited were policemen, coast-guards, dock and railway porters. All were socially equivalent to labourers. So were shopkeepers who only employed members of the family. Excise men, pilots, clerks and petty officers were marginal cases, socially. Grade III schools were beyond their reach by virtue of fees and length of school life. B. Simon op cit 1974 p324.


7. Worcester School Board Minute Book Vol II p149.
the Board invited the deputation to a further meeting, and suggested that as an alternative to closing the school, its trustees might ease the school's financial burdens by discovering which parents were poor enough to merit remission of fees. The School Board had information relating to the parental circumstances of children in the city's voluntary schools, and offered to put this at the disposal of the trustees. At the same time another approach, this time by the head mistress of the British Girls School, was made. In both cases the Board could have dealt with the problems by exercising the powers which the 1870 Act gave it to take over schools. This was the practice in a number of Boards intent on dominating the elementary field. Instead the Worcester Board indicated that its existence was not a threat to the schools in question, and that it felt both had a valuable contribution to make to education in the city. Both survived the School Board Era Take-overs were anathema to the Board. It did not use its powers under Section 23 of the Act until 1891, when it accepted Friar Street Infants School, (see illustration 13 on p159) and promptly closed it because of the poor quality of its accommodation. But the Board was not only approached by voluntary school managers. Teachers, and their union approached it on more than one occasion to ask for increased assistance in maximising attendance.

8. The approach was contained in a letter dated 1st December 1873.
9. Elementary Education Act 1870. Section 23:- "The managers of any elementary school in the district of a school board may, in manner provided by this Act, make an arrangement with the school board for transferring their school to such school board, and the school board may assent to such arrangement".
11. Hastings saw the Ragged School's value as catering for a class who needed special treatment, sympathy and persuasive power on the part of the teacher. Joseph Wood, lacking Hastings' diplomacy, saw it as catering for an outcast class.
12. Worcester School Board Minute Book VolVII pp258-9. In 1883 head teachers requested the appointment of
Attendance was integral to the policies which saw the most intimate, and long-lasting relationship between the Board and voluntary schools. These related to compulsion and the provision of places.

Compulsion had been accepted as essential by all sides in the campaign leading to the establishment of the first School Board. One of its first tasks was to frame bye-laws to compel attendance, but they were not submitted for approval until the Hounds Lane Board schools were nearing completion in 1873. Once approved, a house to house visitation was undertaken by Board members, the School Board Clerk and Attendance Officers. It was a revealing task, involving visits to 7,237 houses and took from October 1873 to May 1874 to complete. The task of co-ordinating and reporting on its findings was delegated to a small group, identified as the Visitors sub-committee. Its report claimed that 753 children between 5 and 13 were not being educated adequately, if at all. Two tasks were immediately undertaken. To the obvious one of attempting to persuade the 753 recalcitrants into school, was added

12. (continued) another Attendance Officer. Ibid Vol IX pp438-9. In 1891 the N.U.T. stressed the need for regular attendance now education was free.
13. The first time the bye-laws were submitted they were rejected, on a technicality. They were approved in 1873.
15. Worcester School Board Minute Book Vol II p302. The report was presented in June 1874, by Rev.Wright, who became the most influential Visitor.
16. The first handbill explaining the bye-laws to the public attempted to present the Board in a positive, non-threatening light, and to diminish fear of the School Board Agent: -
"He shall visit the parent and shall explain with kindness and civility the injury done to a child by neglect of its education, and the legal obligation cast on a parent by the bye-laws of the School Board ... He shall give every information respecting the various Public Elementary Schools in the city, and the regulations, especially those as to religious belief, under which any child can attend them. He shall carefully abstain from persuading the parent to send the child to the school of any religious body to which the parent may object"
the need to keep a track on migration from school to school. Early attempts to come to grips with this problem took the form of conferences of managers and teachers of all public elementary schools, organised by the School Board Visitors. (17) Though such conferences did not eliminate migration, they provided an opportunity for the Board and voluntary interests to collaborate, following an initiative by the Board. This collaboration flourished throughout the Board's existence. Headteachers of all voluntary schools submitted returns every Friday to the Visitors committee, (18) and action was taken as appropriate. The Board's early realisation that its powers to require voluntary school managers to provide information (19) could prove an obstacle to collaboration unless employed discreetly, proved wise. In consequence the decision to impose on all schools the type of duplicate registers in use to indicate absences in Board schools, proved acceptable to all, (20) as did the formalisation of the relationship in 1883 on the establishment of a formal General Purposes sub-committee, to replace the informal Visitors committee. (21) H.M.I. Brodie's reports during the 1880s

17. Worcester School Board Minute Book Vol II pp316-19, report on one such conference, held in July 1874. P. Gordon op cit 1974 pp106-7, claims that there was little encouragement for school boards and voluntary school managers to work together, though attendance is cited as an exception. Liverpool is credited with pioneering such co-operation, though it did not begin until 1875.

18. Some teachers appear to have felt unhappy at the policy. Worcester School Board Triennial Report 1895-97 p12 praises the assistance of "the large majority of teachers in voluntary schools" in the struggle against absenteeism.

19. Elementary Education Act 1873 Section 22.


noted with approval and sympathy the Board's efforts to maximise attendance. (22)

Compulsion also involved some form of relationship with the city's private adventure schools, (23) since attendance there could be cited to excuse non-attendance in public elementary schools. Such schools varied in quality from well conducted institutions of a high grade, to places that were schools in name only:

"Instances have not been wanting in which children have been taught in the kitchen of an ordinary artisan's cottage, in which the domestic duties of cooking or cleaning have been carried on simultaneously with the teaching ...."(24)

According to an investigation undertaken by the Board 93 schools had opened between 1882 and 1894. By the latter date only fifteen schools of the 50 which had existed in 1882 were still open. (25) The Board dealt with this problem by circularising 23 of the 30 schools still operative and invited them to submit to inspection by H.M.I. It was pointed out that parental confidence in them would be enhanced if they were recognised as efficient. It was also admitted that the Board's prime purpose was to satisfy itself that the standard of such schools was equivalent to that in public elementary schools, and that attendance at them was a legitimate

22. Report of the Committee of Council for Education 1881-82 H.M.S.O. 1883 p244 :- "That Worcester is perfect as regards compulsion I do not assert. Boys are everywhere boys, and they are quite as elastic and slippery at Worcester as elsewhere, and whether playing games, going errands, or shouting out 'newspapers for sale', they dodge their common enemy, the School Board Officer, with intuitive aptitude and conscious triumph. In spite of this they are being trapped and netted, and progress may be reported".

23. Described in Worcester School Board Triennial Report 1892-94 p14 as :- "...a shifting, inconstant, and a gradually decreasing quantity"

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.
alternative. (26) The initiative enjoyed little success. (27) But at least the Board was able to report that local private schools were on a sound basis. (28) Attendance Officers had no more occasions where attendance at private schools, of whose quality they were uncertain, was urged to defend non-attendance at public elementary schools. It is possible that in remarking at his final Board meeting that they were the School Board for the whole city, and that there was not a voluntary school that had not benefitted largely by the action of the Board, (29) T.R. Hill had in mind the work done by the School Visitors and Attendance Officers, in attempting to maximise attendance.

Compulsion depended in part on an adequate supply of places. However, despite a growth in the school population from 4,418 in 1874 to 8,746 in 1903, the Board, after remedying the initial deficiency that had led to its inception, provided no further places. In no other aspect of its work was its interest in the security of the voluntary system more obvious. (30) Criticism of its policy on provision of places has already been touched on, in relation to the Cherry Orchard Board school. (31)

26. This information is taken from a specimen circular to the private schools, among School Board records, now housed in the Guildhall, Worcester. The circular was dated December, 1892.

27. For a variety of reasons, an inspection proved impossible to arrange until May 1896. Only 10 schools had survived to be inspected: 2 closed after being declared inefficient.


30. G.Sutherland op cit 1973. p107 sees provision of places as the most obvious indication of when a board was protecting voluntary schools. pp93-4 suggest that the Education Department was prepared to acquiesce in this.

31. Supra p152.
The residents of that district, like a number of modern commentators, overlooked the problem of 'unnecessary schools'. (32) The rapid growth of the city in the last twenty years of the century necessitated some new schools, but more often made extensions to existing schools imperative. For the School Board, with its prior claim on deficiencies, to provide schools alongside overcrowded voluntary schools would be both expensive for rate payers and prejudicial to voluntary interests. Therefore Worcester Board's approach to the provision of places was conditioned by two of its most fundamental principles: the need to keep expenditure to an absolute minimum, and the recognition that school boards were called into existence to augment not usurp the position of voluntarists. Its actions in relation to deficiencies followed the path broken by Hastings, whose legal acumen had proved its value in his interpretation of Section 18 of the 1870 Act:

"...(School Boards)... shall from time to time provide such additional school accommodation as is, in their opinion, necessary in order to supply a sufficient amount of public school accommodation for their district" (33)

The four words underlined provided the crux of the interpretation. Boards could find additional school accommodation unnecessary, although as a result they might share the fate of Salisbury and find themselves requisitioned and threatened with default. (34) Instead

32. G. Sutherland op cit 1973 pp85 and 93 describe the Education Department's reaction to schools felt unnecessary. (It could refuse to consider such a school for annual grant).
33. Elementary Education Act 1870 Section 18.
34. J. W. Hicks M. Ed. op cit 1971 pp42-54, describe the conflict over a deficiency in Salisbury.
the Worcester Board adopted the practice of debating the matter of school supply, and drawing attention to areas where a deficiency, likely to attract the Inspector's attention, might develop. The extent of additional accommodation likely to be needed was also suggested. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s voluntary interests took the proffered advice. Every potential deficiency identified by the School Board in this way was remedied by voluntarists. But the obvious conclusion that Worcester School Board was yet another example of a board controlled by Anglicans in the interests of Anglican schools is difficult to sustain in view of the fact that James Fisher Airey, implacable opponent of the voluntary cause, identified himself completely with this policy in view of its beneficial effect on the rates. A more valid criticism of the policy was made by the working class representatives of the Board in the 1890s, in pointing out that it paid more attention to those who provided education, as managers or ratepayers, than to those whose children underwent it.

The final area where the School Board projected itself as the custodian of the interest of all the city's children was in relation to social welfare. At the time when reaction to Mundella's Code of 1882 was approaching bathos by claiming that its pressure was imperilling children, Worcester School Board had reached the

35. One example will show a typical pattern. In June 1882 the Board identified a potential deficiency in St. Paul's. The following month it received a letter from the incumbent, with details of a plan for school extensions, which concluded: "I venture to make this communication in the belief that it will not be without its importance in the deliberations of the School Board, respecting the needful school accommodation for the city of Worcester, and also in the belief that it may not be without its degree of interest to the rate-payers of Worcester". Worcester School Board Minute Book Vol VI pp383-4.

36. During the election campaign of 1889 the election poster urging the return of Airey mentioned Forster by name, and took pride from Airey's contribution to keeping faith with the views he had expressed during the 1870 Education Bill.

same conclusion as the 'Lancet', that the educational system was not pressurizing children, but rather indicating that they were underfed. In 1884 the Board instituted its own Penny Breakfast and Dinner schemes, and continued them in severe weather, despite criticism by the 'Worcester Daily Times' that it was intruding on what was the parents' responsibility. As the local economy declined in the late 1880s the schemes were amended to provide free meals where necessary, and continued until 1897. By this time the degree of hardship was much reduced and the scheme was amended accordingly. Excess funds were transferred to Book and Shoe, and Clothing funds administered by the Board. In effect these schemes were directed at children in particular social circumstances rather than at all children in the city. In a small way the Board developed a concern with minorities, both on its own initiative, and in response to legislation.

For example it responded to legislation in the 1890s covering handicapped children, and belatedly accepted its responsibilities in relation to the Industrial Schools Act 1866, and similar enactments. In view of the small number of physically handicapped children covered by the legislation the Board was unable to provide its own special facilities. Instead it was limited to identifying such children, whose handicaps had previously counted as a sufficient excuse for not attending school, and committing them to special schools. Two, larger, groups were seen as in need of care and protection - the neglected and delinquent. The School Board and attendance officers

40. The Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act 1893. Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act 1899.
42. Only four blind and seven deaf children were identified when the act was first introduced.
collaborated closely with the schools, who might themselves initiate enquiries into the cases of children who appeared to be ill-treated. If the enquiries confirmed the suspicions the children were placed in institutions. (43)

One further question remains to be considered in examining the operation of the Worcester School Board - what was the School Board? If rephrased as 'who was responsible for the actions undertaken in the name of the Board?' the question's relevance to earlier discussions on the growth of government becomes evident, particularly to the concept of self-generated bureaucratic growth as interpreted by Sutherland in her research. (44)

In turn the applicability of this concept may determine the degree to which the School Board collectively can be claimed to have operated in a manner consistent with civic pride.

In Worcester the implementation of the 1870 Act resulted in two Dual Systems: the obvious partnership between rate-aided and voluntary schools, and a less obvious but no less real partnership between elected representatives and permanent officials. At its first meeting the School Board quickly agreed on the nature of administrative support it felt necessary. A part-time Treasurer was appointed and a specification agreed for the post of School Board Clerk. The successful applicant would:

a) transact all the Board's general business

b) attend course meetings

c) keep minutes and accounts

d) conduct correspondence and execute all duties required of him by the Board, under the terms of the act. (45)

43. In the last decade of the Board's existence 37 delinquent children were placed in Industrial Schools. During the same period, 25 neglected children were committed to Emigration Homes. A letter to the School Board Clerk from one of them is reproduced in Appendix X.

44. G. Sutherland D. Phil. op cit 1970. This emphasises the role of permanent officials in policymaking, at the expense of politicians.

45. Worcester Herald 18th February 1871.
The successful candidate was Frederick Marcus, a teacher, who had narrowly failed to be elected to the 1871 Board. He was seen as subservient to the political members of the Board, though he was allowed limited initiative — to present to the Board a digest of papers and communications received since the previous meeting.\(^{(46)}\) He gained more freedom once the Board schools had opened in 1873 (see illustration 14 on p169). The Worcester Board decided not to delegate powers over the schools to managers,\(^{(47)}\) preferring to retain direct contact itself. But for all their interest, a number of members of the Board found that other commitments prevented them spending as much time as they would have liked in regular contact with the schools.\(^{(48)}\) As a result the Visitors' committee,\(^{(49)}\) having concluded organising the house to house visitation continued to act as the link between the full Board and the schools. Untypically Marcus's teaching experience, rather than his experience as School Board Clerk, appears to have made him valuable to the Visitors,\(^{(50)}\)

46. For example in March 1875 Marcus commented to the Board on papers from the Education Department, T.R.Hill M.P. a Board member, and the Social Science Association.

47. Miss Lucy Westcombe had been suggested as a candidate for the Board in 1871. She was invited to join the Visitors committee at its inception, was appointed a manager, and later became a member of the School Board.


49. Membership rotated. Members could expect to serve on it every third month, unless other commitments prevented this.

50. 'Untypically' because Gordon op cit 1974 p150 suggests that the managerial aspects of a clerk's work and his knowledge of school organisation placed him in a superior position to ordinary managers.
and he developed close contacts with the schools. However the Visitors committee gradually assumed a range of powers typical of a General Purposes committee. These fell into two broad categories. The first related to the schools. Visitors received requests for books, (51) and equipment for the schools (52) and submitted them to the Board for approval. On occasion they employed teachers. The Board acknowledged this discretionary and informal authority by confirming the appointment retrospectively. (53) They were formally charged with responsibility for supervising the work of the attendance officers, for initiating prosecutions for non-attendance, (54) and for general liaison with voluntary schools. The second related to the general business of the Board. As the network of informal contacts between school boards built up (55) it became the practice for all requests, whether to support memorials, (56) provide information for the Education Department, (57) or comment on draft legislation (58)

51. Worcester School Board Minute Book Vol.II p310. In 1874 a request for books was passed without comment.
52. Similarly a request for pianos for each school was passed to the Board.
53. Worcester School Board Minute Book Vol.II p250. The appointment of Reuben Evans was approved in this way.
54. Worcester School Board Minute Book Vol.II p240. The Board authorised this course of action in February 1874.
55. G. Sutherland op cit 1973 p109 notes this habit, on the part of the larger school boards.
56. Worcester School Board Minute Book Vol.III pp316-18. In April 1876 the Board formally declined to support a memorial from Bridgewater School Board on the subject of impure literature.
57. Ibid Vol.VI pp275-88. In January 1882 the Board approved the Visitors report on desirable alterations to the annual Code, and submitted it to Mundella's newly established Code committee.
58. Ibid Vol.VI pp157-8. In 1881 the Board agreed to join Bradford School Board in memorializing the Education Department to abandon the 'Child's School Book' in its revision of the Code.
to be automatically referred to the Visitors committee for detailed discussion and an opinion on the course of action to be taken by the Board. In addition it could act as the intermediary between individuals and the Board, as in the case when a suggestion, by a number of local groups, to establish a Night School was put to the Visitors and passed on to the Board. (59)

This development in the role of the Visitors committee was the responsibility of Rev. Wright, one of the Board's original members. (60) In consequence it left little opportunity for the Clerk to innovate. Even more important was the fact that his term of office coincided almost exactly with the period of Hastings' chairmanship. There was no doubt which of the two dominated the professional relationship. The approach made to the Board by the Girls British School has been referred to already. (61) The letter was actually addressed to Marcus by name, and he conducted initial discussions. However the Board rejected his initiative. The text of the letter, written into the Minute Book has been crossed out. In the margin alongside was entered:

"Struck out by the Board as being no part of the proceedings".

The handwriting and signature were Hastings! (62) Also when the Board schools' first heads presented details of their books and equipment for the schools, it was Hastings who directed the Clerk to contact London, Liverpool and Leeds School Boards for information on the subject! The major influences on the Board until

59. Ibid Vol.II pp284-87. The recommendation was made in May 1874. The Board resolved that (p289):

"...a Night School, as suggested in the Report of the Visitors, be established with the least possible delay...."

60. Wright assumed the position of leader of the Visitors, presenting their report every month. All their manuscript reports remain in the Guildhall, Worcester - virtually indecipherable.

61. Supra p 158.

1883 were Hastings and the informal but influential Visitors committee. The School Board was a political entity - with a subservient bureaucracy. (63)

But after 1883 this judgment is harder to sustain. Not only did the posts of Chairman and Clerk change hands, but the pattern of the Board changed also. The contested elections produced a change in the nature of membership. The average length of service became shorter: some members' service was interrupted by defeat at the polls. The new School Board Clerk, who rejoiced in the name of Flower Thomas Spackman was promoted to the post. He had been a clerk in the Board office since 1879, and had some experience of Hastings as chairman. During his twenty year term as Clerk he served three Chairmen, and three Vice-Chairmen. He was able to capitalise on the inherent power which his position as the most experienced member at Board meetings gave him. (64) Although minute books became less detailed from this point onwards in the sense of providing resolutions rather than summaries of debates leading to the resolutions, there is enough general correspondence in the extant papers of the Board to support a claim that Spackman gradually assumed a more crucial role in the affairs of the Board. (65) As the senior permanent official, working at the Board's headquarters, he was the most easily accessible symbol of the School Board. As the Board's chief clerical officer, it was to him that letters, circulars, notices, requests and complaints were

63. G.Sutherland D.Phil op cit 1970 p678 concludes that an examination of the Education Department 1870-1895 does not produce evidence to support her concept of bureaucratic growth.

64. Gordon op cit 1974 pp146-47 quote the view, expressed by Lord Harrowby in 1891, and widely shared that the permanence of school board clerks lent them great power.

65. The analysis of Spackman's position on the next two pages owes a good deal to J.Fletcher M.Phil op cit 1974 pp195-96.
initially addressed. As the senior administrative officer employed by the Board it was in his care that official records were placed. As the Board's legal representative in court, and the man whose signature would authenticate official School Board notices it was he who was called upon to define and defend the Board's interpretation of its actions and responsibilities. It is not too much to say that in the daily administration of the School Board Spackman personified the Board - he was the School Board. (68)

His influence also extended beyond daily administration, to that of interpreter of correct committee practice. In 1890 a dispute arose during a Board meeting. The issue was a complex one concerning the filling of a vacancy on the Board. The incident's significance is that on this occasion the Clerk, not the Chairman, was called upon to define the constitutional position and defend the Board's decision. An even better example of the developing role of the clerk can be seen at the beginning of the Boards elected in 1895 and returned in 1898. At the inaugural meetings of both Boards Spackman took the chair until a Chairman had been formally elected. (71)

66. This had been the one addition to the post of School Board clerk, when Spackman took it over.
67. Elementary Education Act 1870 section 82.
68. Ibid section 82:-
"Certificates, notices, requisitions, orders and other documents may be served on a school board by serving the same on their clerk...."
70. Another example occurred in 1889. The Town Clerk had suggested the Board might meet to consider the proposed amalgamation of the city's two grammar schools. It was reported to the Board:- "The Clerk conferred with the Chairman and Deputy, and decided not to call a meeting of the Board". Worcester School Board Minute Book Vol.IX p166.
He was helped by the reorganisation of the Visitors Committee. Lacking teaching experience himself, he was not able to assist the Visitors Committee as his predecessor had done. As a result the Board met to revise the terms of reference of the committee (72) - only to discover that none existed. So the Board devised some, and transformed the informal Visitors Committee into a formal General Purposes Committee. In so doing it opened the way for the School Board Clerk to begin to develop a degree of administrative discretion. By the 1890s he had become a policy adviser, in much the same way as is a Chief Education Officer, (73) though on a much smaller scale. It was to him, not a Visitors Committee, that the Board now looked for advice on courses of action to follow in respect of legislation, (74) the Board's administrative services (75) or the structure and curriculum of Board schools. (76) Spackman's reports were published and now form part of the records of the School Board. They took one of two forms; either a balanced, non-committal appraisal of a situation, (77) or a clear recommendation of a particular course of action, together with costings and details of implementation. In the case of the report on the need for an additional attendance officer, Spackman not only confirmed the need, but went on to propose the reorganisation of the operation of this service, and redefined the role of the officers. In

74. Memorandum by the Clerk on the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act 1893.
75. 'Report by the Clerk upon the question of appointing an additional Attendance Officer: Presented to the Board August 29th 1893'.
76. 'Memorandum by the Clerk to the Board on the necessity for making further provision for the teaching of Cookery and Woodwork, in connection with the Public Elementary Schools of Worcester and on the provision of a Higher Elementary School for Worcester under the Minute of the Board of Education bearing date 6th April 1900.
77. The report on Cookery and Woodwork took this form.
contrast to the case of the British Girls School, the Board accepted this initiative (and others) by the Clerk, either not noticing or not objecting to the fact that he had exceeded his brief. All his recommendations were implemented.

In relation to the Board's welfare schemes the Clerk's administrative discretion was most marked. Having been deputed to establish the Penny Dinner scheme Spackman was left to develop it: the Board's most regular contact being the receipt of the periodic reports on its progress-published by Spackman for the attention of the public. The Boot and Shoe, and Clothing funds were a joint initiative of Miss Westcombe and Spackman. The former maintained her interest in them after retiring from the Board, until Spackman took complete control. In this case too the contribution of the Board was minimal. Therefore, in considering the Board during the last twenty years of its existence it is clear that the really significant contribution was made by the permanent official, Spackman. The conflicts between elected representatives during this time had little effect on the Board: they may have been of benefit by distracting members' attention and allowing Spackman the maximum administrative discretion. His career exemplifies the concept of self generated bureaucratic growth clearly, although as has been pointed out elsewhere, too little work has been undertaken into the growth of local government departments to allow any general conclusion to be drawn from this.

Conclusions about the public spiritedness of the Board are not easy to formulate in view of the contrast between the pre- and post 1883 body. It has to be said that the Board itself had no such reservations. It

78. Supra p 158.
79. Worcester School Board Minute Book Vol.VII p388 (December 1884)
80. In February 1900 Spackman wrote to patrons of the Penny Dinner scheme asking for support for 'his' Boot fund.
claimed in its valedictory report: -

"In spite of their supersession School Boards may congratulate themselves upon the success with which their efforts have been crowned. During the thirty two years of their existence, unity of purpose and continuity of design have characterised all that they have undertaken"(82)

But an assessment with less hyperbole and more realism does not bear this out. Once the city accepted the need for a School Board and elected it, the School Board can be said to have undertaken its duties in line with public opinion - until 1883 at least. It remedied the initial deficiency with commendable speed, (83) it established itself as a constructive partner in the local education field, and it calmed the suspicions and conflicts that had accompanied its inception. Its earliest years saw its heaviest capital expenditure, (84) and also saw the greatest degree of public support. The absence of contests, and of criticism of it in a press whose correspondence columns were sensitive barometers of the public atmosphere, indicate this. The absence of the desire to play the part of heroic innovators, (85) taking over as many schools as possible, providing Higher Grade Schools as early as possible, is not necessarily a sign of dereliction of duty. It is significant that Airey, the member most likely to be critical of vested interests on the Board, publicly associated himself with its basic objective of keeping down the rates.

But after 1883 it becomes more difficult still to assert with confidence that the School Board's activities were consciously undertaken in a spirit of municipal benefit. Records of meetings show an increasing number of votes with Anglican block votes being countered by an 'Opposition' and very few candidates whose

83. London, Bradford and Nottingham, for example, took longer to open their first Board schools.
84. See Appendix IX.
votes appeared to depend on the merits of an issue. Voting at triennial elections, still something of a novelty for many of the electorate, demonstrated disenchantment or apathy. Inactivity in relation to the provision of places is easier to explain as partiality towards a religious sect than civic interest. Those aspects of the Board's later years that were commended by radical and reactionary press alike were the result of the Clerk's initiative and humanitarian attitudes.\textsuperscript{86} The most generous interpretation to be put on the activities of the political members of the Board after 1883 is that they observed the letter of the law to the detriment of its spirit, and that they were too preoccupied saving ratepayers' money to appreciate that the society of the 1890s had different aspirations from that of the 1870s. They failed to keep abreast of the times.

A less generous interpretation surprised everyone at the Board's penultimate meeting. A statement in the valedictory report which attributed the small number of Board schools to public spiritedness by voluntary school managers proved too much for James Mayglothing. Though his membership of the Board only dated from 1898, he had been active in seeking working class representation in the early 1890s. With other members of the Worcester Trades Council he had campaigned for the return of G.S. Lewis in the 1892 contest, arguing that the working classes, whose children were educated at the Board schools, should be directly represented on the Board, not indirectly represented by clerics.\textsuperscript{87} Once on the Board he continued to support policies which put the educational interests of the pupils above the financial interests of the voluntary bodies. According to press

\textsuperscript{86} See Appendix XI a)
\textsuperscript{87} Predictably Mayglothing was attacked for challenging the principle of an automatic Anglican majority. \textit{Worcester Daily Times} 19th and 20th January 1892.
reports of the meeting:-

"Mr. Mayglothing took exception to a paragraph in the report which said that 'no other Board schools became necessary because the managers of voluntary schools, with commendable public spirit, have made provision from time to time as the growing needs of the city have demanded it'. It was well known, he said, that there was a diversity of opinion some years ago as to the creation of other schools, and he did not think that credit could be taken by that Board, or be given to the voluntary schools because they kept Board Schools out of the city.

Mr. Hunt: We are thankful that we did.

Mr. Mayglothing: You may be but I am not." (88)

Exchanges became increasingly acrimonious, until a resolution to delete the offending section was passed. Even accepting that Mayglothing may have been carried away in making this unprecedented attack, it is difficult to maintain that the Board was felt to have acted in the interests of all sectors of local society, after such eloquent criticism.

This episode appears to point to the fundamental paradox of the Worcester School Board, in that despite improved opportunities for popular participation, which saw an unprecedented franchise, a woman on the Board as early as 1877 and working class members for most of the life of the Board, the traditional position of the Established Church to influence elementary education within the city remained very strong. It would seem that a participant political culture was unable to secure civic objectives since Mayglothing's verdict on the School Board saw it fulfilling sectional not civic policies.

If the School Board is considered in a little more detail, however, this general statement becomes inadequate. The previous chapter has divided the Board into

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88. Worcestershire Echo 24th February 1903. This report, and an almost identical account published in the Worcester Daily Times on the same day, are reproduced in Appendix XI b). So too are comments from the two papers to show that though the reports tallied, the interpretations were diametrically opposed. (Appendix XI c) ).
two periods, pre- and post-1883. In the earlier period a combination of a policy which satisfied all local interests, (89) and deference to the Board's two leading members, the local manufacturer Hill and the national campaigner Hastings had between them led to support for the Board in the press, and an absence of any concerted campaign for triennial contests. (90) The Board was widely supported in its pursuance of policies designed to benefit pupils of the wage-paid classes, regardless of their school. After 1883 the Board was no longer able to command this widespread support. Increasingly members saw their loyalty to a sectional interest, not the city in general. Policy differences, not differences in orientation to the political structure led to the obscuring of the civic dimension. The most positive range of Board policies underlined Spackman's pride in 'his' city, (91) and reveal him to have acted as political innovator, rather than as neutral bureaucrat.

The final campaign to be considered will allow an examination of the Council and the public's attitudes to the development of a cultural/educational amenity appropriate for the city and its neighbourhood.

89. Supra pp 143-47, particularly quotations on pp 143 and 147 reflecting satisfaction with the Board.

90. The acquiescence of Airey is taken as a sign of the extent of the support for the Board's policies. (Supra p 165).

91. This pride was also seen in articles on old Worcester by Spackman, published in Berrows Worcester Journal and in his book 'The Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings of Worcester' Midland Educational Co. 1913.
PART IV

FORMAL AND INFORMAL GROUPS,
AND THE PROVISION OF CULTURAL
AMENITIES
CHAPTER EIGHT : CULTURAL OBJECTIVES, SOCIAL CONFLICT AND THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES CAMPAIGN IN WORCESTER

Until recently the interrelationships between cultural and educational innovation have been seriously underestimated by many historians of education. There have been a number of reasons for this, but three have predominated. In the first place 'education' has been limited in terms of its institutional location to schools.\(^{(1)}\) Secondly, examinations of the development of popular education after 1800 have not taken sufficient account of the implications of urbanisation,\(^{(2)}\) which in itself rendered inadequate much of the earlier provision. Third, the preoccupation, of Whig and neo-Marxist alike, with charting the inexorable increase in government participation or control has obscured activities which fell outside this stereotype.\(^{(3)}\) One further, related factor may be noted. The full range of provision for the education of adults has received little attention. With few exceptions\(^{(4)}\) historians have implied, usually by default, that education of adult workers largely atrophied once Mechanics Institutes fell under the control of their social superiors. In contrast the writer believes that a number of attempts to encourage the provision of cultural amenities in towns, particularly during the first half of the 19th Century, had

among their objectives the intention to educate. (5)

These attempts were made by a Radical group of M.P.s including James Buckingham, William Ewart, Joseph Hume, Richard Potter, Richard Anglionby Slaney and Thomas Wyse, supported outside Parliament by such figures as Edward Edwards and Robert Haydon. Initially the group's strategy was to bring an evil to the attention of the House and move for the establishment of a Select Committee to investigate it. Subsequently permission would be sought to introduce a bill to combat the evil, whose intolerable proportions had been amply documented in evidence to the Committee. (6) This general pattern saw the establishment of Select Committees on Public Walks (1833), Drunkenness (1834), Arts and Manufactures (1835), the British Museum (1835 and 1836), Art Unions (1844 and 1845) and Public Libraries (1849), though not all led to draft legislation. At first sight these appear completely irrelevant to education. They grew out of attempts to achieve as varied a series of aims as the modification of the industrial environment, and the promotion of the enjoyment, health, instruction, morals, and productive output of the people. These were pursued enthusiastically but indiscriminately, with unfortunate consequences. It was not unusual for the committees to be given an extremely wide remit; the 1835 Select Committee was typical, established: -

"... to enquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the arts and principles of design among the people (especially the labouring population) of the country, and also to enquire into the constitution of the Royal Academy and the effects of institutions connected with the Arts"

(7)

The difficulty occurred in attempting to legislate on the broad front identified by the committee's reports, since the more sweeping the proposals the more likely they were to offend one of the many vested interests within Parliament. Even when proposals were embodied in a number of bills, objections and the pressure of Parliamentary

5. In this context 'educate' is used in a liberal sense to imply the acquisition of elements of civility and taste, in place of habits deemed to be anti-social.
6. E.R.Reid-Smith loc cit 1969 is the source for the material which follows.
business could prove overwhelming. James Buckingham attempted to employ this tactic in mitigating the evils of drunkenness. His remedies were to limit the number of public houses, thereby reducing the opportunities for drinking, and to develop healthy alternative facilities for mind and body, by the provision of public literary institutions and public walks in industrial centres. He was given permission in 1835 to introduce Public Walks and Public Institutions bills. But both failed, as did subsequent similar measures, because of fears at the extension of local authority powers through their ability to raise rates.

But though Radical activity produced few tangible results, one recurring theme emerged in their investigations – a belief in the manifold virtues of education. Evidence given before the Select Committee on Arts and Manufacturers (1835) pointed to the economic benefits which might be expected from developing schools of design, and providing the opportunity to examine works of acknowledged cultural merit. Its social value was acknowledged by Francis Place on his appearance before the Select Committee on Drunkenness (1834). Many witnesses had claimed that drunkenness was losing its hold on all ranks but the lower orders. Place claimed its hold on them was also diminishing thanks to education. Its political significance was apparent to Robert Slaney and Seymour Tremenheere whose activities as Chairman of the Health of Towns Commission and Government Commissioner for Staffordshire mining districts respectively brought them into close contact with the lower orders. Both saw the extent of working class ignorance and felt its remedy

8. Ibid p.11.
9. Ibid pp.16-19. A Public Institutions Bill (1836) and a Public Walks and Institutions Bill (1837) are cited in this context.
10. Supra pp.58 and 62 and f.n.58.
was vital to the preservation of the institutions of state, especially since, as Tremenheere noted, such readings as workers heard were hostile to the Establishment. (12)

Although her research concentrated on a later period, Helen Meller did survey the activities of Select Committees in the 1830s and 1840s, and identified three principles underlying their recommendations. These were the promotion of the education of the people, the development of facilities for study, and the need to place wholesome recreation within easy reach. The establishment of public libraries in towns could meet all three principles. (13) Jones detailed a number of occasions in the early 19th Century when development of libraries, museums and newsrooms was called for, (14) to support his earlier claim that:—

"The most powerful forces tending to promote free and public libraries in the earlier 19th Century, in England at least, originated in the developing pressures experienced in growing urban communities: pressures which to some seemed to menace law and order, political stability and the moral order." (15)

By mid-century there was an increasing acceptance of the need to provide cultural facilities in order to combat the ignorance of urban workers. (16) William Ewart, aided by Edward Edwards (17) and Haydon, appears to have been instrumental in this. In 1834 he had moved the motion proposing the establishment of a Select Committee on Arts and Manufacture. The following year, during the debate on the grant of £20,000 to assist the building of elementary schools, he stated that:—

12. Ibid pp.116-20. The events of 1848 showed what could be the results of such readings, in Tremenheerds view.
15. Ibid p.45.
"... the best mode of securing the happiness of a people is to educate them: and that, in furtherance of that object, public libraries are most necessary, in order to enable them to educate themselves"(18)

In 1849 he was invited to chair the Select Committee on Public Libraries, whose major recommendations reiterated earlier calls for the development of public libraries. (19)

But his most important contribution to this issue was in securing successful legislation. In 1845 he introduced a bill to facilitate the establishment of museums in large towns. As the Museums Act 1845, it was little used, partly because it was limited in application to towns of 10,000+. Its importance was in its authorisation of the raising of a ¾d rate for land and buildings, in connection with the erection of museums of science and art. (20) Five years later Ewart was given permission to introduce a bill embodying the major proposals of his Select Committee on Public Libraries. Though much amended it too reached the Statute Book, as the Public Libraries and Museums Act 1850. The level of rate was unchanged, though the provision of public libraries was now covered in addition to museums. Paradoxically the purchase of books was not. (21) Two further, substantial amendments, were achieved by the Public Libraries Acts of 1855 and 1866. The former was passed in a much more constructive atmosphere than had been its predecessor. In fact, on the failure of a similar measure in 1854 owing to the pressure placed on Parliamentary time by the Crimean War, a Times leader had lamented:-

"One of the chief curses of the war is the stop which it immediately puts to measures of social improvement and works of peace. National galleries and public walks and other devices that can answer no other purpose than to refine the taste or refresh the weary frame must wait"(22)

The 1855 Act raised the level of rate expenditure to 1d in the pound, and sanctioned the purchase of books and other materials. It also contained powers enabling towns to establish Schools of Art or Science. In addition, the size of borough to which the measure applied was reduced from 10,000 to 5,000. (23) During the debates this particular proposal was supported by the member for Bodmin, who reported that his constituents were anxious for the Act to apply to them, and by Robert Lowe, who stated that his constituents in Kidderminster had impressed upon him their wish to develop a public library, despite the city’s unprecedented industrial distress. (24) One final, and important modification to the 1850 Act, concerned the means of adopting the legislation. In 1850 adoption could only be secured by a referendum of ratepayers, which produced a ¾ majority in favour of the motion. In 1855 this process was simplified: a ¾ majority achieved at a public meeting of ratepayers was now sufficient for adoption. (25) The 1866 Act, which marked the end of Ewart’s association with this issue (26) made adoption still easier by substituting a simple majority for the former ¾ requirement, and also removed the minimum size of borough to which the Act applied. (27)

A number of historians of education have ignored this legislation, (28) apparently overlooking the fact that acts not entitled Education acts could contain important clauses relating to education. (29) In consequence

25. Supra pp62-3 f.n. 61.
26. T. Kelly op cit 1973 pp.22-3. Gladstone paid this tribute:— "I cannot refrain from seizing this opportunity of congratulating my Hon. Friend on having been permitted during a long and honourable Parliamentary life, to see the gradual development of the fruit of his labour and to watch these institutions spread through the great centres of population where it is so desirable they should exist".
29. For example, M. Cruickshank op cit 1963, p.10 claims that all attempts at education legislation failed between 1847 and 1857.
they have not made the point that boroughs could raise a rate for educational purposes many years before 1870, since their concept of education excluded the intellectual and cultural campaigns culminating in Museums and Public Libraries legislation. In view of this the publication by the Irish Universities Press, in 1977, of a commentary on a selection of its monumental reprints of State papers (30) is doubly welcome. Not only does it contain essays by a number of able, young, historians, but it also includes under the generic title 'Education', commentaries on Select Committee reports on the British Museum, Fine Arts and Design, and Public Libraries, in addition to Elementary, Secondary and Technical education.

However, all that has been demonstrated so far is the relationship between cultural provision and educational objective which was realised most clearly in Museums and Public Libraries legislation, and intention to benefit the urban worker by the provision of civic amenities. Before considering the application of these initiatives to Worcester two further questions must be considered - to what extent was the legislation in question used, and in what sense can attempts to provide such amenities be related to a concept of civic pride.

It appears that, though well-intentioned, Public Libraries legislation was difficult to implement, even after its amendment in 1866. Since its objective was the development of polyglot institutions comprising libraries, art galleries and museums, and possibly vocational schools, the chances that opinion would be split on the question of a council initiative were multiplied. Kelly has shown that numerous attempts were required to get the acts adopted in various towns: in Wolverhampton and Portsmouth

three attempts were required, while Cheltenham took four. Between 1857 and 1882 Hull ratepayers rejected three proposals. By 1886 Bath had witnessed no fewer than four failures. (31) Even so library supporters persisted. Fifteen of the authorities that established libraries between 1850 and 1886 did so only after the rejection of earlier proposals. (32) Hunter claimed that 46 authorities had adopted Public Libraries legislation by 1869. But he pointed also to the scope of institutions envisaged in identifying only 9 as being concerned directly with educational provision. (33) Nevertheless by 1886 a total of 125 public libraries were in existence, in such towns as Birmingham, Cambridge, Canterbury, Cardiff, Dundee, Exeter, Halifax, Leeds, Leicester, Manchester, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Reading, Winchester and Worcester. (34)

The numerous rejections of proposals to adopt the legislation indicates the difficulty in many cases of conceptualizing the issue in such a way as to by-pass sectional interests. A campaign in 1852 in Birmingham provoked unprecedented opposition, in the shape of handbills and placards, and failed because the proposal attracted less than the required \( \frac{2}{3} \) majority. (35) In part this lack of consensus generally resulted from a contrast in mid-century between a positive view of civic pride as a duty to provide cultural/vocational institutions from the rates for public benefit, and a negative view of local government which related the quality of administration directly to the least possible expenditure of public money. In addition the concept of a civic initiative based on public funds was incompatible with the prevailing ethic of 'Self-Help'. (36) The original proposals for

32. Ibid.
34. T. Kelly op cit 1973 pp.24-5.
36. Samuel Smiles book 'Self-Help' was first published in 1859. He claimed it originated in a series of lectures many years earlier to a northern mutual instruction society.
public literary facilities had been made in the 1830s and 1840s by middle class Radicals, as part of their prescription for improving the lot of the lower orders, at a time when cultural provision was provided for separate social orders, not the community at large. This social paternalism was evident in mid-century: explicit in Manchester where Charles Dickens moved the following resolution at the opening of the Manchester Public Library in 1852:

"That as, in this institution, special provision has been made for the working classes, by means of a free lending library, this meeting cherishes the earnest hope that the books thus made available will provide a source of pleasure and improvement in the cottages, the garrets, and the cellars of the poorest of our people". (37)

Occasionally it was expressed differently; as a middle class initiative in the civic interest. Newton quotes a contemporary view that there had long been:

"... an uneasy consciousness in the public mind of Exeter that the inhabitants of the city, and of the county of Devon, by not providing a city and county museum (had) neglected to perform an important public duty". (38)

But in general support for such initiatives required social solidarity, while the mid 19th century was pre-eminently a period of social stratification. (39) Jones contrasted Cheltenham and Leamington on the Public Libraries issue to underline this point. (40) They were the fastest growing communities in the country during the first half of the 19th century. But though clergy and local educational interests were prominent from the outset in adoption debates Cheltenham had to wait until

37. Quoted in T. Kelly op cit 1973 p.27.
38. R. Newton Ph.D. op cit 1966 p.xix. The University College of the South West (Exeter University) is described as the bequest to posterity of the superior classes who conceived and fostered it. The quotation above is from pp.675-76.
the 1880s to adopt the legislation, whereas Leamington had opened its Free Lending Library by the end of the 1850s.\(^{41}\) Jones accounted for the contrast by noting the different social composition of the committees to recommend adoption, in the two boroughs. In Leamington artisans, including a bricklayer, a coach painter, a gardener, a harness-maker, and a shoemaker, were among the representatives. In Cheltenham a narrower social range comprised the committee.\(^{42}\) Although Public Libraries legislation only specified the need to secure the approval of ratepayers, in practice working class attitudes played an important part also:-

"All action tending towards library development necessitated, even in authoritarian regimes, a degree of co-operative effort, exposition and persuasion".\(^{43}\)

The nature of Public Libraries legislation reinforced the importance of this co-operative effort and persuasion since, as Whiteman has pointed out, it was without precedent in making local authority action conditional on the will of ratepayers, expressed by referendum or public meeting.\(^{44}\)

From this it can be seen that the adoption and implementation of this legislation entailed the resolution of a number of complex arguments. In Worcester, as elsewhere, a growth of public support for the provision of a cultural amenity was dependent on a willingness to deploy public funds, rather than a reluctance to add to the rates, it was also a reflection of a sense of communal spirit and public service replacing the habits of social paternalism and self help. In addition it showed the development of conscious altruism in working towards long-term goals, at the expense of parochial interest in

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41. Care has to be taken not to confuse adopting the acts, and opening an institution. As T. Kelly op cit 1973 p. 23. points out delay between these two stages were common.
43. Ibid p. 198.
short-term expedients. In short it showed the interplay between a liberal and conservative concept of public amenity, and as such affords a good opportunity to observe the growth of civic pride.

Some details have already been given of cultural provision in Worcester in the early 19th Century. The Natural History Society was developed by the professional classes, for the professional classes. The Worcester Literary and Scientific Institution was provided by the city's aristocratic, professional and industrial interests for artisans. In reaction, a Chartist Hall of Science was provided by workers to allow discussions of politics and economics, forbidden at the Literary and Scientific Institution. A number of libraries and newsrooms were also available, whose membership fees and charges for loans determined their clientele. Typical of them was the Worcester Subscription Library, which had been established in 1790 at a time when books were priced out of the reach of the serious minded artisan. It flourished until the mid 19th Century, apparently meeting a local need. But after 1850 it declined rapidly, a victim of a combination of factors. Books were now more easily and widely available thanks to the success of book clubs, circulating libraries and reading, literary or book societies such as Bull's or Mudie's. Also innovations in printing made it possible to produce books more cheaply. A contributing factor was not simply the greater availability of books, but also a change in public taste. The Subscription Library's stock had been largely restricted to works on theology, philosophy, and education, together with translations of the classics. In the 1850s subscribers were reflecting in

45. Supra pp. 57-59.
46. See Appendix XII.
47. Worcester City Libraries, Museum and Art Gallery. (Flysheet). The Library's original object was the: - "Disseminating of useful knowledge in every branch of polite literature".
49. T. Kelly 'A History of Adult Education in Great (cont'd)
their requests a desire for new, ephemeral works - fiction. Since the purchase of such books could not be allowed under the terms of foundation, subscribers requests remained unanswered, and they transferred their allegiance to the circulating libraries, or alternatively patronised libraries provided by their employers, or by workers' organisations.

Faced by such adverse circumstances local libraries responded as best they could. The library of the Literary and Scientific Institution was hit particularly hard by changes in taste. On its establishment a resolution had been approved:-

"(that) the works of Imagination, such as novels, romances and Plays; political pamphlets, and controversial divinity, not being of a nature to promote the objects designed by this institution, shall be rigourously (sic) excluded from the library". (50)

Unable to vary these conditions the Literary and Scientific Institution made an apparently unsuccessful attempt to merge with another ailing library. (51) The Worcester Subscription Library chose to appeal to its subscribers, following the appearance of a report on its condition which identified Bull's and Mudie's clubs, and local Working Men's Institute and Railway Institute libraries as drawing off its former patrons. (52) But its appeal proved fruitless.


50. Worcester Literary and Scientific Institution, Minute Book (No page numbers).

51. Ibid. In December 1850 it made an attempt to join forces with the Worcester City and County Library. A meeting between officials of the two institutions was arranged, but no further entries were made in the Minute Book.

52. 'Report in answer to a request of the Committee, contained in a letter from H.B.Tymbs 30th November 1858.' Since the writer consulted this in 1974 in Worcester City Library, it appears to have been mislaid).
With such evidence to explain its decline the committee of the Subscription Library then saw its salvation in the newly enacted Public Libraries legislation. It approached the City Council and offered its premises and stock as the nucleus of a Free Public Library, to be developed once the 1855 Public Libraries Act had been adopted. Surprisingly, in view of its customary reluctance to raise a rate, the City Council agreed. But the public meeting, called to ratify this decision, proved such an excoriating experience, that a subsequent Council move to adopt the legislation in 1862 was dropped in view of the decisiveness of the rejection in 1858, and the inflamed passions aroused at the time, without putting it to a public meeting.

Not until 1869 was it suggested that the Council might take the opportunity provided by Public Libraries legislation to develop an institution which would enhance the city's civic esteem. The amenity was to be formed by amalgamating the Natural History Museum and the School of Art, and linking them with a Free Public Library. On closer examination this proposal, which served as the model on which action was ultimately taken, was seen to have a strong pragmatic element to temper civic idealism. The Natural History Society was losing its popularity. The Subscription Library faced imminent closure. Even worse the School of Art, so important to the revival of the local porcelain industry, was close to insolvency. In March 1869 its managers had requested a grant from the City Council. A month later the Council's Finance Committee reported on its inquiries.

53. J. Roe M.A. op cit 1972. p.32. Roe's comments suggest that this decline was typical throughout the British Isles.
54. It may have been influenced by the support for such a scheme in Kidderminster, where a public library had been opened in 1855. (Supra p. 185).
55. C.M.Downes 'Worcester Public Library and the Hastings Museum: A retrospect' Deighton (Worcester) 1881 pp.6-7
56. City Chamber Order Book Vol.XVII (No page numbers), is the source for the following section.
with officials at Cork and Swansea, where aid was said to be given to vocational schools, in connection with the Public Libraries Act 1855. Further inquiries at the Department of Science and Art confirmed that the adoption of this legislation was a pre-requisite for using rate-aid to assist existing vocational schools. The City Council had to refuse the request from the School of Art.

This incident emphasises the different roles available to the City Council in relation to the Cathedral School and a Free Public Library. In the former case it was not pursuing a course of action requiring the raising of public money, nor was its freedom of action inhibited by legislation. Even after the passing of the Endowed Schools Act 1869, the City Council was free to seek to influence the curriculum and ethos of the Cathedral School as it developed as a Grade I school, and in 1869 the Council's Cathedral School sub-committee was actively engaged in lobbying Parliament, acting as the champion of the local interest. On the other hand any Council initiative on the Public Libraries issue inevitably entailed the raising of additional rates, and was limited by legislation. In particular it was dependent on the verdict of local ratepayers and had to follow public opinion rather than leading it. Jones has suggested that city fathers were not influential in adoption campaigns: this is clearly the case where 'city fathers' are identified as a borough's leading citizens acting collectively in their capacities as aldermen and councillors. All that the City Council could do, to assist the School of Art, was to put proposals for a cultural/educational facility before a public meeting.

58. Obviously in putting specific proposals to the public, the Council was leading opinion in one sense. But its inability to take any action before its proposals were accepted left it dependent on public opinion.
At this meeting, held in April 1870, public attitudes on the question of rate-support for education were divided. An Economical Party, which contested the elections for the original School Board in Worcester, attracted much support with its call to hold down the rates at all costs. The relative value to the city of such an institution was also challenged. In debate it emerged that the Music Hall was envisaged as a likely site for the new amenity. Vesta Tilley, the Worcester-born entertainer was just beginning to attract widespread attention, and a number of speakers indicated that they felt a theatre to be a preferable amenity. The motives of the proposal's supporters were also suspected. Edward Webb, who was Chairman of the Cathedral Schools Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Worcester branch of the National Education League, and whose philanthropy and public spirit had been proved beyond question, was a leading supporter of the proposal. But at the same time that he was winning support for his views on elementary education, he was being attacked for his involvement in the Public Library campaign. He was suspected of supporting the scheme because of the profit he hoped to make from the sale of the site to the Council. The lack of consensus in 1870 was most clearly seen in a decisive intervention at the public meeting by a 'working man', who voiced his opposition so volubly from the body of the hall that he was elevated to the platform by popular demand. From there he repeated his opposition to the increasing of civic services from the rates. This, he claimed, was a

60. Berrows Worcester Journal 9th April 1870 p.5.
62. He was identified in this way by 'Berrows Worcester Journal'. One can only speculate as to whether or not he was a ratepayer, and if so whether or not he had been placed under this obligation by the Municipal Franchise Act 1869.
63. This episode bears out Jones' view that the working classes exercised a decisive influence on this issue, whether they were ratepayers or not. (G.Jones Ph.D. op cit 1971 p.338).
device to induce the poor to subsidise luxuries for the rich. He was sufficiently persuasive for the Council's recommendation to be 'decisively rejected'. In 1870 parsimony proved stronger than philanthropy, short term interests were felt more important than long term goals, but most important sectional identities proved too strong for civic initiative. The campaign of the proposal's supporters had not been sufficiently clearly thought out; its appeal had not been sufficiently broadly based.

The next attempt to gain public acceptance of Public Libraries legislation took place in 1872. It will be examined in some detail to indicate the nature of the campaign, the issues raised, and the extent to which supporters and opponents of the proposals learned from former experiences.

On this occasion the impetus to put the issue before the public once more, came from the Worcester Literary Institution, a debating society that met in the Guildhall. It had discussed the value of public libraries, and capitalised on the interest aroused to reconstitute itself into a committee to press for the establishment of a Free Public Library. A contribution to its debates by Canon Barry emphasised the support of the Established Church for such a proposal. It attempted to broaden its appeal further by a direct approach to the working classes. Its memorial, calling on the Council to requisition a public meeting was claimed to include the signatures of 600 artisans.

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64. City Chamber Order Book Vol. XVII. The Mayor described the meeting's outcome in these terms.
65. C.M. Downes op cit 1881 pp.6-7.
66. Canon Barry was Principal of King's College London, and had been Headmaster of Leeds Grammar School and Cheltenham College before accepting the stall at Worcester Cathedral. (Supra p.99 f.n.45).
67. C.M. Downes op cit 1881 pp.6-7.
68. Berrows Worcester Journal 27th April 1872. The claim of direct support by the working classes was contained in a letter, published under the heading 'Free Libraries Act'.
pressure group formed one element in the campaign. Another was the local press, which kept the literate public up to date with the early activities of the Literary Institution, and the arguments advanced at its meetings, as well as reporting subsequent events. The press was of importance to the proposal's supporters, since it covered their carefully organized public campaign, designed to win support and allay fears. Also, an apparently novel aspect of this campaign was a poster war, with supporters and opponents of the proposal appealing for support for their views from the billboards.

The first sign of this war of words was a handbill (see illustration 15 on p.197) issued by the supporters of a Public Library, listing the reasons for supporting such an amenity. Idealism was only a minor factor. The major preoccupation was to demonstrate how the library would be an economy not a luxury, and to appeal to the chauvinistic, materialistic and paternal instincts in the voters. Appeals to civic pride were negligible in the early stages of this campaign. The first poster appealed to all citizens, and attempted to unite all behind the proposal to establish a Free Public Library, claiming that all would benefit by it, and emphasising that it represented good value for money. (See illustration 16 on p.198). The 'opposition' poster countered this by seeking to divide the populace, demonstrating that not only was the term 'Free' Public Library mis-

69. H. Meller Ph.D. op cit 1968 p.242 draws attention to the importance of the press in connection with a similar, successful campaign in Bristol.
70. Berrows Worcester Journal 27th April 1872 p.3. A detailed report of Canon Barry's speech was carried.
71. The original posters, reproduced here as illustrations, are pasted into ledgers containing hundreds of other notices, covering a range of events over the last 30 years of the 19th Century. The absence from these ledgers of any other posters, relating to other Public Library campaigns, suggests to the writer that none existed.
72. The nearest the campaign came to civic pride was in a letter to Berrows Worcester Journal 27th April 1872, arguing that a public library was necessary in Worcester because the additional population attracted:—

a) by the expansion of MacNaught's Carriage Works,
A FEW REASONS WHY I SHOULD VOTE FOR A
PUBLIC LIBRARY.

BECAUSE Books are a chief source of knowledge, and "Knowledge is power."
BECAUSE knowledge is the parent of commercial enterprise and wealth, both
of which we want.
BECAUSE ignorance is the parent of poverty and pauperism, of which we
have too much.
BECAUSE pauperism is costing us more than twenty Public Libraries would,
BECAUSE other nations are placing Books in the hands of all, and unless we
do likewise we cannot compete with foreigners.
BECAUSE, therefore, Books should be placed in the hands of all Englishmen,
and only Public Libraries can do this.
BECAUSE there is no town of importance in the Midland Counties so badly
supplied with Books as Worcester is, and without a Public Library it is likely to remain so.
BECAUSE a Public Library cannot by law (under any pretence what-
ever) cost more than 1d. in the £, or the 240th part of a man's
rent; and in no other way can Books be had so plentifully and
cheaply.
BECAUSE a Public Library cannot cost an average working man more than
10d. a year, and if his rates are compounded for, not more than 5d.
a year; while his payment to a Subscription Library is 8s. a year.
BECAUSE a Public Library cannot cost a tradesman or professional man
more than 5s. to 10s. a year, while his payment to a Subscription
Library is £1. 1s. 6d. a year.
BECAUSE, therefore, to vote for a Public Library is to vote for economy.
BECAUSE those who do not want Books for themselves want them for their
children. All children will now be taught to read, but without
Books their school-learning will soon be forgotten.
BECAUSE working men now have more leisure than formerly, and should
have the means of employing such leisure to advantage.
BECAUSE working men are now voters, and should therefore be thinking
men; and (as Canon Barry told us on Tuesday) reading men
become thinking men.

All who are in favor of a Public Library are earnestly requested to attend the
PUBLIC MEETING
at the Music Hall, on Thursday Evening, when the question of
establishing one for Worcester will be decided; and it is important
that they should be in their places early.

Worcester, April 30th, 1872.

Handbill supporting a Public Library
CITIZENS
OF
WORCESTER.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

On Thursday Next you will be called upon to decide whether you will have a PUBLIC LIBRARY. A Library open to all, the poorest as well as the richest, where Newspapers may be read and Books borrowed by any rate-payer, at an average cost to the Working Man of 5d. a year, the price of a single quart of ale and less than a single day's rent.

Few of us can do without Books and fewer can afford to buy them. A subscription Library costs 2d. a week, or 8s.8d. a year. A Public Library will be ten times better and will only cost one-twentieth part of the money.

We are told that the City is in debt and that the rates are high. If so, we have the more reason to club together and get for 5d. a year what now costs us 8s.8d.

COMMON SENSE.

April 20th, 1872
leading, but also that civic expenditure had reached such intolerable levels as to render irresponsible any suggestions to increase the burden still further. (See illustration 17 on p. 200).

The public meeting called by the Council was to be held on 2nd May 1872. In the days immediately before this meeting the contestants resumed the battle. The 'opposition' attempted to play on contemporary hostility to rate increases by conjuring the figure of 6d (2½p) out of the air, as the true cost of implementing the proposals for a Public Library. In addition the poster accused the Council of duplicity. The people's judgment on the issue was irrelevant. The Council had already decided to include a range of cultural/vocational facilities in the new administrative building it was proposing to erect, to replace the cramped Guildhall. (73) Finally it claimed that an attempt was to be made to pack the public meeting with non-ratepayers who were not entitled to vote. As a deliberate distortion masquerading as sober concern this poster was admirable. As a political strategy, placing a premium on arguments of demonstrable relevance to the ratepayer/voter - to his needs, and his pocket (74) the poster was skilfully contrived. As a device for emphasising short term dividends, and playing down long term principles (75) it was entirely successful. (See illustration 18 on p. 201). It won the initiative from the supporters of the proposal, who were reduced to rushing out a denial on the day of the meeting, instead of being free to develop their own arguments, and put a positive proposition to the public. (See illustration 19 on p. 202).

72. (continued) b) if Worcester became a garrison city would be used to such facilities in other cities.
73. No evidence has been found in City Chamber Order Books, or other records, to support this assertion In the event the existing Guildhall was extended, and no cultural/vocational facilities were provided.
74. G. Jones Ph.D. op cit 1971 p. 199 claims that these were persuasive arguments in Public Libraries campaigns.
75. Ibid. Ditto.
FELLOW CITIZENS,

You will again, on the Second day of May next, be called upon to declare your opinion with regard to the establishment of an institution in this City which is called by a wrong name, viz., a Free Library. A more inapplicable term could not possibly have been selected, because everybody, supposing it to be established, will have to pay, whether they approve of it or otherwise.

It is not long ago since you were called together for a similar purpose, and, by an emphatic No to this proposition, you decided against its adoption. I trust a similar determination will be manifested by you on this occasion also; you will then show the gentlemen who were so greatly in a minority on a former occasion, and who seem so infatuated with their pet project that they are endeavouring, by reiterated importunity, to weary out that resistance which has already been decisively made, instead of bowing to the ruling of the majority of their fellow citizens, that you will not stand this rough riding. I therefore entreat you TO BE IN YOUR PLACES EARLY, at the MUSIC HALL, in the Corn Market, on THURSDAY EVENING next, and prove again, as you did before, that you will not be thus treated.

I again ask you with this, that you raise your shoulders, whether you will submit to this additional imposition or those who seek to impose it upon you are not more than Tyrants. They are more than, as they should be, sympathizing brothers.

ONE OF THE AGGRIEVED.
COMPULSORY TAXATION FOR A PUBLIC LIBRARY.

RATERS OF WORCESTER

You are told that what is called a "FREE" Library, can only cost One Penny in the Pound. The fact is, A PROPOSAL HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE to erect a Library, School of Art, &c., in connection with the Guildhall scheme, independent of, and over and above the Penny Rate, contemplated in the Libraries Acts, and which might cost the Ratepayers SIXPENCE IN THE POUND, or even more than that.

RATERS,

Until an honest attempt has been made to establish a Library by other means than compulsion (and it can be done, for other Towns have done it), it will be your interest to resist the attempt to impose a further tax; WE NEED PENNIES TAKING OFF, instead of PENNIES PUTTING ON to our heavy taxation.

RATERS,

It is intended to fill the Music Hall with Assistants and Non-Ratepayers to vote for a Tax towards which they will not contribute one penny. BE EARLY IN YOUR PLACES, IN LARGE NUMBERS, and frustrate this unfair attempt to swamp the voice of the Citizens.

RATERS, REMEMBER, THE MUSIC HALL, THURSDAY EVENING, HALF-PAST SEVEN O'CLOCK.

18 Poster attacking a Public Library 1872
PUBLIC LIBRARY.

A Handbill has been issued by the Opponents of a Public Library, stating that the Ratepayers may be charged for the cost of LIBRARY BUILDINGS, over and above the Library Rate of

**ONE PENNY IN THE £,**

and that the cost of Buildings may amount to

**SIXPENCE IN THE £,**

**SUCH STATEMENT IS WHOLLY UNTRUE!!**

All Expenses of Buildings, whether Rented, Bought, or Built, and whether alone, or forming part of other Buildings, MUST BY LAW BE PAID FOR OUT OF

**THE LIBRARY RATE OF ONE PENNY IN THE £,**

and the Library cannot, on ANY PRETENCE, cost the Ratepayers a single farthing more.

The opposition Handbill says it is proposed to provide Rooms for a Library in connection with a New Town Hall. It is not yet decided that a New Town Hall will be built, BUT THE INSTRUCTIONS TO ARCHITECTS FOR DESIGNS HAVE BEEN ISSUED, AND NO ROOMS ARE TO BE PROVIDED FOR A LIBRARY.

RATEPAYERS ATTEND THE MEETING AT THE MUSIC HALL THIS EVENING, AND LET

**TRUTH PREVAIL.**

Worcester, Thursday Morning.

19 Poster defending a Public Library 1872
The public meeting on 2nd May 1872 acted as a climax to the interchange of opinions, expressed most vividly in the poster campaign. Whether or not the Council was influenced by the allegations that the meeting was to be packed, to prevent the democratic wishes of the real majority being expressed, the 1872 meeting was organised strictly in accordance with the conditions specified in the Public Libraries Act 1855. The debacle of 1870 was still remembered, when the working classes had swamped the proceedings, and the outcome had been affected by people who were not entitled to be present. Admission to the meeting, and the right to vote, was strictly limited to burgesses. (See illustration 20 on p.204). To ensure that these conditions were observed police were on duty at the entrance to the Music Hall, once more the venue for the public meeting. The public interest in the occasion varied. At no point was the meeting hall more than three-quarters full, according to the press. However some hundreds milled about outside the Music Hall and the police were fully occupied in keeping them from gatecrashing the proceedings.

The meeting itself grew increasingly noisy. The lack of a clear consensus was evident from the outset. Not only were many interested parties kept out of the meeting. Within the hall the 'opposition' demanded to inspect the actual list of burgesses who had requisitioned the meeting, and the scheme's supporters retaliated by denying that Thomas Minchall, one of the plan's leading opponents was entitled to speak. This was a serious strategic miscalculation: Minchall was a respected figure in the city with a record of concern for its

77. G.Jones Ph.D. op cit 1971 p.338 indicates that the effectiveness of the working classes on this issue was in the influence they exerted over uncommitted voters.
78. Public Libraries Act 1855 s.4
80. Technically the supporters were correct. Minchall was not on the burgess roll.
FREE LIBRARY MEETING.

THURSDAY, MAY 2nd, 1872,

THE DOORS OF THE

MUSIC HALL

WILL BE OPENED AT SEVEN O'CLOCK IN THE EVENING.

NONE BUT CITIZENS (i.e., Ratepayers on the Citizens' Lists) are ENTITLED to ATTEND and VOTE at the above Meeting.

HENRY WILLIS,

MAYOR.

Guildhall, Worcester,
1st May, 1872.

PRINTED AT THE JOURNAL OFFICE, INKED PRINTERS WORKS, 30, NEW STREET, WORCESTER.

20 Poster advertising a meeting of citizens to discuss the Public Libraries issue 1872
welfare stretching back over the previous generation. This was followed by an even greater error by the supporters of the proposal. In an attempt to win support from artisans they had included a representative of the working classes, to second the motion. Unfortunately he devoted the bulk of his speech to what the press described as a 'Radical' diatribe against the upper classes. It was after this that the proceedings got beyond control. Each faction made a series of disorganised but effective attempts to submerge the others' speakers in a torrent of noise. Ultimately a number of speakers, including Frederick Marcus, School Board Clerk and private school principal, were unable to secure a hearing at all. When the Mayor finally succumbed to choruses of "We won't get home till morning", and called a vote, the proposal suffered its customary heavy defeat.

The extensive press coverage in news, editorial, and correspondence columns allows some firm conclusions about the 1872 campaign. The most obvious is that civic chauvinism proved too strong for civic pride. The issue was developed in narrow terms with restrictions placed on admission to the meeting, speaking to the meeting, voting, and in relation to the issue generally. For example attacks were made on named individuals, at the public meeting. It was claimed that since they were not ratepayers their comments amounted to interference in the city's affairs. In addition non-ratepayers were denied the right to participate in the campaign, since they were encouraging the expenditure of other people's money.

It was not possible for the public at large to express an opinion on the issue in 1872. The limited debate dramatised the elements of conflict in the issue.

81. Thomas Rofe, a working glover.
83. Ibid.
Both sides claimed to represent public opinion, and in so doing cancelled out each other's claims. The press questioned the value of direct working class representation at the meeting since they:

"...do not regard men of their own class as the fittest exponents of their requirements" (85)

Even more to the point was that negative arguments prevailed over positive. The financial element in the debate was the most critical, with each side trying to demonstrate that its costings were the more realistic. It appears that the poster campaign was crucial here, with the supporters of a Public Library being unable to refute the opposition's claims of extravagance, in the time available. In the event prudent expenditure was interpreted as nil expenditure.

One further, significant point is that the issue cut across political affinities. In general social groupings proved stronger than political, although individual attitudes appear to have been conditioned by personal opinion more than anything else. For example Edward Webb and Thomas Minchall, usually widely respected in civic affairs, were vilified (86) while Thomas Rofe and James Fisher Airey, formerly close political contacts (87) appeared in opposition on this issue. In fact Airey provides the only example of the political use of the Free Libraries issue. He had campaigned in favour of a Public Library in 1870 when he was attempting to break into public life, using the issue to project himself as the champion of the working classes. He campaigned equally hard in 1872, still as the champion of the working classes - but against the proposal. He appeared on a number of public platforms

85. Berrows Worcester Journal 4th May 1872. In this the Journal was expressing a personal view, not paralleled in other newspapers.
86. G. Jones Ph.D. op cit 1971 pp.357-62 bear out this observation in relation to Gloucester, where public figures were attacked on this issue for twenty years.
87. Rofe had been Airey's ward manager in his attempt to gain a seat on Council in 1870. Airey had nominated Rofe as a candidate for the School Board in 1871.
during this period; on all occasions conducting a personal campaign. \(^{88}\) It was he who claimed that those who paid no rates had no right to comment on the issue. Also he used his newly won position as a City Councillor \(^{89}\) to claim that the Council was profligate with public money. His speech was so close in spirit and in detail to the statements in the 'opposition' posters as to make it possible that he was their author. \(^{90}\)

His pose as the plain man's guardian on the Council, against an uninterested group who abused and exploited the public was a powerful influence in the emotional atmosphere of a public meeting. When allied to his skill as an orator and his political acumen, it proved decisive in the short term, demonstrating that the contingency of temporary circumstances could be important to the outcome of campaigns. \(^{91}\)

The general public were only able to contribute indirectly to the debate. The correspondence columns were their only 'platform'. A number of letters reflected the debate, \(^{92}\) though some important additional insights were contributed. One letter \(^{93}\) indicated that there was some positive working class support for the idea of a public library. Another \(^{94}\) suggested that if the energy expended in the collection of signatures on a memorial was to be directed to raising money for

\(^{88}\) Supra p.145 f.n.124.

\(^{89}\) Airey bears out the claim in G.Jones Ph.D. op cit 1971 p.255 that opponents in Public Libraries campaigns were unlikely to belong to a local power elite.

\(^{90}\) The posters demonstrated a familiarity with the informal opinions of the Council about the possible uses of a new administrative headquarters. It is doubtful whether anyone not on the Council could have possessed this information. Airey was the most vocal Councillor to oppose the scheme. Nonetheless, there is no tangible evidence that he wrote the copy.

\(^{91}\) G.Jones Ph.D. op cit 1971 pp.194-95.

\(^{92}\) Berrows Worcester Journal 11th May 1872. Airey's attempts to prevent non-ratepayers participating in the debate were attacked: some such figures had previously contributed significantly to the city's cultural amenities. Berrows Worcester Journal 18th May 1872 (Airey's defence).

\(^{93}\) Berrows Worcester Journal 27th April 1872.

\(^{94}\) Berrows Worcester Journal 18th May 1872.
the scheme, the public might be more readily inclined to accept it. Perhaps the most significant comments were contained in a letter which reflected on the attempts made to secure the adoption of Public Libraries legislation in 1870 and 1872. On the former occasion a middle class initiative had been destroyed by working class intervention. On the latter occasion a scheme which had working class support failed, owing to a lack of support from the middle classes at a crucial public meeting. The lesson was clear. Neither the middle classes nor the working classes, alone, could achieve a Free Library. Now that sections of both social groups shared this interest, they might ultimately collaborate, and obtain together what they could not obtain separately.

Seven years later, when the public did finally approve a proposal to adopt Public Libraries legislation, the advice given in this letter had been vindicated, in the sense that subsequent events bore it out. An offer of financial assistance to ensure that a public library imposed minimal additions to the rates rekindled interest in the issue. Also the 1879 campaign proved the value of collaboration. The committee that proposed the Council be directed to adopt Public Libraries legislation prepared the ground for its campaign much more thoroughly than had been the case on any previous occasion. It augmented its membership to include groups containing working men. It arranged factory gate meetings at such varied places of work as the Worcester Royal Porcelain Works, MacNaught's Carriage Works, Dent, Alcroft and Company's Glove Company and Richard Smith's Nursery Garden - all businesses controlled by men sympathetic to the idea of a Free Public Library. However, the augmenting of the committee and the holding of factory gate

95. Ibid.
96. C.M. Downes op cit 1881 pp.14-17. Two industrialists made this offer after another brief, and abortive campaign in 1878.
meetings did allow the city to counter the common problem of establishing what working class opinion was.\(^{(98)}\)

In addition circulars and addresses were distributed round the city putting the case for the proposal.

Therefore, by the time it presented its memorial to the Council, the committee had a guarantee of financial support, could claim to be representative of all interests and classes, had explained the benefits of the scheme directly to workers, and had submitted its case in printed form to most of the citizens to be studied at leisure. One additional factor lent some urgency to the situation: the Subscription Library had finally closed and the city was bereft of a library of any size.

The meeting to consider the committee's proposals was held on 23rd April 1879 (see illustration 21 on p.210). It was well attended and raised a good deal of public attention. Once again it was organised strictly in accordance with the Public Libraries Act 1855. Once again it was noisy and difficult to control. But unlike other meetings - it approved the proposals, and instructed the committee to wait upon the City Council, and serve its memorial. This document :-

"... appended to which were upwards of 1700 signatures was presented by Mr. R.W. Binns as the representative of the staple manufacturing industries of the city, and supported by Mr. G.E. Abell on behalf of the general, professional and commercial interests of the community and by Mr. T. Rofe as especially representing his fellow working men"\(^{(99)}\)

In concentrating on the success of the campaign to arouse the ratepayers to the value of Public Libraries legislation, there is a risk of overlooking the significance of this decision. It represented a decisive change in public attitudes, in relation to the provision of cultural amenities. The 1870s saw widespread public support for the City Council's attempts to extract adequate funds from the Charity Commission, in order to develop the

\(^{98}\) G.Jones Ph.D. op cit 1971 p.172 maintains that discovering working class opinion on this issue was a difficult task.

\(^{99}\) C.M.Downes op cit 1881 p.28.
PUBLIC LIBRARY.

1, WALTER HOLLAND, Mayor of the City of Worcester, in compliance with a request made to me by the Town Council of the said City (on the presentation to them of a Memorial signed by about 1,700 Citizens), do hereby convene

A PUBLIC MEETING
OF THE CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF WORCESTER, at the SKATING RINK, ARBORETUM, in the said City, on WEDNESDAY, the 23rd day of APRIL instant, at half-past Seven o'clock in the evening, in order to determine whether "The Public Libraries Act, 1855," and the Acts amending and extending the same shall be adopted for the City of Worcester.

The Doors will be opened at Seven o'clock, and none but Citizens of Worcester are entitled to attend and vote at the Meeting.

Dated the 8th day of April, 1879.

Walter Holland, Mayor.
Cathedral School as an educational institution befitting a cathedral city and its diocese. (100) The same decade saw a School Board, established in an atmosphere of high emotion and suspicion, quickly rise above sectional prejudices to be publicly accepted as operating in the interest of all citizens. (101) T.R. Hill and Edward Webb were among the leading figures in both these campaigns. Public confidence in their actions may be assumed from their regular return to public office by the electorate. But their public association with the Public Libraries issue was insufficient to persuade the public of its merit, before the end of the decade. (102)

Significant changes in attitude occurred in three areas. The concept of prudent expenditure being nil expenditure on cultural amenities was replaced by a willingness to commit rate aid to a project whose precise nature was still not entirely certain. In turn this suggests that in 1879 the public was prepared to accept an open-ended commitment, with long term benefits, instead of restricting itself to actions with immediate, predictable, consequences. But most important was the change of attitude in relation to what constituted the 'city' and who were the 'public'. Prior to 1879 direct participation in decision taking had been narrowly restricted to those social groups who paid rates and appeared on the burgess roll. Since their financial contributions would support it, the development of the city's cultural institutions was their prerogative. But fears of the likely reactions of other groups, denied access to this decision taking process, had been significant in inhibiting positive action. However, in 1879 the city was seen as a concern of all who lived in it, whether burgesses or not. A public library was seen as of benefit to all citizens, including the working classes. All social groups were

100. Supra. pp.95-109.
102. The death of Edward Webb in 1876 is not felt to invalidate this general point.
fully accepted into the informal groups seeking to win the general public's support for their views on the Public Libraries issue. Prior to 1879 the working class had been offered little more than token representation. If the 1879 campaign in Worcester fails to provide the detailed evidence to bear out Jones' general view:-

"(that) ... a climate was created in which substantial working class participation in the phase of promotion was expected by some and depicted by implication as in some sense a test of working class fitness for higher status in the community" (103)

it does show that the working classes were accepted as legitimate interests, to be involved. From this point onwards, in relation to this issue, it is possible to talk in terms of a general public, pursuing a civic objective.

Not only was the 1879 decision significant. So too were subsequent attitudes to it. 1872 had seen a campaign fail because of the skilful manipulation of feeling at a public meeting. It was possible that the careful preparation of the public for the meeting in 1879 could have been similarly influential in winning support. In other, similar, cities support had been extremely difficult to arouse, (104) and maintain. (105) Although the City Council quickly established two formal sub-committees, which liaised with the informal Citizens' Committee in conceiving the new complex, (106) almost twenty years were to elapse before the scheme came to maturity. It was the public reaction to the scheme during this period, that underlined that the decision taken in 1879 was genuine, and not just an impulsive response, made in the heat of an emotional

104. Ibid p.335: -
"Towns which had changed little and grown little - market towns, cathedral cities, county towns generally - offered poor soil for advocacy". Obviously Worcester stands as an exception to this.
105. R. Newton Ph.D. op cit 1966 pp.676-77. At the initial meeting to establish the Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter £1,500 was subscribed. But after this the level of support fell well below what was expected, or needed
meeting and soon regretted. Adoption of the Public Libraries Act did not see the end of all local opposition. Airey continued to oppose public expenditure for cultural/educational ends for a further fifteen years, basing his opposition on an outmoded concept of Self-Help. The decision can be seen as compatible with civic pride in view of the lack of support for Airey's stand, and the response of the general public to subsequent calls for financial support. This is not to say that everyone who voted in support of the proposal in 1879 was motivated solely by feelings of civic pride. Motives were mixed in Worcester, as in Bristol where Meller showed that municipal pride was partly the result of a competitive spirit between provincial cities in the provision of cultural amenities, and a conscious expression of civic taste. She claimed that the Bristol Art Gallery, opened in 1905, was consciously designed to surpass facilities in other cities:

"Festooned with classical impediments and topped by a group of symbolic statues, with the city coat of arms blazoning forth from a colonnaded facade (and a large plaque on the front commemorating that it was all a gift from Sir W.H. Wills to his fellow citizens) the new Art Gallery provided the perfect symbol of what municipal provisions for the cultural life of the city really meant at this time". (108)

This represents an equivocal sense of civic pride when compared to the campaign in Worcester that ultimately saw the opening of the Victoria Institute. A detailed examination of the period between the adoption of Public Libraries legislation, and the opening of a purpose-built institution in Worcester will show that though motives were still mixed, the division of opinion was related to the nature of the institution, not its relative grandeur. The educational and cultural needs of the city and county were central to the campaign, the architectural style of the building was not.

Seventeen years elapsed between the adoption of the Public Libraries acts and the official opening of the Victoria Institute in 1896. At national level they were years of unprecedented activity by the state in relation to education, at all levels. In 1880 the Mundella Education Act completed the system of elementary school provision, began by the 1870 Act. In legislating for compulsory attendance at school, it removed the penultimate obstacle to automatic schooling for the poor. Legislation in 1889 and 1890 allowed the establishment and financing of technical instruction. Though the period witnessed no comparable legislation in the secondary field, hundreds of endowed schools had their reorganisations ratified by Orders in Council. Public Commissions were another feature of the period, with Samuelson, Cross and Bryce heading investigations into Technical (1884), Elementary (1888) and Secondary Education (1895) respectively.

But this is not to suggest that central authorities assumed a position of dominance over educational provision. There remained a large measure of initiative at the discretion of localities, partly because so much legislation was permissive, and partly because the structure of education across the country was being reorganised piecemeal, without close state supervision.

1. Some of the material relating to the Victoria Institute has also been used in J.Fletcher M.Phil. op.cit. 1974 Chapter VIII.
2. The final obstacle related to school pence. It was removed to all intents and purposes in 1891.
3. The Technical Instruction Act 1889 and the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act 1890 are appropriate examples.
4. Two particularly ironic examples occurred in Bath and Worcester where the advice of H.M.I's that the respective School Boards establish Higher Grade Schools in the 1890s was ignored. R.B.Hope Ph.D. op cit. 1970 p.170. J.Fletcher M.Phil. op cit. 1974 p.388.
A distaste on the part of localities towards direction from the centre, and a responsiveness to pressure from local interest groups ensured that localities' developments were anything but stereotyped. This was the period which saw the growth in some cities of Higher Grade, and Organised Science Schools.\(^5\) It was also the period of the University Extension movement,\(^6\) to which cities applied when local interest appeared to justify such a move. Alternatively for a small number of large cities containing major philanthropists, it was the period which saw the development of what grew into the older civic universities.\(^7\)

Localities were able to draw what they wished from permissive legislation, commissioners reports, and local circumstances to develop institutions for which they saw a need, or from which they felt the city could take legitimate pride. The Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter\(^8\) has been cited already in this context. Another has recently been examined which was developed in Stroud during this period.\(^9\) Both are most accurately described as polyglot institutions, founded and developed by sectional interests, in their respective boroughs. The period from 1879 to 1896 witnessed a similar venture in Worcester. However in this case there were two major differences. All classes of local society were associated with the development, and it was eventually planned in conjunction with the county council.

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5. B. Simon op cit. 1965 pp.177-79.
9. K. Davitte "The Development of Further Education in Stroud 1860-1910" M. Ed. University of Bristol 1973 pp.58-9 quote a letter suggesting that local industries might benefit from developments in science and technical education, and that this might be offered as part of a complex containing Departments of Art, Science, Technical Teaching, as well as a (conty)
of Worcestershire to serve the needs of city and county, as the city became acknowledged as the educational capital of the southern half of the county.

The venture to provide a purpose-built cultural/educational establishment in Worcester had a variety of origins. Initially it was made possible by the decision at the public meeting in 1879, to accept the principle of a cultural amenity supported in part from the rates. That this was not merely a decision arrived at in response to a skilfully managed meeting, at the culmination of an intensive campaign, was seen by the use made of the Free Public Library once it was opened in 1881. Its sustained popularity with its numerous patrons indicated that it was regarded as of value by many citizens. This was underlined by the widespread support for attempts to provide a more appropriate setting for it.

These attempts began in 1881, and in themselves indicate a further reason for the need to take some action - the business acumen of the group who controlled the Natural History Society in Worcester. By the late 1870s, for all its extensive library and the wealth of exhibits in its museum, the Natural History Society was finding that its hold on public attention was weakening. Its site and facilities had made it seem the obvious place on which to centre a Free Public Library to a number of observers. As soon as the Council had set up a Library Committee to assume responsibility for the establishment of a library, a small group representing the Worcestershire

9. (continued) Museum and Public Library.
11. C.M.Downes op cit. 1881 p.6. This was integral to the scheme debated in 1870. p.41 claims it was the obvious site, and had often been referred to as such, by the press, since 1860.
Building Society, (12) offered the premises for sale to be used as a Public Library and Museum. (13) Eventually the premises and contents of the Natural History Society were acquired for the city at a cost of £2,820. The Free Public Library was to be housed in what had been the city's premier social and intellectual institution. Together with the stock of the old City Library, obtained at a nominal cost of £237.18s.1d (£237.90\%p) (14) and a number of other donations the Natural History Society's books and exhibits formed the stock of the Free Public Library, opened by the American Ambassador in 1881, in an atmosphere of civic self esteem. (see illustration 22 on p 218).

However almost immediately the Library encountered difficulties. Its premises proved inadequate, either to allow the full range of stock to be displayed or to cater for the numbers who patronised it. Even worse in a city reluctant to waste public money, the building was discovered to be in poor condition, and in urgent need of repair. With the painful experience of hindsight civic authorities were now able to appreciate how shrewd a strategy had been adopted by the Worcestershire Building Society in liquidating this 'asset'. Major expenditure appeared inevitable.

Fortunately the concern of local commercial and industrial interests with the provision and general development of vocational education allowed the need for additional expenditure on the Library to be linked to a more positive venture. In 1871 the Worcester Trade School had been described in glowing

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12. The Worcestershire Building Society had been formed by the founders of the Natural History Society to raise money to build the Society's premises in 1833.
13. This approach was agreed at a special meeting of the shareholders of the Building Society on 29th September 1879.
NOTICE.

OPENING
OF THE
PUBLIC LIBRARY
AND
HASTINGS MUSEUM,
ON
WEDNESDAY, 16TH MARCH, 1881.

THE MAYOR OF WORCESTER hopes his FELLOW CITIZENS will SHOW THEIR INTEREST in the PUBLIC LIBRARY AND HASTINGS MUSEUM by DECORATING THEIR HOUSES WITH FLAGS AND BANNERS on the occasion of the OPENING thereof by HIS EXCELLENCY, the AMERICAN MINISTER.

T. S. TOWNSHEND,
Mayor of Worcester, 10th March, 1881

22 Opening of the Public Library 1881
terms, unrivalled except at Bristol. By 1881 it had ceased to exist. So too had the School of Science. All that remained was the School of Art, whose establishment in 1851 had co-incided with the poor performance of the Worcester Royal Porcelain Company at the Great Exhibition, and whose existence had contributed to the recovery of that company's reputation by training a number of its illustrators and modellors. The Chamber of Commerce continued to support the institution, subscribing to a fund to allow it to purchase a freehold building, and associating itself with a call from the new Lord Hampton for a School of Science, to be incorporated in the institution. At the time that the City Council faced the prospect of renovating the Library, additional funds were being raised for the School of Art, and a separate committee was attempting to re-establish the School of Science. Since the City Council was now able to establish classes in Art and Science, having adopted

18. Including Benjamin Williams Leader, who became a popular Victorian landscape painter. His work showed the influence, if not the talent, of John Constable, a friend of the family.
19. One of whom was later to gain wider recognition as Sir Thomas Brock, sculptor and designer of the Victoria Memorial, at the foot of the Mall in London.
Public Libraries legislation, the idea of associating all these ventures, and obtaining consequent economies of scale was attractive.

This idea occurred to C.M. Downes. He had arrived in Worcester in 1872, and acted as city coroner. His contribution to the Public Libraries movement indicates that civic pride could motivate not only those born and bred in a city, but also its adoptive citizens. His role as catalyst was in itself an influential factor in the city's eventual acceptance of a cultural/educational complex. Locally known as the Institutions Amalgamation Movement, Downes' initiative began almost as soon as the Free Public Library opened, prior to the discovery of the building's deficiencies, and was conceived as a means of complementing facilities provided by the Library. The Council's Library Committee made contact with the managers of the School of Art with a view to establishing Science classes under government sanction. Three months elapsed before a reply was received. The School of Art Committee was considering the suggestion and would reopen the question at an opportune moment.

In the absence of such a moment, three years later Downes announced his intention of proposing the formal amalgamation of the Public Library and Museum, with the School of Art and the proposed School of Science.

23. Had the movement not begun until after the poor condition of the building became apparent, its validity as an example of civic pride would have been questionable.
24. E.J. Hunter M.A. op cit. 1973 pp.25-6 is incorrect in attributing Worcester's urge to amalgamate to the 1884 Public Libraries Act. Downes used the additional powers in the Act to achieve objectives he had already formulated and attempted to implement.
27. Worcester City Library Committee Minute Book Vol.II p.7. At a meeting held on 25th November 1884.
He suggested that an Art Gallery be included in the complex, which would come under corporate control. The city's Library and Museum committees established a sub-committee, the Institutions Amalgamation Sub-committee, to consider the proposal. The Town Clerk was instructed to obtain information from Cardiff and Swansea, where such institutions were said to have been established. In addition Downes identified a number of towns and cities who were already encouraging similar institutions by donating sites or offering rate support: his list included Derby, Dudley, Dundee, Exeter, Leek, Liverpool, Nottingham, Reading, Southport and Wolverhampton. The sub-committee's report, supplemented by the findings of the Town Clerk and Downes, made a persuasive case for an amalgamation of institutions, though not as yet by appealing primarily to civic pride, unless the knowledge that the city was falling behind the standards of other cities may be assumed to have been intended to nettle civic pride and encourage it to take action. Such knowledge had been instrumental in persuading the City Council to reverse an earlier decision, and voluntarily establish a School Board, in 1870. More potent advantages were the low cost of the scheme and its potential for local technical education. Not only did they impress the Library and Museum Committees. They also persuaded the interests associated with the School of Art and the proposed School of Science to change their views. In January 1885 the committees

29. Report by the Town Clerk upon the proposed Amalgamation of Worcester Public Library, Museum and School of Art, and the proposed School of Science and Art Gallery. 1885.
30. Supra p.137.
31. The School of Art Committee had ignored the Library Committee's proposal for three years. The supporters of the proposed School of Science had originally written to the Library Committee objecting to the principle of amalgamation.
of the Schools of Art and Science met and passed resolu-
tions in favour of the principle of amalgamation, on
the condition that their individual identities would
be preserved. Hunter has misunderstood the difficul-
ties of this period, placing too much reliance on a
statement in the first report of the Worcester Library
Committee that it had joined with the School of Art
Committee to promote a School of Science. (32) He has
also overstated the change of views in his conclusion
that following the 1884 Act the two committees resolved
to combine the Schools of Art and Science into one insti-
tution. (33) His misunderstanding of the tensions under-
lying these actions is exemplified in a chart incorrectly
identifying the two committees as united 'around 1881'. (34)

But once the idea had been accepted by a Council
committee, and grudgingly deferred to by supporters of
the Schools of Art and (proposed) Science, two further
groups had to be persuaded of its significance. Since
Public Libraries legislation was the appropriate autho-
rity the City Council had to be convinced. And since
the scheme, once implemented, would involve expenditure
from the rates the Council could not be relied on to
act without the clearest approval of the citizens, con-
veyed through a public meeting.

The Council was due to consider the recommendation
of its Library and Museums committees that an amalga-
mation take place under corporate control, in October
1885. One week before this meeting a conference took
place, organised by Downes. (35) A carefully selected
group were invited, representative of civic life, the
Church, industry and education. The invitation summar-
ised the advantages of supporting the scheme, which

33. Ibid p.57.
34. Ibid p.102.
35. See Appendix XIII for a description of the proceed-
ings.
combined the practical and the public spirited. Attention was drawn to the fact that the city relied largely on its industries for its prosperity, and that industrial success depended on the trained intelligence of its workforce. The recent criticisms of contemporary Art teaching made by the Royal Commission on Technical Education were also noted, as was its proposal to reorganise such teaching under municipal control. The willingness of the supporters of the Schools of Art and science to collaborate created a unique opportunity for developing a system of secondary and technical education in the city. Finally it was suggested that economies of scale would apply: the pooling of effort and funds would avoid duplication and allow better premises and superior facilities than would otherwise be possible.\(^{36}\) The meeting duly supported the prepared resolutions calling upon the Council to undertake an amalgamation, and a deputation waited on the Council to acquaint some of its number\(^ {37}\) with the feelings of the meeting. As expected official opinions accepted the resolutions, but once again the Council adopted a withdrawn stance, typical of all its activities in relation to adoptive Public Libraries legislation, and indicated that it would await the outcome of a public meeting on the Amalgamation issue, before taking any action.\(^ {38}\) The only surprise was that the Council set the public meeting for some months ahead.\(^ {39}\)

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36. This information has been extracted from a copy of the letter of invitation, in the archives at the Guildhall.
37. 'some of its number' because a number of councillors, including Downes himself, had attended the conference.
38. The Council adopted the resolutions on 6th October 1885. The public meeting was to bestow, or withhold, a vote of confidence on the Council's decision.
39. The calling of public meetings to comment on Council decisions was a common feature of local administrative life. No precedent has been found for the Council allowing as much as four months' notice of a public meeting.
During the four-month period between the Council's acceptance of the principle of amalgamation and the crucial public meeting in February 1886 supporters and opponents of amalgamation campaigned. The principals of both groups had previously been influential in the local Public Library campaign, so it is perhaps not surprising that the tactics closely resembled those followed earlier. It is possible to claim that the Amalgamation issue was characterised by feelings of civic pride from the outset in that it showed civic leaders acting in what they took to be the best interests of the city and its inhabitants. But such a position can only be defended by overlooking as much evidence as is accepted: the presence of Airey and Downes on opposite sides underlines the lack of consensus within the Council, which has previously been shown to have been prepared to respond to public opinion, not to shape it. Civic leaders, in the form of aldermen and councillors had no common policy either, on this issue. They were involved as individuals rather than as civic leaders. At best it would appear that the sectional interests who initially promoted the scheme did so for a variety of motives, including civic pride. If Downes' motives were notable for their disinterested desire to enhance the city's prestige, they were equally notable as the only such motives evident - and from an outsider at that!

On the other hand the campaign that extended from October 1885 to February 1886 does lend support to the view that civic pride was crucial to the resolution of 40. Predictably, in view of his opposition to a Free Public Library, and his preoccupation to limit rate support for the School Board, James Fisher Airey, led the opposition. C.M.Downes was one of the scheme's most vocal supporters, and a leading strategist.
the issue. Both camps established councils of war to develop their respective strategies. The supporters of the scheme could claim to be representative of all social strata, political opinions and religious beliefs. Once again factory gate meetings were held, and produced a number of well publicised resolutions supporting amalgamation. Once again ward committees were established and systematic canvasses undertaken. Once again a pamphlet war raged. The final pamphlet issued by the supporters of amalgamation rebutted the charge that the scheme would be financially disastrous. It also presented the scheme as contributing materially to the city's well-

41. There is some difficulty in assessing the strength and scope of the 'opposition' to the scheme. A wealth of documentary evidence in favour of the scheme has survived in the City archives. None opposing the plan has been found. Nor did the press pay much attention to Airey's campaign. Even the city's two Radical papers devoted more space to the group supporting the scheme. They themselves supported it.

42. H. Meller Ph.D. op cit. 1968 pp.268-9. The provision of a cultural complex in Bristol is attributed to the efforts of the newly assertive middle classes. (p.269):-
"The slate in Bristol was fresh, awaiting the imprint of the ebullient and successful middle classes".
Both the Public Library, and the Institutions Amalgamation issue in Worcester were much more broadly based.

43. The group in support of the scheme recorded their activities in a log book, which has been invaluable in establishing the range and scope of their activities.

44. Ibid. Groups of canvassers were deliberately constructed to match the social composition of particular areas. This tactic had been effective in School Board elections in 1871.

45. See Appendix XIV. Over 7,000 of these were distributed in the days before the public meeting.
being in a number of ways, and of enhancing its prestige.

By this time the city had acquired its sixth newspaper - the 'Worcester Daily Times', emanating from the same publisher that produced 'Berrows Worcester Journal' and equally reactionary. But with the rest of the press it contributed to the campaign in two important ways. The activities of the scheme's supporters were reported exhaustively, no matter how small. For example a detailed account of a lobby of a joint Library and Finance committee meeting by a deputation was published.\(^{46}\) Prominently featured were the latter's arguments, including the claim that contemporary educational developments (the reform of the Cathedral School and the establishment of the local High School for Girls were cited) were making the city into an educational centre, and that the amalgamation of cultural/vocational institutions would reinforce this welcome trend. In addition the press helped to raise the tone of the campaign above the immediate and pragmatic by editorials. Also correspondence columns were frequently resorted to by individuals who wanted to continue particular aspects of the debate,\(^{47}\) or by groups wishing to indicate the position they adopted on the issue. To judge from letters published in the press, working men supported the scheme sincerely,\(^{48}\) rather than just being dragooned into a ritual response at factory gate meetings, at which their employers were present among the platform parties.\(^{49}\) The heavy coverage of the campaign

47. A debate on the true cost of the scheme to the public was conducted in Worcester Daily Times on February 9th, 11th, 12th, 25th 1886.
49. There is no evidence that factory gate meetings were rigged. Letters to the press from working men, often anonymous, are felt by the writer to reinforce the conclusion arrived at of working class support.
in the press suggests a good deal of local interest.\(^{50}\)

At no point was this interest shown more clearly than at the public meeting held on 26th February 1886 to give the general public the opportunity to respond formally to the Council's suggestion to amalgamate. Handbills were posted giving details of the manner in which the meeting would be conducted, but such was the excitement of the occasion that control proved impossible. The orchestra, playing prior to the proceedings, was heard as were the two speakers proposing and opposing the motion to support the Council. But every other speech was largely drowned in partisan chant and descant. The result of a show of hands was disputed and a division was taken. The Council duly received its vote of confidence - by a two to one majority, but in an atmosphere of heat and enthusiasm. The Library Committee's initiative\(^{51}\) had come to fruition. That this was not a party issue was seen from the press reports and comments in two such diverse papers as the reactionary 'Daily Times' and the radical 'Echo'. Both supported the decision unreservedly.\(^{52}\) Local pride was seen most vividly in the support for a scheme which would not only have the practical benefits of enhancing still further the prestige of Worcester's best known industries,\(^{53}\) but would also reinforce the city's

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50. E.J. Hunter M.A. op cit. 1973 p. 106 listed prominent local figures, individually or in groups, deputations of workers, the press, and occasionally manufacturers, as capable of initiating such a campaign. All took part in the campaign in Worcester.

51. Ibid p. 118. Library committees are claimed to have seldom taken the lead in the establishment of facilities for Science and Art instruction. If so, then the situation in Worcester was exceptional.


53. R.W. Binns had spent thirty five years urging the relationship between vocational education and the quality of workmanship. One of the original supporters of the School of Art in 1851, and one of the most consistent supporters of the Public Library and Amalgamation campaigns (supra p 209), he had (cont'd)
emerging reputation as an educational centre: capable at one and the same time of attracting people to the city, and of providing an educational ladder which might allow all scholars to ascend to university, if they displayed the necessary ability.\(^{(54)}\) The climax was provided by the inspiration of Thomas Rowley Hill\(^{(55)}\) that the project could reinforce the city's traditional loyalty to the crown if it were to be named the 'Victoria Institute',\(^{(56)}\) and dedicated to the imminent Golden Jubilee.\(^{(57)}\)

In the event it proved more appropriate to the royal Diamond Jubilee since the Victoria Institute (see illustration 23 on p229) was not opened until October 1896. At first sight this might appear to negate the concept of the institution as a symbol of pride in the city by all classes. In fact it strengthens it. Newton's examination of a similar, though less ambitious initiative in Exeter showed that sectional interests were unable to sustain general interest in the project

53. (continued) taken over the Worcester Royal Porcelain Company in 1851 and transformed it to such an extent that it took first prize in its class at international exhibitions in Vienna in 1873, and Paris in 1878. On the latter occasion the exhibit was awarded a gold medal and Binns received the Cross of the Legion of Honour.

54. This contrasts with the prosaic motives identified by E.J.Hunter M.A. op cit. 1973 p.118.

55. Hill was among the city's leading manufacturers, a noted philanthropist, initial member and past Chairman of the Worcester School Board, Alderman, and senior M.P.

56. The suggestion was made in December 1886. Without exception the press took the view that cultural/vocational developments were legitimate components in a city's sense of pride. The 'Worcestershire Chronicle' commented on 24th December 1886 that:-- "We have never reported a local meeting with greater pride or pleasure".

57. G.Jones Ph.D. op cit. 1971 p.238 comments that the Golden Jubilee provided on occasion for philanthropy, and gave an impetus to Library development. In the case of the Victoria Institute the impetus had anticipated the Jubilee.
23 The Victoria Institute 1896
which had to be reduced in scale, and which took almost forty years to complete even so, owing to lack of moral and financial support. (58) The delays which postponed the realisation of the scheme in Worcester had nothing at all to do with a cooling of civic ardour or with educational legislation. They resulted from central checks on the locality's plans for financing and siting the new institution. For example a government inquiry was held into the Council's intention to finance the scheme by the transfer of funds from the obsolete Bridge and Enfranchisement funds, since the Treasury expressed doubts about the legality of this transfer. (59) Also, since the chosen site entailed the purchase and demolition of almshouses, the Charity Commission became involved. (60) Negotiations were as protracted as they had been in relation to the reform of the Cathedral School. Once they were completed another, parochial, problem appeared. The tenant of one of the properties refused to vacate it.

In addition, since there was no way of knowing the duration of such delays not only did the existing elements continue in their inadequate premises, but additional components were established also. In view of the interest shown in the prospect of an institution that might ultimately attain university status, it is not surprising that the public acceptance of the Institutions Amalgamation scheme co-incided with the establishment of a centre to offer classes under the aegis of the University Extension Movement in 1886. (61)

59. Worcester City Library Committee Minute Book Vol. II. pp. 289-91, 296 and 306-7, all dating from 1888, give an indication of Treasury concern.
60. J. Fletcher M. Phil. op cit. 1974 p. 369 f.n. 92.
Similarly the city's enthusiasm for technical education, which prompted special meetings to consider the 1887 Technical Instruction Bill, (62) and its successor a year later, (63) and the intention to associate technical instruction with the Victoria Institute, led to the immediate adoption of the permissive Technical Instruction Act 1889, following a recommendation to this effect by the Victoria Institute sub-committee. (64) This recommendation followed a conference of interested local organisations, convened to discuss whether to implement the act immediately, or to wait until the opening of the Victoria Institute. (65) Finally, the hope that the institution might establish Worcester as an educational centre appeared to be confirmed by an agreement between City and County Councils. (66) The latter agreed to donate £1,000 towards the cost of building the Victoria Institute and to contribute to its running costs, in return for seats on the Technical Instruction Committee, (67) and access to all courses eventually offered at the Victoria Institute for county scholars.

63. Ibid p.289.
64. Ibid p.424.
66. This course of action was possible as a result of the Technical Instruction Act 1891.
ii) The Record of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education. Vol.V. 1896. p.457:- 'In Worcester the Public Library and Museum Committee is the Technical Instruction Committee'.
Attendance at University Extension courses and Technical Instruction classes showed that support was genuine, widespread and sustained. By 1888 the Extension scheme was self-supporting: total attendance at all courses held steady at around 2,500.\(^{68}\) Also despite the inadequacy of their premises Technical Instruction courses quickly increased in number from five to fifteen. But probably the most convincing evidence of support for the Victoria Institute was financial. Worcester has been depicted, on a number of occasions, as a city with whom thrift assumed the proportions of an obsession. As unforeseen difficulty followed unexpected delay there was only one certainty in relation to the Victoria Institute - it was going to be much more expensive than the £15,000 estimated in 1886.\(^{69}\) While the bulk of the money did come from Corporation funds or from philanthropists, the general public contributed readily and steadily, so that the small deficit which remained when the Institute finally opened, was rapidly cleared. The full scope of the institution became clear from a notice circulated throughout the city, appealing for assistance to clear this deficit.\(^{70}\) It comprised a Public Library with a stock of 30,000 books, a Museum, an Art Gallery, a School of Art whose forerunner had trained a number of students who had since become Royal Academicians, a Technical School which in the preceding year had seen a total student attendance of 1,300, and a 'Secondary' school, designed to offer a technical and scientific education to pupils who had completed an elementary education, at a lower cost than demanded by the city's grammar schools.

The notice stated that:

"An inspection of the buildings will gratify all interested in promoting education as being well

\(^{68}\) City of Worcester Year Book 1888-9 pp.12-13.  
\(^{69}\) See Appendix XIV. Its eventual cost exceeded £42,000 (See Appendix XV ).  
\(^{70}\) See Appendix XV.
and carefully arranged, and erected in a thoroughly substantial manner, and in good taste, while free from costly ornamentation" (71).

Large numbers turned out to the formal opening, on 1st October 1896, and all the city's papers covered the event exhaustively, for the benefit of their readers. (72) The Institute comprised two buildings, one housing the Public Library, Art Gallery and Museum (see illustration 24 on p234), and fronting onto Foregate Street, (73) and the other containing the Art, Science and Technical schools (see illustration 25 on p235), whose main entrance was on Sansome Walk. (74) A large space had been left on the site between the two buildings, for the extensions that were confidently anticipated. The buildings and their facilities served as a tribute to the generous support of all classes as much as to the vision of the early supporters of the Free Public Library almost half a century earlier. 'Costly' ornamentation may have been avoided, but the red brick and terra cotta structures were richly embellished nonetheless. (75) Cherubs, coats of arms, a colophon, cornices, decorative pillars and panels, mottos, plaques and scrolls on both frontages have prompted the following description:-

"Red brick and terra cotta, resourceful and animated, totally asymmetrical in a mixed Tudor and Baroque style. At the right hand a turret, the left half with a large Elizabethan twelve light window below, the four middle lights under an arch. Above a long row of Henry VIII windows....."(76)

71. Ibid.
72. Worcestershire Advertiser 3rd October 1896 p.4. was typical of press coverage..
73. See frontispiece.
74. See Appendix XVI for a plan of the Institute.
75. F.T. Spackman op cit.1913 p.74:- "This is the most ornate building in the City"
25 The Victoria Institute 1896
(From Sansome Walk)
In addition leaded windows, decorative gates and other wrought-ironwork, cast capitals on the drain pipes, Roman statuary, and a hint of Art-Nouveau on door handles and finger panels combined to lend the building its own distinctive individuality. This impression was accentuated, on entering the foyer of the Library, by a pillared interior, tessellated floors, a marble and mosaic staircase, a pillared and galleried landing and ornate, moulded ceilings.

Externally the building made no concessions to the austere ionic Shirehall which stood next to it, (77) nor to the elegant Queen Anne and Georgian buildings which faced it. Its varied architectural styles served as a vivid, if inadvertant, symbol of the eclectic activities within the building. (78) It was among the earliest public libraries to allow open access to shelves, instead of indicating the availability of books on boards, (79) and its management was similarly progressive in other directions too. Its Art School contained a wide range of exhibits (see illustration 26 on p237), in order to stimulate those students who worked in any of the numerous porcelain works which were springing up. (80) A number of other courses were produced to support local industries. It

77. See illustration 2 on p.27.
78. The institution was not just a local attraction. A number of articles appeared in the 'Record' mentioning the school. In 1896 a special, illustrated, report was published.
79. T.Kelly op cit. 1973 pp.139-42, 156-8, and 178-79 indicate that open access was introduced in the 1890s, but was very slow indeed to be taken up widely. In a recent memorandum to the Worcester City Library Committee, E.P.Thompson identified Worcester with Clerkenwell as pioneers of the open access system.
80. H.Sandon op cit.1973 pp.19-23 identify a number of small firms springing up at this period.
School of Art
(Ancient Room)
continued to cater, on equal terms, for city and county students, and also provided special courses for a number of pupils in local grammar schools. Science was offered to boys from Worcester Royal Grammar School, until its own specialist facilities were completed, while a formal arrangement was reached with the Cathedral School. Boys who wished to specialise in science studied a range of options specifically mounted by the Victoria Institute staff. (81)

But though the Victoria Institute sub-committee was sensitive to the vocational demands of local industry, and to the academic shortcomings of local endowed schools, its most prolific relationships were with the elementary sector in general, and the Worcester School Board in particular. At least three areas can be identified where the existence of the Victoria Institute related directly to elementary provision, and significantly enhanced the opportunities of those with an elementary background. A wide range of evening work could be developed under the Evening Continuation Codes. (82) However, the Worcester School Board had restricted its provision to traditional and recreational elements. As soon as it opened the Victoria Institute took over responsibility for Evening Continuation work. Existing, low level courses were adapted to serve as precursors to advanced and technological courses, which were now developed under Technical Instruction legislation as well as under the Codes. For example 'Popular' courses were offered in such areas as Agriculture, Ambulance and Gardening. 'Science' options included Electricity and Magnetism, Mechanics, Organic Chemistry, Botany and Mathematics. 'Technical and Voc-

ational' courses covered a range of subjects, like Building Construction, Carriage Building, Machine Construction, Sanitary Engineering, Steam, Cookery (see illustration 27 on p240) and Shorthand. Meanwhile among 'Academic and General' subjects were to be found English, Geography, History, French, German, Spanish, Theory of Music, Orchestral Music, Dress-making and Hygiene. The attraction of the wider range of courses, at various levels was seen in recruitment: student numbers enrolled on evening courses rose from 1,338 in 1895-96 to 1,833 by 1900.

In addition the Institute's Day Secondary School, recognised by the Department of Science and Art as an Organised Science School, (see illustration 28 on p241) provided valuable support to children of the lower classes. It provided an education at a lower cost than could be obtained at either of the city's two endowed schools for boys. More than that, it offered an opportunity of advanced education to working class children in a city where the absence of a Higher Grade school was acknowledged to be a handicap to the ablest children in the senior standards. A generous system of scholarships was approved by the Council in 1898, to enable pupils to transfer to the four year science course once they had passed through the standards. They were automatically renewed at the end of each year if the student passed his examinations, to cover the entire four-year period. Not surprisingly, numbers of students

84. Music had been among the activities envisaged at Amalgamation meetings in the 1880s, by H. Elgar and his son, Edward.
85. These subjects were all named by the Record as present in Worcester. They are also contained in a list given by E.J.Hunter M.A. op cit. 1973 pp. 191-97.
86. This was conceded in a memorandum drawn up by the Chairman of the voluntary Worcester Church Schools Union in 1894 (Supra pp.152 and 154).
27 Technical School
(Cookery Kitchen)
at the day school rose after this innovation, from 44 to 84, 67 of whom were from public elementary schools.

The Institute also played a major part in improving the quality of pupil teachers. Here too the initial difficulty arose from the dominant position of the impoverished Anglican church over local elementary provision. Pupil teachers trained in Central classes were beginning to dominate the annual national examination pass lists. The Church felt unable to provide a central training facility, and initially the Board School was used as a centre to train pupil teachers from all local schools, regardless of denomination. However, once the Victoria Institute opened it became the obvious place to train pupil teachers. As a result of the establishment of a day centre, associated with the Institute, and the wider range of subjects for which it could provide specialist tuition, the performance of students in the annual national examinations improved rapidly. In the 1899 Queen's Scholarship examinations Worcester students came 31st, 47th and 57th out of a total entry of 2,904. In addition, a female student was placed at the head of the First Class in Divinity, and obtained a scholarship at Whitelands College. Such successes were unprecedented, but were subsequently maintained. As full-time students the pupil teachers were able to devote themselves to their studies, and to obtain the benefits of the most up to date equipment and a large library stock. As members of the Victoria Institute Students Association they were able to attend any of the courses held there, at preferential rates. A number took the opportunity

87. This took the form of a 'Normal' department, at the Institute, although nominally controlled by the School Board.
to follow courses in the one element of the complex that has not yet been mentioned. The University Extension courses had maintained their popularity and had transferred to the Institute. In 1899 thirteen students had followed a course of study associated with a lecture course, and had taken the final examinations. Twelve had passed, four with distinction: their work was praised for its quality. (89)

The early years of the Victoria Institute fully justified the faith of its supporters in the value of such an amenity for the city and its surrounding area. It was large, well-equipped, generously financed locally, (90) and imaginatively administered. Its progress demonstrated clearly the complexity of local educational administration by the end of the century. (91) But more important it also showed what could be achieved by exploiting this complexity. Within the institution were courses administered under a number of quite distinct pieces of legislation, and financed from a variety of different sources. The Evening Continuation work and Pupil Teacher Centre were regulated by Elementary Education legislation and Codes. The day schools of Art and Science were administered in accordance with Department of Science and Art regulations. The expansion of Technical Instruction which took place immediately the Victoria Institute opened owed its origins to Technical Instruction acts. Underlying everything was Public Libraries legislation. It was this that had provided the impetus for the civic campaigns which had resulted in the building of the Victoria Institute itself. Finance came from the Education

89. Ibid.
90. A colleague of the writer, Mr. R.C. Lilley, who is currently completing a doctoral thesis on the nature of the activities of Technical Instruction Committees in relation to secondary education, has confirmed the writer's view that in relation to its size, Worcester's support was unparalleled.
91. E.J. Hunter M.A. op cit. 1973 p. 148 sees the contribution of Public Library committees in organising (cont'd)
Department, the Department of Science and Art, from precepts on the city's rates, and from rate support raised in the city and county, as well as from those patronising the institution. The lack of administrative precision in the 1890s that was revealed during the Bryce Commission,\(^\text{(92)}\) and that led to attempts at structural and administrative change,\(^\text{(93)}\) also allowed an ambitious Public Library and Museum Committee to develop a polyglot institution that owed more to the needs and wishes of the local community than to a narrow view of administrative purity.

Its immediate achievements were considerable, and can be grouped as vocational, academic and cultural. It radically extended the range of courses of direct value to industry, agriculture and commerce in the city and county. A total of 61 courses, full and part-time were being offered in 1900-1901: 18 in the Art Department, 18 in the Science Department and 25 in the Technical, Literary and Commercial Departments.\(^\text{(94)}\) It gave the opportunity of a subsidised education to students from the city's elementary schools, between the ages of 14 and 18, during which time they could prepare for, and take the entrance examinations for Mason's College, Birmingham, the Victoria University and the National University of Ireland. In addition its support of University Extension courses, and development of full time courses for pupil teachers further augmented the range of academic work available in the city.

91. (continued) Evening Continuation classes as an indication of this complexity. The Victoria Institute reinforces this observation.

92. Royal Commission on Secondary Education 1895. Vol.I. pp.130-36. Evidence revealed no consensus as to the definition of Secondary Education: the age of the scholar, the subjects taught, the source of financial support were all suggested as indicators.

93. Including the Board of Education Act 1899, the Higher Elementary School Minute 1900, and the 1902 Act. The Cockerton Judgment could also be cited in this context.

But at the heart of the institution were its cultural facilities. Its Library contained not only a news-room supplied with over one hundred weeklies as well as all the leading London and provincial dailies, and a separate magazine room containing all the chief reviews, magazines and illustrated periodicals, but also a book stock of exceptional quality and variety.\(^{(95)}\) It housed a number of incunabula including a Nuremberg Bible of 1497, rare early editions such as a second edition of Holinshed's Chronicles and a first, enlarged edition of Malthus on Populations, and a large number of early illustrated books on such subjects as botany, geology and ornithology, including Lewin's "A Natural History of the Birds of New South Wales", Sowerby's "Exotic Mineralogy", and Buffon and Daubenton's 38 volume "Histoire Naturelle". In addition it possessed a wide variety of state papers, amongst which were the Calendar of State Papers, Journal of the House of Commons, Statutes of the Realm, and the Acts of the Scottish Parliament. If anything its collection of 18th and 19th century periodicals was even more impressive. Agricultural Journal (vols. 1-61), the Anti-Jacobin Magazine, the Annual Register (from 1758), Asiatic Researches, Edinburgh Review, Gentleman's Magazine (from 1731), Political Register, Reports of the British Association, The Builder and Transactions of the Social Science Association give some indication of the vast range held in the Library. Equally important was the large holding of serious and popular fiction. It would satisfy the casual reader and the committed researcher equally well. The Art Gallery and Museum were both well stocked,\(^{(96)}\) if not with exhibits of such quality. A number of local artists donated works. Particularly fitting were canvasses by David

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95. The details which follow are taken from the memorandum to the City Library Committee, submitted by E.P. Thompson.

96. H. Meller Ph.D. op cit. 1968 p. 277. By contrast when Bristol Art Gallery opened a decade later it contained only twelve pictures, and had no
Bates and Benjamin Williams Leader; both had received some of their earliest training at the former School of Art while employed at the Worcester Royal Porcelain Company. The bulk of the Museum's exhibits had been taken over in 1879 when the Natural History Society's premises had been acquired. These exhibits, though given to the Library Committee, had been valued at £20,000 at that time. The Victoria Institute stood as the premier cultural and educational facility in the county, attracting patrons and students from all parts of city and county. (97)

It was already realising its function as a ladder of opportunity for the humblest classes when a new appointment was made to the staff of the Victoria Institute. Following the resignation of the Head of the Day School for Science, to take up a headship in a grammar school, W. A. Brockington was offered the post, and invited also to become the first Principal of the Victoria Institute. He was just 27. Born in Birmingham he had obtained a First in English at Mason's College, joined the staff there, and subsequently gained a Master's Degree and published a number of books. He had previously lectured in Worcester on University Extension courses. (99) He capitalised on the potential which the complex possessed - an ambitious Library and Museum Committee, a City Council prepared to provide generous financial support, an enthusiastic County Council and good premises - to increase still further the popularity of the institution. In the five years he remained at Worcester, the grants received by the institution from the Board of Education doubled. (100) Numbers continued (continued) funds to purchase more.

96. (continued) funds to purchase more.
97. To give one example pupil teachers came from neighbouring villages like Crowle and Ombersley, such towns as Droitwich and Malvern, and even from the outskirts of Birmingham (see illustration 1 on p. 24).
98. Worcester City Library Committee Minute Book Vol. IV. p. 86. Brockington was appointed on 13th July 1898.
100. Ibid p. 196. This information was contained (cont'd)
to increase to more than 2,000 by 1892. The rise of numbers in the School of Science was even more impressive. From 44 in 1898, and 84 in 1900, it had reached 166 by 1902. In fact the Institute's success was its only significant problem. Such was the demand to attend classes that on two evenings a week Mathematics was taught in the Cookery Kitchen, and Shorthand in the large Lecture Theatre. The expansion of Woodwork and the provision of Woodwork Drawing were threatened by the overspill of Commercial courses into the Basement, while a Chemical Preparation Room had been converted into a temporary class room.\(^{(101)}\)

The Normal department had been forced to move to an annexe, the former School of Art\(^{(102)}\) in Pierpoint Street, whose inadequacy in 1881 had been one factor in the origination of the Amalgamation movement. Board of Education inspectors were beginning to draw attention to the inadequacy of the accommodation.

In the face of this sustained demand for its services from city and county, the Library and Museum Committee established an Enlargement sub-committee in 1902, to consider extending the Victoria Institute. This eventuality was not unexpected: space had been left on the site for this purpose should the venture prove successful.\(^{(103)}\) Its success was not just as a civic amenity, campaigned and paid for and used by all social groups. It was also the focal point for earlier civic

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100. (continued) in the testimonial of the Governors of the Victoria Institute, supporting Brockington's application in 1903 for the post of Director of Education of Leicestershire.

101. Library and Museum Committee. Report of the Enlargement sub-committee 1902 pp.4-5. This survey was conducted by Brockington.

102. See illustration 7 on p.61.

103. Supra p.233.
activities in education in the support it gave to the Cathedral School and the Worcester School Board. From such an encouraging culmination to a lengthy and contentious campaign there now seemed no reason for the original ambition to remain unfulfilled. After so rapid and substantial a foundation the Victoria Institute could in time be to Worcester what Mason's College was to Birmingham and the Yorkshire College to Leeds.\(^{104}\)

\(^{104}\) This ambition had been expressed in a pamphlet published in 1886 by the supporters of the Amalgamation movement. See Appendix XIV.
CHAPTER TEN: REFLECTIONS ON CIVIC PRIDE

But the original ambitions were not fulfilled. Although further additions were made to the Victoria Institute during the present century, it is now clear that it reached its peak of achievement and local relevance at the turn of the century, and declined thereafter.

The major addition to the complex was a municipal Secondary School for Girls, opened in 1908.\(^1\) It was extensively patronised and in 1910 transferred to its own building, erected in the space on the site between the Library and the vocational schools.\(^2\) Its architecture was entirely in keeping with that of the Victoria Institute and this, in addition to its geographical proximity to the existing facilities, suggests to a modern observer that the ambitious spirit to develop the scope of the institution was still active. But such a suggestion cannot survive an examination of the situation. The Secondary School for Girls originated in a decision to close down the day School of Science, within the Victoria Institute. The 60-70 girls in that school formed the senior classes of the new Girls School, while the boys were transferred to the Worcester Royal Grammar School.\(^3\) Within a decade the purpose-built Girls School was overcrowded. An annexe was used as a temporary measure until an enlarged school was built, in a different part of the city.\(^4\) In turn that proved too small, and after the Second World War yet another replacement was built, this time on the city's southern outskirts. A geographical isolation underlined the

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2. Ibid p.21.
3. Ibid p.20.
isolation of components within the Victoria Institute. After the move of the Girls' School from the site, and the closure of the Pupil Teacher Centre following the expansion of secondary provision, the Victoria Institute concentrated on evening work: the Technical School remaining as the only full time establishment associated with the complex.

Obviously the School Board ceased to exist in its original form as a result of the 1902 Act. However some continuity was maintained by the retention of Spackman as Secretary of the Worcester Elementary Education Committee. In the same way a number of the old buildings and old problems remained. The quantity and quality of provision have continued to cause concern. This was perhaps to be expected in a city, the bulk of whose elementary schools were provided by an increasingly impoverished Anglican church, although to be fair it should be noted that the city's last all-age school, not reorganised until the 1960s, was not a voluntary school.

Nor did the Cathedral School appear to maintain its impetus into the present century. After the Council's prolonged efforts to ensure that the school received its share of the revenues deriving from ecclesiastical estates, and after its reorganisation as the city's only Grade One school, its failure to compete with the Royal Grammar School in terms of local esteem, is initially a surprise. The recent successes of both schools derive in part from their redefinition since 1944 - the Cathedral School as a Direct Grant school, and the Royal Grammar School as a Voluntary Aided establishment. Council control over both was, therefore, limited.

5. Circular 494, issued by the Board of Education in 1903 contained an enclosure which advocated that pupil teachers be educated, and where possible trained, in secondary schools.
7. M.Craze op cit 1971 pp.237-39. In his biography of the Cathedral School, Craze concedes that the Royal Grammar School was much more popular with parents for many (cont'd)
It might be felt that the arguments, advanced in support of the contention that civic pride was an important motive in the provision of education, are weakened by the Council's apparent indifference to the changes in fortunes of institutions developed after long public campaigns. Such a criticism lacks credibility however. It implies that ideals of civic pride may be compromised because the original motivation of one generation is not maintained by another. In so doing it judges one period, not in its own terms, but from the standpoint of a later age, with the benefit of hindsight. Briggs has pointed out that civic pride need not be a constant characteristic, embracing all aspects of civic life. It could express itself intermittently, as it did in Leeds, for example. (8) Also to judge a city's motives in an initial campaign in the 19th Century by its 20th Century outcomes is to discount the context of 19th Century administrative, civic and social activity.

Therefore it is not the writer's intention to examine the motives underlying educational developments in Worcester during the present century in order to establish whether or not civic pride continued to be an influential factor. Instead it is proposed to reflect on three important changes which had taken place by the end of the 19th Century; changes which altered the context of civic life, and which bear out Dicey's interpretation of the 19th Century as a period which saw the gradual appearance of 'collectivism', (9) in place of

7. (continued) years, after Taunton reorganisation had been completed locally in the 1890s. He attributes this to the modernity and relevance of its curriculum.

8. A. Briggs op cit 1968 ed. pp.184-86. Also supra p.64.

9. W.C.Lubenow op cit 1971 p.9 points out that while Dicey's interpretation is now discounted on many points of detail, his terminology is still widely retained.
The diminution in opportunities for individuals to exercise decisive political judgment was one change. For much of the century men who led local affairs had grown up against a background in which central government exercised little or no control over local life. A reliance on local initiative characterised parliamentary legislation during this period. In the first half of the century the majority of legislation originated from the particular circumstances of localities, and took the form of local or private bills. When general legislation became more prolific it too respected individual autonomy. The bulk of it was permissive. Localities were expected to know what they needed and were prepared to pay for. Such circumstances allowed ample scope for individual initiative. However, towards the end of the century the discretionary nature of legislation was replaced by a more prescriptive approach, especially in relation to education and public health. In Worcester, as elsewhere, areas of public life that had been popular outlets for those aspiring to make their mark, now offered less opportunity for innovation. Instead individuality could be sublimated in philanthropic activities to reinforce or capitalise on civic initiatives.

To a modern observer the Victoria Institute was an obvious opportunity for such a gesture, the more so because of the examples in other cities:

"Apart from London and Durham, the new universities owed their existence to civic initiative and the generosity of rich manufacturers".

10. In adopting Dicey's terminology the writer is not accepting his entire thesis, but only applying two terms that conveniently describe the changes in the relationships between individuals and government that had taken place by the close of the 19th Century.
13. Ibid p. 5.
Its range of subjects, and the number of its students gave it the same potential for growth as that of contemporary institutions in major industrial conurbations. The popularity of its University Extension classes added to its promise: such lectures were a 'seminal force' in the establishment of colleges elsewhere. (15) But while the creation of the Victoria Institute testified to Worcester's civic initiative, its dispersal represented not so much a lack of civic zeal as a lack of rich manufacturers. Had the institutional potential been supported by the benefactions of a Ferens, a Firth, a Hartley, a Mason or an Owen, then a Worcester University might have developed alongside those at Hull, Sheffield, Southampton, Birmingham and Manchester. But industry in Worcester was not on such a scale as to allow the accumulation of wealth associated with mass production: it was insignificant, when compared to the mass industry which had developed in industrial conurbations. The one charismatic figure locally, who might have shaped a different future for the Victoria Institute was its Principal, William Brockington. (16) In his brief tenure at Worcester he developed it substantially. In view of his success as Director of Education at Leicestershire (17) one can only speculate as to what might have been his contribution had he remained in Worcester. But he left the city in 1903. By the start of the 20th Century the city no longer possessed individuals with the inspiration or the means to promote those educational initiatives redolent of civic pride. (18) The financial scales had tilted in favour of the industrial cities.

15. Ibid p 115.
16. To compound the irony, it will be remembered that Brockington had studied, and lectured at Mason's College in Birmingham.
18. William Morris (Viscount Nuffield) and Sir George Dowty, both major industrialists, left their native town of Worcester prior to establishing their commercial headquarters in Oxford and Cheltenham respectively.
So too had influence. By the end of the century Worcester had receded from its historic position of national importance, and lost much of its regional significance also, settling down instead as a medium sized market town. It had experienced the same relative seclusion as had a number of other ancient cathedral cities, although it had postponed the inevitability of its decline. The City of Birmingham was now dominant, and the County of Worcestershire developed its influence after the Local Government Act 1888. The careers of the political leaders of Birmingham and Worcester symbolize the relative status of the two cities. Joseph Chamberlain, whose early activities in association with local urban and educational campaigns had aroused hostility in the Worcester press whenever he ventured into the county to speak, had progressed from being Mayor of Birmingham to a seat in the Cabinet. His feats seemed to include the establishment of a dynasty, since two of his sons were following him in local politics (and were eventually to move into national affairs, ultimately as Cabinet Ministers). By contrast George Hastings, who had enjoyed some national celebrity when Chamberlain was fully occupied in manufacturing screws, ended the century in obscurity, and has vanished from biographical and historical record, to all intents and purposes. In 1892 he was sentenced

20. In January 1886, for example, the local press devoted a good deal of space to a dispute between Chamberlain and the Mayor of Evesham, after the former had addressed the town's Liberal Association.
21. B. Rodgers loc cit. 1952 p 308. Hastings is omitted from the standard histories of the period by Woodward and Enson, and also from the 'Dictionary of National Biography', and Boase's 'Modern English Biography'.
to five years penal servitude for the misappropriation of funds of which he was trustee.\(^{(22)}\) Despite his age and the public service that he had rendered, he was\(^{(23)}\) denied even the minor consolation of resigning his seat in Parliament. The House of Commons expelled him.\(^{(24)}\)

His decline from public prominence to obscurity matched that of Worcester. The diocese saw a waning of its influence as a result of the reorganisation which saw its Archdeaconries of Birmingham and Coventry elevated to become separate sees.\(^{(25)}\) Charles Gore, enthroned as Bishop of Worcester in 1902 played a leading part in this reorganisation, responding to a letter which had appeared in the 'Times' in April 1902 calling for Birmingham to be constituted an independent bishopric, and offering £10,000 towards the proposed see. Gore promised a further £10,000, from his own resources, and resigned £800 of his endowment as well.\(^{(26)}\) His biographer has pointed out that one of the attractions of the Worcester diocese for Gore was that it contained Birmingham, a city which appealed to him, since:-

"He loved the life and activity of a great city"\(^{(27)}\)

By contrast he appears to have found Worcester less fulfilling.\(^{(28)}\) At his enthronement he told his congregation that they must lay aside pettiness, suspicion, and party narrowness, and labour for common ends. He repeated this message later at a meeting with the Mayor and Corporation of Worcester, in a demand that all classes and denominations co-operate in working for the advancement of God.\(^{(29)}\)

In addition the city was becoming politically redundant. The constituency was one of thirty six boroughs to

\(^{22}\) Ibid p 308.
\(^{23}\) He was 66 when arrested in 1891.
\(^{26}\) G.L.Prestige op cit 1935 p 251.
\(^{27}\) Ibid p 249.
\(^{28}\) This is not meant to suggest that he and the city were on poor terms. Though his episcopate lasted only a few months, his suffragan, Bishop Knox later commented that he soon found his way to the hearts of the city, particularly of the working men (A.Mansbridge 'Edward Stuart Talbot and Charles Gore'. Dent 1935 p 54).
\(^{29}\) G.L.Prestige op cit 1935 p 238. It should be noted that

...cont'd...
lose one of its seats under the terms of the Redistribution Act 1885, which continued the trend of redepolying parliamentary seats in favour of ever expanding industrial boroughs. (30) The borough was excluded from the select band of county boroughs, envisaged in the Local Government Bill, introduced in Parliament in 1888. By inference it would have become subordinate to the Worcestershire County Council, paying the county rate. In the event the city was spared this ignominy by assiduous lobbying which saw the bill amended to allow four boroughs of less than 50,000 population, (31) to be accorded county borough status. (32) By the end of the century the city's dominance over regional affairs was largely a result of geographical factors. As the only city in the southern half of the county (33) it was important to the rural areas and small towns surrounding it for its markets and educational facilities - secondary schools, Pupil Teacher Centre and Victoria Institute alike. In fact its focal position as an educational centre had been an important element in the development of a number of its educational institutions which saw it reinforcing its traditional role as a regional centre of independence and influence.

29. (continued)... an important motive underlying Gore's support for reorganisation was his conviction that the Worcester diocese was too large to be worked by one man, so as to know it. There is no evidence from records in the Worcester Cathedral Library that he found the city inadequate in any sense.

30. C. Seymour 'Electoral Reform in England and Wales' David & Charles (Newton Abbott) 1970 rep. p 508. Birmingham was one of the cities to benefit from this measure.

31. The four were Worcester, Burton on Trent, Chester and Canterbury.


33. Supra p 24.
But a change in the nature of legislation, and in the intention of government, in relation to education represented the most profound threat to the independence of boroughs. The educational confusion evident at the end of the century was one consequence of the latitude previously allowed localities. It was also the result of an inadequate administrative network, locally and nationally.\(^{(34)}\) The strengthening of this network by the Local Government Act 1888, and the Board of Education Act 1899, prepared the way for an administrative unification. One of the most persuasive and influential contributions to this debate was a Fabian pamphlet 'The Educational Muddle and the Way Out', reputedly written by Sidney Webb.\(^{(35)}\) It suggested a simplification of local educational administration. In London and forty seven boroughs where school boards were well established, their survival or replacement was to be a matter for local decision.\(^{(36)}\) But in other boroughs, including Blackburn, Bury, Chester, Lincoln, Oxford, Preston, St. Helens, Stockport, Wigan and Worcester, where school boards were either non-existent,\(^{(37)}\) provided no schools,\(^{(38)}\) or made only a minor contribution in terms of places\(^{(39)}\) it was suggested that town councils assume responsibility for all grades of education. This administrative restructuring, largely embodied in the 1902 Education Act, continued a trend seen in the Higher Elementary School Minute of 1900, and reinforced by the Cockerton Judgment, of restricting local individuality. In Worcester this meant

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36. Ibid.
37. As in Lincoln.
38. As at Wigan.
39. This claim was made in relation to Worcester.
that the powers and responsibilities formerly exercised by the School Board, the City Council's Library and Museum Committee in its capacity as joint Technical Instruction Committee, and the City Council's Cathedral School sub-committee, were now formally transferred to the City Council. For the first time an adequate base existed for the development of a co-ordinated national system of education. As a result mandatory legislation became more common. The locality found its relationship with central government changed. Instead of applying those elements of permissive legislation which it felt might benefit the community, the local education authority has increasingly found its discretion limited to the way in which it implements national policy. (40)

In themselves these three changes point to a more fundamental development, and relate to the observations which introduced this work. As a result of their investigations, Almond & Verba saw the development of civic culture as the product of a series of encounters between traditionalism and modernisation. (41) The three examples considered in this work show the Anglican Church occupying the traditionalist role, in that it represented the established order, and the City Council and other lay administrative bodies standing for modernisation, inasmuch as they can be seen as forerunners of the contemporary pattern of publicly elected lay representative bodies. The examples show the traditional influence of the Church being superseded, locally and nationally, by lay bodies. Even in the case of the Cathedral School the authority of the Chapter was eventually seen to be subordinate to that of the City Council, in that it ultimately gave its support to the Council in its attempts to secure a satisfactory financial settlement for the School. (42)

40. One current example concerns comprehensive reorganisation. It has taken the 1976 Education Act and a threat of legal proceedings by the Secretary of State for Education to force Worcester to submit a scheme for local reorganisation.
42. Supra p 99.
Whereas the Chapter was unable to wring adequate funds from the Ecclesiastical Commission, the Council succeeded. (43) The School Board appears to show the Anglican position in a more effective light, albeit a negative one. It was able to avoid competition from the Board in terms of the provision of places, at a time when the pupil population increased rapidly, by an effective campaign to control the Board. Until the last decade of the Board's existence, when members were returned whose sympathies and experience were closer to the recipients of elementary education than its providers, (44) there is no evidence that the locality objected to the Board's policy of non-intervention. By the time a vocal working class presence was confirmed on the Board, additional accommodation had been provided. But the Board Schools catered for only a small proportion of the city's children. Its affairs did not excite public attention as did the Public Library issue, which showed clearly how the balance of influence had tilted against ecclesiastical interests. In part this resulted from the role envisaged for councils in legislation. It was also partly financial, in that the cost of providing such an amenity was well beyond the Chapter. Its real significance, however, was that from the outset a public interest was recognised while the support of the Church was welcomed as contributing to a consensus, (45) it was no longer crucial to the outcome of the campaign.

The contrast between traditionalism and modernisation was paralleled by differences in attitudes, with a traditional pattern of passivity and deference being replaced by an active participation. (46) Once again traditional attitudes are most apparent in relation to the earliest example studied, though parochial behaviour was partly the result of the absence of any machinery to allow parti-

43. Supra p 108.
44. Supra pp 151-52. George Lewis is the best example of such a member.
45. Supra p 195. In addition Appendix XIII shows the response of a public meeting in 1885, to a speech by Canon Mandell Creighton in support of an amalgamation of institutions.
cipation. It was significant that parents only approached the City Council in 1867 after their contact with the Chapter had proved fruitless.\(^{47}\) The City Council, as representatives of the public were in the best position to participate and did so. The experience of the School Board suggests that the opportunity to participate did not necessarily ensure participation. The lack of effective pressure to force contests and the low poll when contests were held suggests that parochial and subject orientations remained strong, even in the last decade of the Board, when working class membership was conceded.\(^{48}\) The best example of civic culture as a mixed political culture stressing participation\(^{49}\) was provided by the Public Library campaigns. Excited public meetings,\(^{50}\) ward canvasses,\(^{51}\) factory gate meetings\(^{52}\) and the 1879 deputation\(^{53}\) are all indicative of the importance of participation to achieve the consensus necessary for the adoption of Public Libraries legislation. In addition they show that civic pride in Worcester was not determined by the middle classes, as Meller has suggested in relation to Bristol.\(^{54}\) Working class opinion had to be recognised, even if those who voiced it were

47. Supra p 82 f.n. 85.
48. But this conclusion has to be treated with care since the 1892 campaign witnessed the claim by R. Spofforth, an independent candidate, that party organisation was seeking to strengthen its hold on elections to boards by actively discouraging independents from standing. (Supra p 150, f.n. 140).
50. Supra pp 194-95.
51. Supra p 225.
52. Supra p 208.
53. Supra p 209.
54. H.E. Meller op cit 1976 p 42.
The experiences of Bristol and Worcester show that without a consensus fine intentions remained unfulfilled. A correspondent in the 'Western Daily Press' welcomed Bristol's adoption of the Public Libraries Acts, in 1874, in the following terms:

"...the unbounded thanks of the citizens and those who will derive most advantage from the institution (of public libraries) are due to Mr. Weston and all those gentlemen who, by speech and purse and otherwise, contributed to remove obloquy and stain from the escutcheon of the fair city, which previous to its establishment was her reproach, through being without that indispensable requisite for a great city, a free lending library."

Unfortunately a quarter of a century elapsed before philanthropic activities matched these sentiments by action, in the form of a Central Library. On the other hand press reports of the deputation which urged the City Council to adopt Public Libraries legislation in Worcester, in 1879, drew attention to its representative nature, with individuals identified as symbolising professional, manufacturing and artisan interests. The issue had been the same in both cities - the provision of an appropriate amenity. The process leading to adoption of the legislation, and the consequence of that decision had been different. It is worth noting that in Worcester the active participation of a variety of interests in the development of a civic amenity existed alongside the extension of the franchise which, protected by a secret ballot, is regarded as having weakened the hold of an urban elite. Fraser has suggested that the enfranchisement of large numbers of the working classes led to the development of a proletarian consciousness which put social solidarity above civic interests.

55. Supra pp 203-5. In 1872 Thomas Minchall had been denied a hearing on the grounds that his absence from the burgess roll denied him the right to be present at the meeting. In later years working class opinion was actually sought out.
56. H.E. Meller Ph.D. op cit 1968 p 247. (Quoted)
57. Ibid p 261.
58. Supra p 209. The actual quotation reproduced on p 209 is from a contemporary book. The local press reports made the same points.
59. D. Fraser op cit 1976 pp 282-84. This suggestion post- (cont'd)
One consequence of this was a change in the scale of political activity. The last years of the 19th Century saw politics increasingly developed on a national scale. The independent existence enjoyed by municipal politics for much of the century was lost. The Public Library issue in Worcester shows that this development was not clear cut, but characterised by overlap. It also underlines the claim of Almond and Verba that individuals could combine the roles of subject and participant, since it is not suggested here that the level of participation evident in relation to policy formulation on the Public Library issue was matched by similar activity in national politics.

All three examples considered were marked by an absence of mandatory legislation. In itself this emphasised the need for consensus, and drew attention to the means of influencing opinion. The part played by the press in all three campaigns was most important. It went far beyond the passive reporting of events, and acted as an important catalyst, particularly in relation to the Cathedral School, as well as making a significant contribution to the debates, in editorials and through correspondence columns. If it cannot be regarded as neutral, at least its partisanship was not always in support of a particular political or social interest. Papers of different political persuasions did on occasion unite in recognising the realisation of civic aspirations. Interest group activity was also a characteristic of all three cases, with the City Council acting in this capacity in relation to the Cathedral School, the Church Party and Trades Council fulfilling this role in relation to the School Board, and a network of groups,

59. (continued) dates E.P.Thompson's making of the English working class by half a century.
60. Ibid p 283.
62. Press reports in Appendix XI show papers of different political views supporting the School Board's welfare policies. In the same way all local papers commended the Victoria Institute, in concept and reality.
from subscription library committees, and the Literary Institution to informal pro- and anti-adoption groups, enlivening the Public Library campaigns. The role of bureaucracy is less easy to define, largely since it did not exist at the beginning of any of the campaigns. When the Cathedral School sub-committee, the School Board and the Museum and Library Committee were set up they did remain neutral in the sense of remaining under the control of political representatives. However, the School Board's 'neutrality' does not appear to have been constant. After the departure of Hastings and the development of partisanship within the Board itself, there is some evidence that such civic dimension as was present in its policies was inserted by Spackman, its Clerk. In this sense he comes nearer to exemplifying Sutherland's concept of self-generating bureaucratic growth than anyone else in 19th Century Worcester. (63) In itself the exceptional nature of Spackman's initiative reinforces the neutral role of bureaucracy in these campaigns.

In conclusion it cannot be emphasised too strongly that educational activities in Worcester during the 19th Century were not in defiance of the law. They took place in the absence of law, or exploited the opportunities arising from ill-thought out and overlapping provisions. In particular, educational innovation in the city demonstrated that permissive legislation could be interpreted imaginatively and to the benefit of a locality. The Victoria Institute offers the best but not the only example of what could be achieved from a generous and creative interpretation of different enactments, with the well-being of the city and its inhabitants in mind. In the absence of a clearly defined national education framework, Worcester City Council, supported by local residents and the press devised and implemented its own schemes, acting in its historic capacity as arbiter of the civic interest. The

Education Act 1902, formally vesting in city councils the responsibility for local education that Worcester had assumed over the previous half century, may in one important sense be seen as an endorsement of the city's former educational activities. It also confirms Meller's judgment that no matter how individual its own record, each large city was contributing toward a redefinition of national civilisation. (64) In turn this statement reinforces the conclusion of Almond and Verba that the 19th Century was an important stage in the development of a democratic culture. (65) The 'citizen', integral to the political culture analysed by Almond and Verba has been shown to have developed his orientations at a more immediate level, by responding positively to policies launched in the name of civic pride.

64. H.E. Meller op cit 1976 p 42.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX I

Increase in population in selected cities during the 19th Century

(Sources:

1861 - 1901 The Census of 1901, Summary Tables 1903 (Cd. 1523) Table XIV pp cii - ciii.)
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<td>41,467</td>
<td>43,739</td>
<td>45,766</td>
<td>47,185</td>
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<td>Norwich</td>
<td>36,238</td>
<td>36,748</td>
<td>49,705</td>
<td>60,505</td>
<td>61,846</td>
<td>68,195</td>
<td>74,891</td>
<td>80,386</td>
<td>87,842</td>
<td>100,970</td>
<td>111,733</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>11,694</td>
<td>12,931</td>
<td>16,364</td>
<td>20,649</td>
<td>24,258</td>
<td>27,843</td>
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<td>34,615</td>
<td>40,872</td>
<td>45,742</td>
<td>49,336</td>
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<tr>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>11,460</td>
<td>13,814</td>
<td>17,003</td>
<td>18,610</td>
<td>27,004</td>
<td>27,528</td>
<td>35,170</td>
<td>38,116</td>
<td>40,354</td>
<td>42,908</td>
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<td>36,303</td>
<td>46,225</td>
<td>51,480</td>
<td>62,841</td>
<td>67,841</td>
<td>77,914</td>
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<td>17,923</td>
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<td>31,032</td>
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<td>46,737</td>
<td>44,200</td>
<td>49,581</td>
<td>59,503</td>
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<td>101,722</td>
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<td>182,922</td>
<td>232,841</td>
<td>313,175</td>
<td>367,177</td>
<td>436,971</td>
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<td>115,874</td>
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<td>311,269</td>
<td>401,321</td>
<td>490,271</td>
<td>425,241</td>
<td>462,303</td>
<td>505,368</td>
<td>543,872</td>
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</table>

a) These figures relate to Exeter's Parliamentary boundary (1841 and 1851), then its county borough total.
b) These figures indicate the population within Exeter's municipal boundary.
c) Until, and including 1851, these figures included the population of Salford also.
Changes in ecclesiastical revenue
16th – 19th Centuries:

a) gross receipts of cathedrals 1542 – 1834
   expenses of grammar schools 1542 – 1834
   net receipts of cathedrals 1542 – 1834

b) details of increased receipts 1542– 1834
   proportion spent on schools

c) comparative incomes of cathedrals in
   the 16th and 19th centuries

(Source: R Whiston op cit 1850 ed)
### TABLE (A).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cathedrals</th>
<th>Gross receipts per annum.</th>
<th>Expenses of grammar schools per annum.</th>
<th>Net receipts of Deans and Chapters per annum.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In 1512.</td>
<td>Average of for three years ending 1513.</td>
<td>Average of for seven years ending 1514.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
<td>£ s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>2543</td>
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<td>Bristol</td>
<td>688</td>
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<td>£ 4,089</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carlisle</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>£ 643</td>
<td>£ 505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>£ 2135</td>
<td>£ 1,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>1738</td>
<td>£ 37,071</td>
<td>£ 35,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ely</td>
<td>1029</td>
<td>£ 8651</td>
<td>£ 7,685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>£ 6457</td>
<td>£ 5,917</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christ Church</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>£ 17,446</td>
<td>£ 30 0 0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>£ 6,357</td>
<td>£ 5,920</td>
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<td>Peterborough</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>£ 7,178</td>
<td>£ 6,014</td>
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<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1555</td>
<td>£ 15,573</td>
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<td>Winchester</td>
<td>1301</td>
<td>£ 12,033</td>
<td>£ 10,338</td>
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<tr>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>2601</td>
<td>£ 30,145</td>
<td>£ 23,513</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- **Canterbury**
- **Bristol**
- **Carlisle**
- **Chester**
- **Durham**
- **Ely**
- **Gloucester**
- **Christ Church**
- **Oxford**
- **Peterborough**
- **Rochester**
- **Winchester**
- **Worcester**
- **Westminster**
### Table (B).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cathedrals</th>
<th>Total clear endowment in 1542.</th>
<th>Spiritualities i.e. Tithes and glebe lands of Endowments in 1542.</th>
<th>Annual value of Tithes alone in 1535, not less than Rates of Increase on Tithes giving an average of 35-fold.</th>
<th>Annual value of Total Endowment estimated at an increase of 35-fold.</th>
<th>Gross Receipts as returned by the Chapters upon an average seven years ending 1844.</th>
<th>Portions of Total Endowments appropriated to Schools and Students.</th>
<th>Portions of Receipts (not required by the Chapters) in 1854.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury1</td>
<td>£ 247 18 6</td>
<td>£ 713 10 0</td>
<td>£ 22,400 0</td>
<td>£ 31 1/2</td>
<td>£ 84,525 0</td>
<td>£ 15,463</td>
<td>£ 430 0 0 or 1 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>658 9 6</td>
<td>542 0 0</td>
<td>11,572 0</td>
<td>21 1/2</td>
<td>24,785 0</td>
<td>4499</td>
<td>23 0 0 or 1 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle</td>
<td>661 7 1/2</td>
<td>262 0 0</td>
<td>11,123 0</td>
<td>39 1/2</td>
<td>23,583 0</td>
<td>5020</td>
<td>13 6 8 or 1 5/7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>890 7 5</td>
<td>958 0 0</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1590</td>
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<tr>
<td>Durham1</td>
<td>1723 3 5</td>
<td>495 0 0</td>
<td>20,540 0</td>
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<td>55,073 0</td>
<td>36,935</td>
<td>291 13 4 1/2</td>
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<td>Ely</td>
<td>1022 9 2/3</td>
<td>972 0 0</td>
<td>36,200 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>121 6 8 or 1 5/7</td>
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<td>726 10 5</td>
<td>270 0 0</td>
<td>6691 0</td>
<td>24 5/6</td>
<td>25,194 0</td>
<td>6317</td>
<td>45 13 4 15</td>
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<td>Oxford</td>
<td>821 12 11/2</td>
<td>614 0 0</td>
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<td>29,579 0</td>
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<td>691</td>
</tr>
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<td>Peterborough1</td>
<td>835 15 1/2</td>
<td>96 7 0</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Rochester</td>
<td>829 10 51/2</td>
<td>482 14 0</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>29,087 0</td>
<td>5220</td>
<td>104 13 4 1/2</td>
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<td>Winchester2</td>
<td>1355 19 0</td>
<td>334 0 0</td>
<td>17,663 0</td>
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<td>634 0 0</td>
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<td>76,700 0</td>
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<td>Manchester2</td>
<td>265 17 8</td>
<td>226 12 6</td>
<td>3029 17 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>34,009 18 7</td>
<td>7508 3</td>
<td>172</td>
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</table>

1 In the estimates of present value, allowance is made for loss of estates.
2 No School attached.
3 The return for three years ending 1831, was £4025. In the Parish of Manchester the Endowment of the District Churches is—of six, nothing of one, £30; of two, from £30 to £50; of eight, from £30 to £50; of six, from £60 to £100; of four, from £100 to £150; of six, from £150 to £150 per annum.
### Comparative Table of Cathedral Incomes in the 16th and 19th Centuries

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>£500</td>
<td>£500</td>
<td>£500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The Minor Canons appointed since 1536 have a minimum salary of £150, secured by Act of Parliament. At Gloucester and Durham no houses are provided for them by the Chapter; hence the comparative estimate £30 is deducted from the actual salaries of £150 and £100, respectively. (a) At Bristol and Chester, the salary of the Dean Master is £150, but no house is provided, as elsewhere; for this allowance, however, is made in the estimate. (b) The salary of the Organist at Carlisle and Durham is £100 and £200 respectively, but without a house; hence the deduction of £200. (c) At Canterbury, a duty extra was recently assigned to the Lay Clerk if they should retire on £25 a year when called upon. The lay clerk declined this, and one of them a Probationer for 3 years, and a chorister for 7 years, was immediately discharged.

N.B.—For all below the Canons, the Table exhibits, in almost every instance, the payments of 1659. In 1649 the Chapels paid less as the subordinate members than they do now—e.g., at Winchester the Masters paid £60 and £8 respectively. The line that—denote suppressions.

3. At Durham and Chester receive an £150, or £260 for music or other services, at Ely £20, at Rochester £5, at Winchester £25, and at Bristol £15.

4. The income of the Clerk at Chester have £18, of which £6 is from the Chapter: £1 from the King's Pint; the remainder from sacramental offerings and other sources.

5. At Ely, the income of a Minor Canon is about £120, partly from the increased value of a separate estate. The actual income of a Lay Clerk is £20, the augmentation arising from private benefaction. Other subordinate allowances were augmented by Chapter.
APPENDIX III

City Council memorial to the Dean and Chapter 1851.

(Source: City Chamber Order Book Vol. XII)
The Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors of the Corporation of Worcester, in Council assembled, beg most respectfully to address the Dean and Chapter of its Cathedral church on a subject of deepest importance to the public generally, and of great interest to their own neighbourhood in particular.

The Mayor and Corporation, in common with their fellow citizens, have for some time had their attention called to a series of statements, made public upon authority apparently responsible and trustworthy, and which have impressed them with the belief that the instructions and ordinances of the founder of the Cathedral School are so far departed from as to inflict an injury upon those for whom it was founded and endowed.

The credibility of these statements and the impressions produced by them are, it may be added, strongly confirmed by the fact that they have not only been adopted, as of undeniable accuracy, in the House of Commons, and repeated, as of unquestioned authenticity, in various publications on very many occasions, but they have also been reproduced in the local journals of the neighbourhood and circulated in the city itself without contradiction, in effect and substance as follows:—

"That King Henry VIII, after founding and endowing the Cathedral of Worcester, gave a body of statutes for its regulation and government, by which he ordained that it should for ever consist of certain members, to have their sustentation out of its endowment, with certain limited allowances assigned to them therefrom, viz. — One Dean to have £133 - 6 - 8d per annum, 10 Canons at £20, one Schoolmaster at £20, one Usher at £10, 40 Grammar boys at £2 - 13 - 4d, and 10 Choristers at £3 - 6 - 8d etc. It has moreover been stated on the same authority that the observance of all these statutes, according to their plain and grammatical sense, the founder bound the Dean and Chapter by the most solemn obligations and imperative ordinances, and that in this sense the statutes do plainly and clearly express his intention, that the 40 Grammar boys should be maintained out of the funds of the church, by the following clauses referring to them:—

1. We ordain that there be for ever in our Church of Worcester 40 boys to be maintained out of the goods of our Church
2. We will that these boys be maintained at the costs of our Church
3. The boys learning Grammar and having their maintenance given them gratis within the Church
4. The Grammar boys who are maintained at the expense of the Church

Such, and so expressed, so it would seem, were the intentions and provisions of the royal founder, and the Mayor and Corporation are further given to understand, as indeed from their own experience they have reason to know, that those intentions and provisions are practically in abeyance under the following circumstances:

1st. According to the returns made to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by the Dean and Chapter, the income of a Canon has been raised from £20 to £626 - 3 - 1d.

2nd. No provision is made for the maintenance of the 40 Grammar boys, according to the founder's direction; and out of the £2 - 13 - 4d assigned and originally sufficient for the purpose there is now deducted £2 - 7 - 6d for the masters, and 2s for firing, so that only 3 - 10d is left for the boys.

3rd. The 10 Choristers, for whom a separate provision was made by the founder, are incorporated with the Grammar boys, thereby reducing their number to 30.

4th. Except the Choristers, no boy is placed on the foundation of the school without the previous payment of £10 - 10 - 0d for a year's tuition.

Assuming then the facts of the case to be as above described (and unfuted statements to this effect have so long been before the public that the assumption appears unavoidable), the Mayor and Corporation, in the discharge of what they believe to be their duty, beg to represent to the Dean and Chapter that in their humble opinion the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood are suffering undeservedly from the non-fulfilment of the provisions of King Henry VIII, with regard to the Cathedral Grammar School; and therefore in the name and on behalf of their fellow citizens they respectfully pray that the Dean and Chapter will considerately take some early and effectual measures for carrying out these provisions in the spirit in which they were conceived, and with a view to realise the beneficent objects for which they were originally designed.

In support of this request, the Mayor and Corporation would further beg to submit that the privileges of the Grammar boys
under and by virtue of the Cathedral statutes have been distinctly
recognised and are especially protected by a clause in a recent
Act of Parliament (3 and 4 Victoria c.113), providing that nothing
contained therein shall be construed to affect the right of any
chapter according to the statutes and customs of such chapter in
force at the time of passing that Act, 'to make due provision,
out of their corporate divisible revenues, for the support of the
Grammar school, and all other necessary and proper expenditure.'

The Mayor and Corporation then venture to express the earnest
hope that the Dean and Chapter will exercise their unimpaired
right to make the due provision required by their statutes for the
support of those who constitute the Grammar school, while they
trust that in making this application credit will be given them for
disclaiming every purpose and intention other than the sincere
desire of doing what they feel to be their duty to their fellow-
citizens, and with becoming deference and respectful courtesy to
a dignified ecclesiastical corporation, the individual members of
which have by their eminent virtues and distinguished position
so many claims upon public consideration and regard.
APPENDIX IV

City Council memorial to Parliament
1869

(Source: The draft memorial is among official papers at the Guildhall Worcester)
To the Honourable the House of Commons in Parliament assembled.

The Humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of Worcester in Common Council.

Humbly Sheweth

That the object of your Petitioners is to solicit a restoration for the purposes of the Worcester Cathedral School of the fair proportion of the Endowment of that Cathedral:

That your Petitioners find that the sources of information are not of easy access but they learn that the Estates set apart by King Henry VIII for the Endowment of the Cathedral Church of Worcester were at that time of the annual value of £1301 - 11 - 10¾d, which income was directed to be applied as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One Dean</td>
<td>£133 - 6 - 8d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten Canons £20 each</td>
<td>£200 - 0 - 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight Minor Canons £10 each</td>
<td>£80 - 0 - 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Organist</td>
<td>£12 - 6 - 8d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight Lay Clerks (£6 - 13 - 4d each)</td>
<td>£53 - 6 - 8d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten Choristers (£3 - 6 - 8d each)</td>
<td>£33 - 6 - 8d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Bedesmen £5 each</td>
<td>£30 - 0 - 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Various Officers, connected with the Establishment</td>
<td>£66 - 5 - 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Master of School</td>
<td>£20 - 0 - 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under Master</td>
<td>£9 - 19 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forty Boys (£2 - 13 - 4d each)</td>
<td>£106 - 13 - 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve University Scholarships (£6 - 7 - 4d each)</td>
<td>£76 - 8 - 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: £608 - 11 - 8d. + £213 - 0 - 8d. = £821 - 11 - 16d.
The remaining portion of the income £479 - 19 - 6½d was applied to various objects such as Alms, repair of Fabric, Highways etc thus exhausting the whole amount:

That the sum appropriated to educational purposes was nearly one sixth of the whole income:

That the sums before-mentioned were allotted without any gift of surplus to the Dean and Chapter, each object being apparently intended to share proportionately in the income of the Estates constituting the Endowment whatever the amount at any time may be:

That although your Petitioners have no means of ascertaining the present income of the Estates devoted to the before mentioned purposes, there can be no doubt that such income has enormously increased:

That out of these revenues a large addition has been made to the Ecclesiastical stipends whilst the income of the school remains at only a little more than double the amount originally named:

That your Petitioners believe that the sums appropriated for educational and other specific purposes were intended to vary with the increased produce of the Estates, and that these purposes should share in the whole revenue in proportion with all the other departments of the Cathedral Establishment:

That the increase which has been made in the amount originally named for the School admits the principle to which your Petitioners have referred:

That the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in a circular letter dated 17th of March 1869 state that they have no power to deal with this question under the 18th section of 29 and 30 Victoria c III

Your Petitioners therefore pray that your Honorable House will be pleased to take such measures as shall restore for the purposes of Education that fair proportion of the of the present value of the Endowment of Worcester Cathedral to which the school of such Cathedral is justly entitled.

And your Petitioners will ever pray etc
APPENDIX V

EPISCOPAL AND CAPITULAR ESTATES.

RETURNS of the approximate Estimated Value in Fee-simple of all ESTATES belonging to BISHOPS which have passed into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and, of the approximate Estimated Value in Fee-simple of all ESTATES belonging to DEANS and CHAPTERS which have passed into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; &c.

(Mr. Alderman Carter.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed
9 August 1871.

442. Under 1 oz.
RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 6 March 1871—for,

RETURNS "of the approximate Estimated Value in Fee-simple of all Estates belonging to the Bishops which have passed into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners: the Value of the Estates belonging to each See to be given separately":

"And, of the approximate Estimated Value in Fee-simple of all Estates belonging to Deans and Chapters which have passed into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners: the Value of the Estates belonging to each Corporation to be given separately."

Note.—The bulk of the Estates referred to in this Return had, previously to the dates at which they passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, been granted on beneficial leases for 21, 30, 31, or 40 years, or for three lives, or on copyhold grants for two, three, four, five, or six lives, in possession and reversion, and some portions had been granted on building leases for periods varying from 60 to 99 years.

In the cases of the Bishoprics specified in the Table marked (A.), the fee-simple value of the Estates which passed to the Commissioners has been estimated at the several sums set opposite to their names in the Table.

| Table (A.) |
|------------------|------------------|
| **Bishopric**    | **£**           |
| Bath and Wells   | 750,000          |
| Carlisle         | *400,000         |
| Gloucester and Bristol | 710,000 |
| Ripon            | 275,000          |
| Peterborough     | 210,000          |
| Worcester        | 930,000          |
| York             | 1,060,000        |
| Lincoln          | 360,000          |
| Norwich          | 220,000          |
| Ely              | 650,000          |
| Chester          | 475,000          |
| Lichfield        | 410,000          |
| **Total**        | **£6,510,000**   |

The Estates comprised in this Table have been for the most part enfranchised.

* This amount is exclusive of house property in the neighbourhood of London.
In the cases of the Bishopricks specified in the Table marked (B.), the fee-simple value of only a portion of the Estates has been estimated but the value of the whole approximates to the several sums set opposite to their names in the Table.

**Table (B.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bishoprick:</th>
<th>£.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>2,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>1,280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,980,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Estates comprised in this Table are in course of enfranchisement.

*This Amount is exclusive of house property and land in London and the neighbourhood.*

The Estates of the following Bishopricks have only recently passed to the Commissioners, and an approximate estimate of their fee-simple value cannot at the present time be supplied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hereford.</th>
<th>Exeter.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salisbury.</td>
<td>Chichester.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester.</td>
<td>St. Asaph.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the cases of the Chapters specified in the Table marked (A.), the fee-simple value of the Estates which passed to the Commissioners has been estimated at the several sums set opposite to their names in the Table.

**Table (A.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter:</th>
<th>£.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southwell</td>
<td>210,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle</td>
<td>520,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>425,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peterborough</td>
<td>575,000</td>
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<td>Chester</td>
<td>200,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>770,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Asaph</td>
<td>23,000</td>
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<td>Chichester</td>
<td>430,000</td>
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<td>Winchester</td>
<td>1,110,000</td>
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<td>Bristol</td>
<td>770,000</td>
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<td>Exeter</td>
<td>1,170,000</td>
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<td>St. David's</td>
<td>110,000</td>
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<td>Llandaff</td>
<td>130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>380,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,123,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Estates comprised in this Table have been, for the most part, enfranchised.
In the cases of the Chapters specified in the Table marked (B.) the fee-simple value of only a portion of the Estates has been estimated, but the value of the whole approximates to the several sums set opposite to their names in the Table.

**Table (B.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
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<tr>
<td>Salisbury</td>
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<td>Canterbury</td>
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<td>Rochester</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wells</td>
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<td>Windsor</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,530,000</strong></td>
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</table>

The Estates comprised in this Table are in course of enfranchisement.

* This amount is exclusive of house property and land in London and the neighbourhood.

The Estates of the following Chapters have only recently passed to the Commissioners, and an approximate estimate of their fee-simple value cannot at the present time be supplied.

Westminster.
Lincoln.
Ely.

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By Order of the Board,

10, Whitehall Place,  
3rd August 1871.  

(signed) James J. Chalk, Secretary.
APPENDIX VI

City Council memorial to the Charity Commissioners 1878

(Source:
Drafts, and printed copies are among official papers at the Guildhall Worcester)
To the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales.


WORCESTER CATHEDRAL SCHOOL.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF WORCESTER, IN COMMON COUNCIL assembled, on the 7th day of May, 1878.

Sawaheth:

1. That your Memorialists have learnt that the Estates set apart by King Henry the Eighth for the Endowment of the Cathedral Church of Worcester and the School in connection therewith, were then of the annual value of £1,301. 11s. 10½d., and that the sums directed to be paid thereout for the purposes of the said School (including an allowance for 12 University Students) amounted to £213. 6s. 6d., being nearly one-sixth of the entire income of the said Estates.

2. That by the Scheme of King Henry the Eighth no disposition was made of the surplus of the income of the said Estates, or of any increase thereof, and the sums thereby appropriated to various specific purposes have been largely increased out of the increased income of the said Estates, but only a little more than double the amount originally devoted to Educational purposes has been, and is now, applied to such purposes.

3. That the principal portions of the Estates forming the Endowment of the said Cathedral Church and School were, some years since, transferred by Parliament to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, chiefly for the augmentation of small Livings; and although your Memorialists admit that this is a good and laudable object, yet they consider that it ought not to be attained at the expense of an equally good and laudable object, namely that of the education of the Children of this City and the Neighbourhood, as intended by the benevolent Founder of the Scheme.

4. That your Memorialists have been informed by the Treasurer of the said Cathedral Church that in the allowance granted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for the said Cathedral Church and School, no provision has been made for an increase of the funds then devoted to the purposes of the said School; and that although some increase has been made out of the fund applicable to the general purposes of the said Cathedral, the said fund is already scarcely adequate to meet the increased charges of the Cathedral Establishment, and cannot possibly do more for the said School.

5. That in the year 1869 your Memorialists presented a Petition to the House of Commons praying that measures might be taken to restore, for the purposes of education, that fair proportion of the present value of the Endowment of Worcester Cathedral, to which the School of such Cathedral was justly entitled.

6. That by section 27 of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, provision was made for due regard to be paid to the claims of Cathedral Schools on the Common Fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

7. That your Memorialists, in the year 1876, laid before Mr. Walker Skirrow, an Inspector appointed by your Honourable Board, a Statement, bearing date the 23rd February, 1876, of their views as to the requirements of the said School, as follows:

1. That there should be a largely-increased Endowment of the School, by setting apart for that purpose a due proportion of the Worcester Capitular Estates then vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England.

2. That the Exhibitions at the University, established by the Founder in connection with the School, should be restored, if not increased.

3. That houses should be provided for the first and second Masters, suitable for the reception of Boarders.
4. That proper Grounds for the use of the Boys, for athletic exercises and for
    drill, should be provided.

5. That proper means should be provided for the study of the physical Sciences.

6. That, in addition to the present King's Scholars, there should be Scholarships
    of a higher grade, dependent upon merit.

7. That there should be a Lay element in the Governing Body of the School,
    and that the holders for the time being of the under-mentioned public offices
    would, from their representative character, form a suitable Lay element, viz.,
    the Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Worcester, the Chairman and Vice-
    Chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions for the County, the Mayor of the
    City of Worcester, the Recorder of such City, and the Chairman of the Worcester
    School Board.

8. That your Memorialists have had under their consideration the Proposals bearing
data the 5th day of May, 1877, submitted by your Honourable Board to the Ecclesiastical
Commissioners for England, for meeting out of their Common Fund the claims of the
Worcester Cathedral School, to have increased provision made for it out of the Capitular
Estates, which have been transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the following
effect:—

1. That the Ecclesiastical Commissioners shall make a grant of £7,000 out of
    their Common Fund for the purpose of providing an adequate Endowment,
    including an Exhibition Fund, for the Cathedral Grammar School at Worcester.

2. That they shall make a further grant of £5,000, subject to the condition
    that a further sum of at least £1,000 be raised from other sources, such
    sums to be applied towards the improvement of the School Buildings, and
    the provision of suitable accommodation for Boarders.

9. That your Memorialists have also had under their consideration the Letter bearing
data the 26th June, 1877, from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to your Honourable Board,
stating:—

1. That the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are prepared to make a grant of
    £3,000 as an addition to the Endowment of the School.

2. And also a further grant of any sum not exceeding £1,000 to be applied
    towards the improvement or extension of the School Buildings, such further
    grant to be subject to the condition that an equal sum be raised by way of
    local contribution for the same object, and both grants to be subject to the
    approval by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of the provisions of the Scheme
    to be prepared by the Charity Commissioners.

10. That your Memorialists are of opinion that these proposals are far from adequate to the
    requirements of the Cathedral School, or to the justice of the claims of such School,
    having regard to the provision made for the same by the Endowment of King Henry
    the Eighth, and the enormous increase that has taken place in the value and income
    of the said Estates, and the greatly increased provision made therefor for other of the
    purposes of the said Endowment.

11. That your Memorialists adhere to the views they expressed in 1876, as above mentioned,
    respecting the requirements of the said School.

12. That Class Rooms are required adjoining the Cathedral School; and on the South side
    of the College Green, which adjoins the said School, there are houses belonging to
    the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and in the rear thereof a piece of land containing
    about three acres, also belonging to the said Commissioners, and by the removal of
the said houses an adequate and very suitable site would be afforded for the erection of Dwelling Houses for the Head Master and Second Master of the said School and the accommodation of Boarders, and the said land would form a suitable Play Ground for the Boys, in close contiguity to the School and the residences of the Masters, and your Memorialists consider that the said houses and land ought to be devoted to these purposes accordingly.

13. That your Memorialists consider that the sum of £7,000 proposed by your Honourable Board as an Endowment for the said School, is the very least amount that ought to be provided, in addition to the present Endowment, for the purpose of an Exhibition Fund for the said School, including Exhibitions at the Universities, and that the further grant of £5,000 for the improvement of the School Buildings, and the provision of suitable accommodation for Boarders, is altogether inadequate for those purposes, even if supplemented by a contribution of £1,000 from other sources.

14. That in the opinion of your Memorialists, it is not likely that any grant by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will be largely supplemented from public contributions or other like sources, unless the grant is of such an amount as, with such contributions, will be fully adequate for the provision of suitable School Buildings, Dwelling Houses for the Head Master and Second Master, with accommodation for Boarders, a Play Ground, and an Exhibition Fund, as above mentioned.

15. That the interests of the City of Worcester would be greatly promoted by the said School being established on a satisfactory basis, which would do justice to the provision made by the Founder of the School for the benefit of the Inhabitants of this City and the Neighbourhood.

Your Memorialists therefore pray that your Honourable Board will be pleased to reconsider the claims of the Worcester Cathedral School to have increased provision made for it out of the Capitular Estates, which have been transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and that your Honourable Board will see fit to recommend the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to comply with the views of your Memorialists as expressed in this Memorial.

Given under the Common Seal of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of Worcester.

FRANCIS DINGLE,
MAYOR.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mr. J. Drury</th>
<th>Mr. Walker Swinb.</th>
<th>Charity Commissioners</th>
<th>Ecclesiastical Commissioners</th>
<th>Corporation of Worcester</th>
<th>Dean and Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Report to the Schools Inquiry Commissioners, laid before Parliament in 1869.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Result of Inquiry in 1869.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Letter of 5 May, 1877.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Letter of 26 June, 1877.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Memorial of 6 May, 1878, to the House of Commons.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Observations and Suggestions of 22 April, 1881.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payment made to the King's Scholars might be raised.</td>
<td>ENDOWMENT in Letter of 5 May, 1877, from the Charity Commissioners to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.</td>
<td>£7,000 for providing an adequate Endowment, including an Exhibition Fund.</td>
<td>£3,000 for addition to the Endowment.</td>
<td>Prayer that the fair proportion of the value of the Endowment of the Cathedral to which the School was entitled should be restored for the purposes of education.</td>
<td>A new Residence for the Canon of the third stall, his present house to be made over to the Head Master, and Class Rooms built upon part of its ground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish a Boarding House or Hostel, where Boys might be received at £50 a year.</td>
<td>School should be a high class Day and Boarding School.</td>
<td>£5,000, subject to the condition that a further sum of at least £1,000 is raised from other sources, such sums to be applied towards the improvement of the School Buildings, and the provision of suitable accommodation for Boarders.</td>
<td>£1,000, subject to an equal sum being raised by way of local contributions for improvement of the School Buildings.</td>
<td>A capital sum of £10,000 for this building and other purposes.</td>
<td>At least £500 a year for King's Scholars' additional payment to the School, or a capital grant of at least £15,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better provision for Boys desiring to proceed to the University.</td>
<td>Class Rooms.</td>
<td>Increase of Scholarships tenable at the School.</td>
<td></td>
<td>MEMORIAL of 7 May, 1878, to the Charity Commissioners.</td>
<td>£500 a year for the Dean and Chapter to provide for the education of the Choristers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Meck w and Worfield Exhibitions should be altered, and others be established to fill the intentions of King Henry VIII.</td>
<td>Boarding Houses.</td>
<td>Establishment of other Exhibitions.</td>
<td>Stating that the proposals of the Charity Commissioners in the Letter of 5 May, 1877, and of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in their Letter of 26 June, 1877, were inadequate, and praying for an increased provision for the School.</td>
<td></td>
<td>£500 a year to relieve the “Dorm” Fund of the Cathedral from the present payment to the School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish a connexion between Queen Elizabeth's School and the Cathedral School, so that Boys who distinguish themselves may be passed on to the latter, and have a chance of winning an Exhibition to the University.</td>
<td>Improvement of the Head Master's Residence.</td>
<td>Endowment requires to be augmented.</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Observations and Suggestions of 5 April, 1881.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Observations and Suggestions of 5 April, 1881.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proper Playground.</td>
<td>Improved buildings and additional Exhibitions are indispensable.</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Site for Head Master's residence, Boarding Houses, Class Rooms, and other buildings.</strong></td>
<td>An unconditional grant of £20,000.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Playground.</strong></td>
<td>Site for Head Master's residence, Boarding Houses, Class Rooms, and other buildings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Worcester Cathedral School.**

**Statement of the Amount of the Endowment and other Improvements proposed to meet the requirements of this School.**

---

**Scholarship of 1881.**

The land and buildings occupied for the purposes of the School, and the yearly sum of £500 payable out of the income of the Cathedral.

The capital sum of £5,000 unconditionally.

The further capital sum of £5,000 on condition that a like sum is raised by voluntary contributions.
APPENDIX VII

A summary of the Cathedral School issue

(Source: Guildhall Worcester.
The original is among official papers.
It is undated)
TEXT BOUND INTO
THE SPINE
APPENDIX VIII

The provision of elementary education
in Worcester 1871 - 1903

(Source: 'The review of the work of the Worcester School Board from its foundation in 1871 to its abolition in 1903')
APPENDIX IX

School Board finance 1871 - 1903

a) receipts
b) expenditure

(Source: As in Appendix VIII )
## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF BOARD.

### RECEIPTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year ending</th>
<th>Government Grants</th>
<th>Rates</th>
<th>Rates per</th>
<th>Fees and Fee Grant</th>
<th>Loans</th>
<th>Miscellaneous Receipts</th>
<th>Grants under the Agricultural Rates Act 1860</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
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Letter to the School Board clerk from a former inmate of an Emigration Home

(Source: School Board records, Guildhall Worcester)
Houlton,  
Maine,  
U.S.A.

15th October 1899.

Dear Sir,

I am writing to thank you for sending me and my sisters to Mr Middlemore’s homes, and I have a good home here and Nelly and Edith, and I hope you will get some more to the home, and will you please write to the reformatory and ask them to send my brother Fred, or if you could get him to Mr Middlemore’s home I should like him to come to this country as it is a good country. I am glad I have come, and I am going to try and see Nelly next summer if possible. I am 70 miles from Nelly and about 400 from Edith. They are both in good health and in good homes. If you would like to have their address I will send it to you. I am sending you my photo and please show it to N.S.P. of cruelty to children and tell him I should like to have a letter from him. I have a gold pair of ear-rings and a silver bracelet since I have been with Mrs Orris. And did you ever hear that I broke my arm on the ship after we had started from Liverpool. I shall remember the kindness you have done for me and my sisters. I do not have black eyes now to go up and down streets, like I had in Worcester. I think I have said all this time, so no more from Charlotte M.K. -- to Mr Spackman, Board School, Worcester.

P.S. - If not found please return it back.
APPENDIX X1

Press comment on the contribution of the Worcester School Board

a) press reports on the penultimate meeting of the School Board

b) editorial comment on the Board's achievements

c) editorial comment on the dispute at the Board's penultimate meeting

(Source:
Worcester Daily Times
Worcestershire Echo)
HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL BOARD.

Mr. Spackman (Clerk) had prepared a statistical and conderational review of the work of the School Board from its formation in 1871. This review said one of the first acts of the Board was to ascertain what amount of school provision existed in the City, and how many children there were of school age. The total number of schools in the city was 4,661, while the estimated number of scholars to be educated was 81,12. An educational census which was undertaken by the Attendance Officers showed that 753 children were entirely out of school. The neighbourhood in which the greatest deficiency was found was that in which the board schools were afterwards built. No other board schools over became necessary, because the managers of voluntary schools with commendable public spirit had made provision from time to time as the growing needs of the city had demanded.

On the extension of the city boundaries in 1865, the Board became responsible for the school at Cherry Orchard, which had been erected by the St. Peter's (extra-municipal) School Board. The number of children with which the School Board had had to deal had been that of securing regularity of attendance. In the early years of the Board, the efforts of the attendance officers were primarily devoted to driving into school children who had not previously been under instruction. But, it soon became apparent that the work of the attendance officers was not finished when children had been enrolled as scholars. In 1871, when the population of Worcester stood at 30,001, there were 5,582 children in average attendance, a number equal only to seven per cent. of the population. At the end of 1901, there were 7,721 in average attendance, equal to 15 per cent. of the population.

The number of children under instruction in 1901, equaled 19 per cent. of the population. The percentage of average attendance throughout the year for the county borough stood at 35; Worcester stood at 25.1. The Act of 1870 empowered School Boards to receive fees of children attending their own schools, and to pay the fees of children attending Voluntary schools, when they were of opinion that parents through poverty were unable to make that small contribution. In spite of the fact that parents could and obtain remission, many failed to do so. On, when able, neglected that duty, and soon arrears of fees began to accumulate upon the books of the schools. In September, 1873, a case was successfully entered in the County Court for the recovery of arrears, and several other actions followed as intervals.

At the Lady Day audit of the accounts in 1863 the District Auditor called attention to the fact that the arrears of fees amounted to £204 6s. 10d., and a large part of that sum was subsequently written off, being irrecoverable. That the difficulty of collecting fees was a real one may be gathered from the fact that the attendance officer, when deputed by the Board to collect arrears, obtained only £23 10s. after having made 1,004 visits to parents. Between September, 1861, and June, 1862, 37 cases were entered in the County Court, and the Court charges, amounting to £26 11s., were paid by the Board. Of this sum only £2 4s. 9d. was ever recovered again. The Board decided in October, 1863, that the teachers should strictly demand payment of fees, and dismiss all children who were two weeks in arrear. The exclusion of children of course made serious havoc of the attendance, and the matter was only finally set at rest on the schools being made entirely free in 1871. The Board in 1876 found it desirable to fix a maximum and minimum salary applicable to all grades of teachers, with a definite rate of increase each year from minimum to maximum, subject to a good report from H.M. Inspector. The Board also adopted a general table regulating the number of teachers in the schools, fixing it about one-third higher than that laid down in the Code of that day. The scale of salaries had been revised from time to time, as circumstances had required, but owing to the very rapid increase in teachers' salaries during the last few months the Board had experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining teachers on the existing scales to fill vacancies.

The income of the Board arises principally from Government grants; and fees or fees grants: the balance necessary to meet the expenditure of the Board was obtained by the School Board and Works Loan Commission upon security of the rates, at 8 per cent. per annum, repayable in 30 years. A further sum was raised for the erection of a caretaker's house, and the two loans were then amalgamated. In 1885, by the St. Peter's (extra-municipal) School Board, at a cost of £1,500, the city boundaries in 1885, the Worcester School Board became responsible for the Sladp s-school at Cherry Orchard. The number of children attending their own school was 4,611, when the full amount to be educated was 13,201. There were 831 Worcester, 851 Hereford, and 1,046 of all other counties. The number of scholars at the end of the year for the county borou was 13,201, there were 1,397 in 1872, 1,397 in 1901.

Mr. Spackman took exception to the phrase recording that the managers of Voluntary schools, whose commendable public spirit, had made provision from time to time to save extending the School Board. It was well known that at one time there was a considerable diversity of opinion with reference to the provision of other schools in the city. He desired to make clear to the Board or given to Voluntary schools for the sake of the future members of the Educational Committee.

Mr. Spackman recalled the session that the managers’ action, but the great influence was the hope of retaining education in the hands of the Church. He added that the phrase "with commendable public spirit be deleted."

The Chairman said that the remark was one of essential fact and though it was not the same as Mr. Spackman's he favored the deletion of the sentence.

Mr. Day said some of his persuasion would rather have seen an extension of the School Board's powers to deal in the best interests of the Cherry Orchard and Red Hill.

Mr. Webster seconded the motion and said public feeling towards the succession of School Boards as a whole was that they had been a body to thwart the Educational Act of 1870 rather than assist it.

The Rev. C. J. Hunt entirely dissented from that.

Mr. Webster added words of agreement with the phrases that the Board’s existence had been justified, and that it had resulted in incalculable benefit.

The Chairman said the line was unnecessary, and for the sake of peace and quietness it would be better to stop there.

The resolution was carried by 6 to 2; the Board expressing its deep indebtedness to Mr. Spackman for the report, which they agreed reflected the highest credit on him.
WORCESTER SCHOOL BOARD.


FINAL MEETING.

The Chairman said the Board went out of office on March 26th, and it was proposed to have a Finance Committee on March 9th, and receive the accounts for payment, and on March 16th to receive a financial statement. The last meeting of the Board would be on March 26th, and in order that everything might be in order he moved that the Finance Committee be authorised to sign cheques in payment of all accounts at the meeting of March 9th.

Mr. Wetherall: Will that include the salaries of the teachers up to the end of that term?

The Chairman: Yes.

Father Kerman seconded, and the motion was carried.

LABOUR EXAMINATIONS.

The Chairman read the reply of the Board of Education to the Committee's resolution respecting the results of the labour examinations. The Board wished to know what reason the School Board had for being dissatisfied with the conduct of the labour examinations. The Chairman said they had no objection to the manner in which the examinations were conducted, they expressed dissatisfaction with the result, and he proposed a reply be sent to the Board's view of the matter.

This was agreed to.

SCHOOL STAFF.

Mr. Sendall, Burton-on-Trent, was appointed assistant master of the Board's Laura School, at a salary of £80 per annum.

The Board had also advertised for an ex-pupil teacher. They had an application from a Mr. Thomas, of Nottingham, who, later, declined to come for less than £65 per annum. The Board only offered £60, and they decided to advertise again, offering a salary of £60 per annum.

The Chairman remarked that when Mr. Thomas applied he was probably only getting £50, but his salary had been increased subsequently.

RAISED FEES.

The Pupil Teachers' Centre Committee wrote stating that the fees for all pupil teachers would be at the rate of £3 per annum, and for candidates sitting at the examination in April £3 per annum.

The Chairman said as the reply would have to pay the Centre had put up the fees, he supposed that the Board did not mind. (Laughter.)

32 YEARS WORK.

The Clerk presented an exhaustive review of the work of the Board from its formation in 1871 to the present year. The money spent in the Board of late years had been £6000 per annum, and in the year 1871 £600 per annum.

Mr. Cherry seconded.

Mr. Mayglotthing took exception to a paragraph in the report which said that "no other Board schools became necessary, because the managers of voluntary schools, with commendable public spirit, have made provision from time to time as the growing needs of the city have demanded." It was well known, he said, that there was a diversity of opinion some years ago as to the creation of other schools, and he did not think that credit could be taken by the Board or be given to the voluntary schools because they kept Board Schools out of the city.

Mr. Hunt said the words "with commendable public spirit" were unnecessary, because it was with the idea of retaining the education of the children of the city pretty well in the hands of the Church.

Mr. Wetherall said the Board should not object to that word, and he thought it should be retained. He would be very sorry to see it excluded, for he thought it would be in accord with the opinion of the majority of the Board.

The Chairman said Mr. Mayglotthing objected to the words "with commendable public spirit." Mr. Mayglotthing: Yes. He moved that these words be deleted.

The Chairman said he did not agree with the ground on which Mr. Mayglotthing objected to the words, but that part was different to any other part of the report and was a comment upon a fact rather than a statement of fact. He therefore supported Mr. Mayglotthing.

Mr. Hunt said if they eliminated everything that was not a statement of fact they would remove a good deal of the report.

Mr. H. Day: Some of us would have much rather seen an extension of the school board system, particularly in regard to Cherry Orchard and Red Hill.

Mr. Wetherall said there was a feeling that the Board at one time was inclined to favour the Education Act of 1870 rather than to carry it out.

Mr. Hunt: I absolutely object to that statement.

Mr. Wetherall said he was stating what was the feeling at one time, and he was bound to admit there was, to a certain extent, ground for that feeling. He saw in the report that it was stated the existence of the Board had been justified, and he thought they would all now agree with it. He told of a meeting at which it was stated by a speaker that the Board schools were godless, and added that could not now be said about them.

Mr. Hunt: No, certainly not.

The Chairman said the line mentioned by Mr. Mayglotthing was an unnecessary one, and he thought in the interests of peace and quietness it would be best to eliminate it, but he entirely differed with Mr. Mayglotthing as to the ground of his objection.

Mr. Mayglotthing's motion was put and carried by six votes to two.

Mr. Hunt added that the report reflected the greatest possible credit upon Mr. Spackman.

(Hear, hear.)
The Worcester School Board will shortly be dissolved, but it is not at all discredit. It has not made any extravagant provision. Its administration has not hardened the taxpayers. Voluntary aid and has kept down the requirements. The Church has supplied all the accommodation needed since the Board schools were erected in Hounds Lane. The Board has not employed architect and builder anywhere since that early undertaking. Denominational schools, old (with enlargement) and new, have met the wants of a growing population. The Board now has something to say about the labours of the whole time of composition which has been expended over the entire city, and of the structure which has been carried on in the last block of buildings, together with the small place in Cherry Orchard taken over from the outgoing part of the Powers' parish. The report which was submitted to the Board on Monday covers the years of a generation, and is fairly comprehensive. It tells of work done without great fuss—done with quiet, consistent energy and much worthiness. The average attendance throughout the city has been more than doubled. It has been raised from 7 to 15 per cent of the population. Thus the voluntary schools have been greatly assisted; and the Board and the denominational managers and teachers have maintained harmonious relations. The Church has had the majority representation all the time; and the Nonconformist members have, for the most part, shown a sweet spirit and the first cons of nine members afterwards, to the present time, of eleven. The list of those who have served the city for different periods during the 28 years contains 45 names. The longest membership was that of the late Alderman Afroy—31 years, during nine of which he was Vice-Chairman. The late Alderman Rowley Hill, the Rev. W. Wright, and Miss Westcombe were on the Board for 25 years; the present Chairman has been a member for 18 years. Only four members in succession have occupied the chair. The 45 names include those of four Stallards, two fathers and two sons. The record—taking numbers and others together—is held by Mr. T. E. Martin, who has been treasurer the whole time. The Board has had only two clerks—the late Mr. F. Maram, who was in office for 212 years, and Mr. F. T. Speckman, who has worked with constant zeal and fidelity for 194 years.

The School Board justly claim to have been the means of letting light, and interest, and sympathy into the lives of the very poor, and of encouraging and enabling their children to aspire to higher views of life and work. But the process of learning the heart most of mankind and ignorance which characterizes the lower strata of the population has not yet been fully accomplished, although something has been done towards its attainment. So far the Board in their own epitaph have a legacy of work to their successors. But there has been a sympathetic administration. It has included a care for the blind and deaf, for the defective and epileptic. Crowding the children into school, and cramming them with names and dates and figures, has not been the be-all and end-all of their work. Such useful things as cookery and needlework have been added to the three R's in the training of the girls. Woodwork and other crafts have been imparted to the boys. Beyond these, the leading influences of music and literature have been brought to bear upon them; and the principles of thrift have been inculcated in them early by means of the penny bank. Last year conditions of primary schools have been in remarkable contrast to those of 30 or 40 years ago. It is safe to say that the poor children, mostly of St. Andrew's, All Saints', and St. Clement's, have been schooled under pleasant conditions than they have been homed. The teachers have hung pictures to adorn the school walls, and have placed foliage plants in the windows, so that the school life of the century might become a ledger of work to happy, still refined and elevating. The Board have taken an almost parental care of the poor and the neglected children; and the Clerk himself has shown the quality of parentage for this huge family of nearly 600 children. As a rule they are:

During the very severe winter of 1864-65 the Board instituted a scheme of penny and free dinners for the poorer children, and for the succeeding winters, up to 1897, the meals were provided without inscription. Free breakfasts on a morning when ill health was also prevalent during a part of this period. With improvement in trade and the establishment of soup kitchens in various parts of the city, it was felt that there was less need for the continuance of the Board's poor undertaking. Since 1897 the work has been carried on a much more limited scale. During the period 1894-97, 173,012 meals were supplied, of which 100,953 were free, and voluntary contributions were received by the Board amounting to £541.15s. 6d. for the support of the work. Although the number of children supplied with food during the last five years has been small, it shows that, at each succeeding winter comes round, there is a substratum of stagnant poverty to be dealt with and the need. Author agency for the relief of child-suffering which for many years was privately sustained, was a food fund, which was administered by Miss Westcombe during the latter part of her membership of the Board. Lest the clerk has been responsible for this work, he has always been for the dinner fund. Many children have been supplied every winter with articles of bread and clothing who otherwise would have been forced to attend school through the rains and snows of winter in most inadequately dressed condition. By which means the rigours of life have been much softened for the underfed and underclothed, of whom the School Board always had a big proportion.

Local Notes.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24th, 1903.

The Worcester School Board instituted a scheme of penny and free dinners for the poorer children, and for the succeeding winters, up to 1897, the meals were provided without inscription. Free breakfasts on a morning when ill health was also prevalent during a part of this period. With improvement in trade and the establishment of soup kitchens in various parts of the city, it was felt that there was less need for the continuance of the Board's poor undertaking. Since 1897 the work has been carried on a much more limited scale. During the period 1894-97, 173,012 meals were supplied, of which 100,953 were free, and voluntary contributions were received by the Board amounting to £541.15s. 6d. for the support of the work. Although the number of children supplied with food during the last five years has been small, it shows that, at each succeeding winter comes round, there is a substratum of stagnant poverty to be dealt with and the need. Author agency for the relief of child-suffering which for many years was privately sustained, was a food fund, which was administered by Miss Westcombe during the latter part of her membership of the Board. Lest the clerk has been responsible for this work, he has always been for the dinner fund. Many children have been supplied every winter with articles of bread and clothing who otherwise would have been forced to attend school through the rains and snows of winter in most inadequately dressed condition. By which means the rigours of life have been much softened for the underfed and underclothed, of whom the School Board always had a big proportion.
LOCAL NOTES.

The admirable review of the work of Worcester School Board, presented on Monday, is prefaced by a list of citizens who have been members of that authority. The Board has existed 38 years—13 years with 9 members and 14 years with 11—and 48 gentlemen have shared in the direction of its work. This gives an average of between six and seven years service per member, or a little more than two triennial terms each. Evidently the Board has been well chosen and the city satisfied with its work. The longest term is credited to that veteran Liberal, Mr. J. F. Airy, who served 21 years. Alderman Rowley Hill, Miss Lucy Westcombe, and the Rev. W. Wright each served 13 years. The present chairman, Colonel Albert Webb, has spent 151 years’ work, eleven as chairman—a striking tribute to his reputation and capacity as educationalist. The succeeding chairmen have been Mr. G. W. Hasling, 1871-83; Alderman Rowley Hill, 1883-1894; Mr. Martin Curtler, 1894-1897; Colonel Webb, 1892-1903. Of the officials Mr. G. H. Martin, treasurer, has fared ever since the formation of the Board; Mr. F. T. Spackman, the very efficient clerk, has spent twenty years in that position, having succeeded the first clerk, Mr. F. Marcus, in 1883.

When the Board came into existence there were under inspection 12 schools of 22 departments, with accommodation for 4,072 scholars. The city now includes 17 schools of 41 departments, with places for 9,460 pupils, and a staff of 265 teachers. In 1871 there were other elementary schools not under Government care which were regarded as efficient by the Board. These included the Trade School in Silver street, Bishop Lloyd’s Endowed School in the Trinity, Loweswater Chapel Infant School, Friar street Infant School, and the Severnside Ragged School. The last mentioned was a wooden structure with wings, formerly used as a floating chapel. All these institutions fell into disuse and the latter means of teaching in the elementary schools began to be realised. There were then altogether 9,061 school places in Worcester, and 5,112 scholars to be educated. A census showed that 783 children were “entirely out of school.” The deficiency was supplied by the erection of the Board School in Round’s Lane. “No other Board School,” said the original draft of the report, “were necessary, because the managers of Voluntary Schools, with commendable public spirit, have made provision from time to time as the growing needs of the city have demanded it.” The idea of denominational managers disinterestedly hastening to build and enlarge schools in order to save the public purse will not edify the historian, for the passage was deleted by the Board. This is well, for the statement carried a suggestion of controversy, and, moreover, might have been discounted when the reports on the character and adequacy of some portions of the “provision” in question came to be ascertained by the dispassionate education authority of the city.

Among other evidence of progress the age at which children are permitted to leave school may be noted. At first youngsters were liberally at the age of 10 on passing the Fifth standard. Now they must attend school till fourteen, unless they can pass the labour certificate examination in the Sixth standard, for which they are eligible at twelve years. But the test is still in the three R’s. Some day we shall awaken to the fact that every child possesses abilities for doing good work with head or hands, of which use can be made in the general interest, and we shall teach and test accordingly. The average attendance of children has increased from 2,562 in 1871 to 7,121 in 1901, the percentage of average attendance to population being advanced from 7 to 12. The ratio of children off the books to population is 3 per cent., more than the average attendance now, but it was 4 per cent. more in 1871 and 5 per cent. more in 1886, so that there has been steady improvement.

As pointing to one direction in which the new authority ought to act, we observe that the school accommodation for boys only exceeds the number on the books by 16 places and the average attendance by 94 places. Worcester boys, therefore, attend school regularly and will require further provision at an early date. It is gratifying to learn that the general health of the children was better last year than it has been since the full records of sickness have been kept. The school, however, was closed owing to the prevalence of scarlet fever, and three other schools so suffered as regards attendance as to warrant a disclaimer of the epidemic grant. It was stated some years ago that the Board School was the only elementary school in the city which had never been closed through the prevalence of any infectious disease. The report does not state whether this record is maintained, but it is the supposed reasons of immunity in the case of a school placed in an abum district and attended by the poorest would be worth hearing.

A great deal of information likely to be helpful to the members of the new authority is given, regarding the subjects taught and the details of management and administration. At the end of a businesslike paragraph about gifts of food and clothing made to scholars by means of voluntary contributions during part of the Board’s history, the following sentences appear: “As each succeeding year comes round, there is a substratum of stagnant poverty to be dealt with and relieved, if the best results in school work are to be obtained from the hundreded children whose lives have been passed over the privilege of the School Board to educate.” The noble idea hinted at in these last phrases has, we believe, inspired the most active members of the School Board throughout its history. There is little doubt that it will be perpetuated, in Worcester at all events, under the new system. Such children as the report refers to are the weakest link in the chain of society. To strengthen that link so that it shall bear the strain of progress is a work of self-preservation on the part of the community no less than a work of patriotism of religion.
The Church members of Worcester School Board are wiser than their advocate. Directly the Chairman suggested the business-like distinction between "comment" and "statement of fact," they perceived that the remark about the "public spirit" of the Church party was inappropriate in an official report. It recommended "self-praise," and was not likely to recommend them to the citizens, who prefer to be left to characterise policy as they think fit. A report of this kind should be a report and not a eulogy of those who are responsible for it. It was enough to say that the Church party provided sufficient accommodation to meet the demands of the authorities. When motives are referred to there is an opening for criticism. The "spirit" accentuating the denominationalists was "public" if that quality is contrasted with what is merely private. As, however, a substantial minority of the citizens disagreed with what was done and opposed it, the "spirit" was not public spirit as embracing the whole public in its constituency, but party spirit since it was designed to secure exclusive advantages to a section. Perhaps the Church party believed that in championing denominational and privately managed as against publicly-controlled schools it was doing the best thing even for those who objected to that course. It is necessary to assume this if a Church advocate is rightly to speak of the Church party's "public spirit." But precisely the same motive was ascribed to religious persecutors in old times. They tortured heretics with as much gusto as denominationalists have manifested in "dishing" the Nonconformists and in securing sectarian control of the schools at a comparatively trifling cost, and they did so with public spirit of the same type, but for the victims' eternal welfare.

We have referred to Nonconformist reasonableness on the School Board. The moderation has been that of the minority—after occasional polling tests. But some discordance has from time to time been reported. At the meeting last Monday objection was made to a phrase in the report, which recorded that the managers of voluntary schools had "with commendable public spirit" made provision so that the Board had not been obliged to erect more schools. The words were wholly justifiable, but they were struck out. The Chairman said it was rather a comment than a statement of fact. We cannot agree with him, for there is ample evidence of public spirit. If Nonconformists had made similar provision, would they not have claimed recognition of public spirit? The Church is national in name and in fact. Its administrations are over all the land and are free to all classes of the people. What is done by Churchmen for the Church is done for the public; therefore with public spirit. If it be done for the strength of the Church it is done for the people's good; for what does the Church work for if not for the common weal? What is the Church if not a spiritual government for the people, also bestowing a vast temporal benefit? The greatest part of education in every Church school is in secular subjects, and it fits boys and girls to be working men and women, having their parts in a good citizenship. This is public spirit; and ratepayers who have saved so much money through the educational seal of the Church have so regarded it.
WORCESTER

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION,

ESTABLISHED 1829.

The object of this Institution is the Diffusion of Useful Literary and Scientific Information among the Industrious Classes of the Community; and the means used for the attainment of this object, are, the establishment of a Library, a Reading Room, a Lecture Room, and Classes for Mutual Instruction. Polemics and Politics are totally excluded.

Patrons.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD LYTTELTON.
SIR CHRISTOPHER SYDNEY SMITH, BART.
THOS. H. HASTINGS DAVIES, Esq. M. P.

President.

RICHARD SPOONER, Esq.

Vice-Presidents.

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Mr. COTTERELL, SEN. Mr. PADMORE
ROBERT GILLAM, Esq. Mr. SINGLETON, SEN,
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Mr. HENSON Mr. E. L. WILLIAMS
Mr. JENNINGS Mr. WHITING

Treasurer.

MR. W. HILL.

Secretaries.

MR. EDWIN LEES. MR. WILLIAM SALMON.
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE,

READ AT A GENERAL MEETING IN THE GUILDHALL,

MARCH 2nd, 1829.

In reporting the progress which has been made towards the establishment of this Institution, your Committee offer their congratulations on the success which has attended their efforts. At the General Meeting held in the Guildhall, on the 9th ult. it was announced that Sir Christopher Sydney Smith, Bart. Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, and Col. Davies, one of our City representatives, had honoured the Institution by enrolling themselves as Patrons; and it is with great pleasure that your Committee have to add the name of the Right Hon. Lord Lyttelton.

After the last General Meeting, your Committee lost no time in making enquiries for rooms suitable for the purposes of the Institution; but they regret to state, that no offer has yet been made, which they have deemed it advisable to accept. Unwilling, however, to delay the opening of the Institution, your Committee have, for the temporary accommodation of the Members, taken upon very moderate terms, apartments in the Corn-market; which they will be at liberty to quit at a very short notice, should a more eligible offer present itself. A Sub-committee has been appointed, to procure, as early as possible, a suite of Rooms capable of being used for the purposes of the Library, the Reading Room, and for the delivery of Lectures.

Although the latter object cannot be attained on the premises which your Committee have for the present engaged, there appears to be no obstacle to prevent the opening of the Library and the Reading Room. Your Committee, having made a selection of Useful and Scientific Books, drawn up the regulations necessary for the management of the Library and Reading Room, and taken the measures requisite for their immediate opening, have now the pleasure of announcing that a collection of above 200 books, (including all the publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,) will be opened for the use of the Members, on the evening of Tuesday the 16th inst. Your Committee take the present opportunity of returning thanks to those Gentlemen, who have liberally presented to the Institution, various scientific and interesting works; an example which they trust will be generously followed by all friends to the dissemination of knowledge, and the progress of intellectual acquirement.

Anxious not only to promote the present welfare, but to secure as far as possible, the permanency of this Institution, your Committee have drawn up a code of laws, and it will be seen that every attention has been paid to the just rights of all the Members, and to the promotion of harmony and concord throughout all the departments of the Institution. On the principle that a division of labour would not only accelerate the operations of your Committee, but would also ensure a much more accurate and diligent performance of their duties, three Sub-committees have been appointed, each consisting of four individuals. The Finance Committee will regulate all payments on account of the Institution. The Library Committee will have the care of the Books, and the selection, subject to the decision of the General Committee, of such Works as it may be necessary, from time to time, to add to the Library. The care of the Philosophical Apparatus and of the Furniture of the Rooms, will engage the attention of the third Sub-committee.

In conclusion, your Committee have to state, that 152 names have been entered at the office of the Secretaries, and that 29 of them have announced their intention of becoming Honorary Members. Considering the shortness of the time since the Institution was first announced to the public, and how little excitement has been made in canvassing for members, your Committee cannot but offer their most cordial congratulations on the flattering prospects of the Institution; and while they conclude to perform their duties which devolve upon themselves with diligence, with fidelity, and with perseverance, they trust that their efforts will be promptly supported by the generous aid of a liberal public, and by the hearty co-operation of every true friend to scientific research and human improvement.
APPENDIX XIII

Extract from a press report of a special conference on the amalgamation of institutions 1885

(Source:
Worcester Daily Times 3rd October 1885)
that they should be scattered and isolated as they were in England, and would likely to become more intense; and that only by adding English art to the training of students at that school would it be possible to meet the competition of the working classes in industry. He thought nothing of more importance had ever been brought before the citizens. There had been no more

Mr. T. Liitt supported the motion. The present method of instruction, he said, was a ready

Mr. C. J. Morris also spoke in support of the motion. When he received the Mayor's invitation and read the scheme conceived in such a large and liberal spirit, he felt that it was coming to Worcester he had

The resolution was unanimously carried.

The Mayor, in putting the resolution, said those

The meeting then concluded.
APPENDIX XIV

Pamphlet in support of the principle of an amalgamation of institutions 1886

(Source: The original pamphlet is fixed inside a log book detailing the activities of the informal committee promoting the Amalgamation issue. It is held in the Guildhall Worcester, among the records relating to the Victoria Institute).
Citizens! Remember the Arboretum!

Proposed Central Institution
For Secondary and Technical Education.

The Citizens will shortly be called upon to express in public meeting their opinion upon this proposal.

It is proposed to bring together, in a central building, under Corporation control, the Public Library and Museum and School of Art, together with a School of Science and of Technical Education and a Public Art Gallery.

This proposal is necessary because the various institutions are all designed for the same end, and can do their work better and in a cheaper manner under one management than under many; because it follows the best models in the world; because America, France and Germany are adopting it in all their large towns, and their people will have great advantages over ours if we do not arm ourselves in the same way.

Common sense and common knowledge go to prove that an united institution can do more good at a given cost than several small Institutions acting apart from, and independent of each other. Consolidation is strength and efficiency.

The Corporation have now the opportunity, which may never recur, of becoming the governing body of the Schools of Art and Science. The existing system of Art Schools is formally condemned in the report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education, and these schools will only confer the benefits they were meant to confer when they are placed under public control.

Unless Worcester provides for its population all the facilities possessed by the most advanced towns in England, we must expect stagnation and decline in her manufacturing position.

A central Institution for secondary and technical education will connect the Elementary Schools and the Universities. Elementary education by itself is only a comparative benefit. It needs completion. This Institution will afford the means of completion. It will, under wise direction, become to Worcester what the Mason College is to Birmingham, what the Yorkshire College is to Leeds.
Such an Institution will make Worcester a completely equipped educational centre. Such a centre will attract residents, to the lasting advantage of the citizens. It will encourage and foster inventiveness and design, on the development of which our very life as a manufacturing city must depend.

The Public Library has been so successful, that the present building is too small. Any enlargement would be costly and unsatisfactory, and necessitate the destruction of existing buildings.

The present Museum Building is much too small, and cannot be enlarged. Hundreds of specimens cannot be exhibited, owing to want of space.

The present School of Art is a separate building under private management. Local manufacturers complain that it is too much a School of Drawing, and too little a School of Design; and they ask for Corporation control in order that the management may be more fully directed to the interests of local manufactures.

Worcester at present has no public School of Science, or of Technical Education, and our local manufactures suffer from the absence of scientific training in those engaged in them.

At present, Worcester has no public Art Gallery. The experience of other towns shows, that where a building is provided by the Corporation, pictures are freely given by private persons.

It has been ascertained that a suitable building for all these purposes could be built for £15,000, and that a central site could be bought for £3,500.

Towards this, about £11,500 can be obtained from various sources.

- The present Library Building (which was bought by private subscription) can be sold for at least £3,500
- The Committee of the School of Art will give their building estimated to sell for over £1,500
- A grant can be obtained from the Worcestershire Exhibition Fund of £600
- Another grant can be had from the Science and Art Department of £750
- Subscriptions have been promised towards the School of Science, amounting to £1,000
- It is intended to raise by subscription a further sum of £4,000

Making altogether over £11,350
The citizens are asked to supplement these sums by a vote of £7,000, not one penny of which would come out of the rates. The whole is proposed to be taken from funds to which no living citizen ever contributed one farthing. The citizens possess money (called enfranchisement money), which, by law, they are required to invest in land. They are asked to use £3,500 of this in buying land in a central situation as a site for the new building; land which would always keep its value, and be a good investment.

Another fund of nearly £4,000 has been produced by the accumulation during the past century, at compound interest, of the surplus rents of some property adjoining Worcester Bridge. Instead of continuing the accumulation of this fund for another century, it is proposed to apply £3,500 out of it towards the new building.

In this way, by the investment in the new building of £3,500, which has hitherto done no good to any one, the Citizens will acquire a building worth £15,000; the balance of the cost coming from properties and funds to which they have not contributed and which they cannot touch. They will get fourfold value for the money invested, and the erection of the building will find work for the unemployed in the building trades; and indirectly benefit all the tradesmen in the City.

One great improvement leads to others. The impetus given by public will be followed by private enterprise, and trade will be largely benefited by the success of this great design.

It cannot be too clearly understood that the Citizens are not asked to give anything out of the rates, and that, at the present time (owing to the construction put upon a recent Rating Act), they are not even paying to the Library the full rate of One Penny in the £ which they intended and desired to give, when the Libraries Acts were adopted. A penny in the £ upon the actual rental of Worcester would produce about £800 a year. The present grant to the Library is only £600 a year. The capitalised amount of this deficiency in the penny rate represents no more than the money which the Citizens are now asked to grant to put the Library and Museum upon a prudential footing and to give to Worcester the facilities for Art Teaching and Technical Training without which our manufacturers and their workmen cannot successfully compete against those of other towns and other countries.

Will the maintenance of the Institution entail an increase of rates? No, most distinctly and emphatically. The law is strict and clear that no increase can be made upon the sum now collected.

The penny in the £ need not be, cannot be, and will not be exceeded. For the new Institution, it will be collected on the same basis as at present. There will be no alteration whatever, except that the citizens will get far more for their money than they get now.
Summary of Advantages.

The Institution will be central, comprehensive and complete. It will be the property of the Citizens and under their control. It will pay the Citizens to accept it.

It will cost them no additional rate,—not a penny.

The money spent in its erection will be spent in the City amongst the Citizens.

It will make Worcester a great Educational centre.

It will attract residents.

It will encourage manufactures.

It will afford every intelligent and industrious lad in the City opportunities of advancement.

It will teach our youths technical knowledge and so make their lives happier and their work more pleasant and profitable.

It may be done now at a cost to the City which the poorest Citizen in Worcester will never feel.

It must be done, now or never!

The necessity is urgent.

The opportunity is rare.

Citizens! Lost opportunities cannot be recalled. If this golden opportunity is lost, you will have no chance of reconsidering it. For good or for evil you must choose NOW!

Worcester, February, 1886.
APPENDIX XV

Circular letter from the City Council to the citizens, in relation to the Victoria Institute

(Source: Guildhall, Worcester)
Victoria Institute.

This Institute was founded as a Memorial of the Jubilee Year of the reign of our Gracious Queen, and the first stone was laid by H.R.H. THE DUKE OF YORK, K.G., in April, 1894. It combines—

1. A Public Library, at present containing upwards of 30,000 volumes.
2. A Museum, collected chiefly through the exertions of the late Sir Charles Hastings.
3. An Art Gallery.
4. A School of Art, which has for many years been a very efficient School, having trained men, some of whom have attained distinction in the Royal Academy and whose works adorn public positions in our County and the private collections of many gentlemen in the City and neighbourhood.
5. A Technical School, where classes have for a year past been formed, giving instruction in various arts and sciences to classes numbering 1300 pupils, including many residing in the County.

To these important objects a Secondary School is now to be added, offering the advantages of technical and scientific teaching to pupils who have passed through the Elementary Schools of the City, on terms which render the classes available to many whose pecuniary positions would not enable them to attend the higher grade schools.

The buildings erected for the promotion of these various objects have been completed at a cost of upwards of £42,000, from funds provided chiefly by the Corporation of Worcester, aided by the grant of £1,250 from the County Council, and liberal contributions from gentlemen in the City and County amounting to upwards of £11,000. An inspection of the buildings will gratify all interested in promoting education as being well and carefully arranged, and erected in a thoroughly substantial manner and in good taste, while free from costly ornamentation.

The whole of the funds required for the erection of these buildings have been provided with the exception of £4,000, towards which there are promises of three sums of £500 each from Mr. T. Rowley Hill, Mr. Wheleho Lea, and Mr. Dyson Perrins, leaving only a balance of £4,500, which it is hoped may be provided before the public opening of the Institute.

It is now universally admitted that to maintain the position of our Country at the head of the manufacturing industries of the world, we must follow the example of other European nations in providing education in the arts and sciences for the industrial classes. It is therefore confidently hoped that those who appreciate the importance of extended technical education will provide the amount requisite to open the Institute free from debt.

Guildhall, Worcester,
September, 1896.
APPENDIX XVI

Plans of the Victoria Institute

(Source: Guildhall, Worcester)
PLAN OF ART SCHOOL

PLAN OF SCIENCE SCHOOL
Plan of Technical School
Sources have been grouped together as follows:

I Bibliographical and General Reference.

II Contemporary Sources:
   a) Legislation
   b) Reports, from Commissions, Select Committees etc.
   c) Local sources:
      i) General
      ii) Relating to the Cathedral School
      iii) Relating to the Worcester School Board
      iv) Relating to the Victoria Institute
   d) Books:
      i) Local. (Published during the period under investigation, or written by individuals active during the period. Some modern reprints are included).
      ii) General
   e) Journals and conference proceedings

III Modern Sources:
   a) Dissertations and Theses
   b) Books:
      i) Local
      ii) General
   c) Journals
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DRAFT REPORT BY THE CATHEDRAL SCHOOL COMMITTEE RECOMMENDING THE CITY COUNCIL TO PETITION PARLIAMENT April 1869

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SERIES OF LETTERS BETWEEN A.C. SHERRIFF M.P. AND a) R. WOOF (TOWN CLERK) AND b) ROBERT WHISTON RELATING TO THE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH THE VALUE OF CAPITULAR ESTATES June 1869

DRAFT LETTER FROM EDWARD WEBB (CHAIRMAN OF THE CATHEDRAL SCHOOL COMMITTEE) TO LORD HOUGHTON, ASKING FOR HIS SUPPORT IN AMENDING THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS BILL 1869 June 1869

COPY OF A RESOLUTION OF COUNCIL 1870

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WORCESTER CATHEDRAL SCHOOL: MEMORANDUM ON A DRAFT SCHEME FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF THE SCHOOL N.D.

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b) A REPLY, TO THE CHARITY COMMISSION June 1877
c) FROM THE CHARITY COMMISSION TO THE CHAPTER CLERK AT WORCESTER July 1877

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WORCESTER ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

DRAFT SCHEME FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE WORCESTER ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

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ANNUAL REPORTS

LOG BOOK OF CHURCHMEN'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE

GENERAL REPORTS ON THE BREAKFAST AND DINNER SCHEMES

iv) VICTORIA INSTITUTE

WORCESTER LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION. MINUTE BOOK

TRANSACTIONS OF THE WORCESTERSHIRE BUILDING SOCIETY

LOG BOOK ON THE ACTIVITIES OF AN INFORMAL INSTITUTION AMALGAMATION GROUP


REPORT IN ANSWER TO A REQUEST OF THE COMMITTEE, CONTAINED IN A LETTER FROM H. R. TYMBS. (THIS RELATES TO THE CONDITION OF THE SUBSCRIPTION LIBRARY)

REPORT BY THE TOWN CLERK UPON THE PROPOSED AMALGAMATION OF WORCESTER PUBLIC LIBRARY, MUSEUM AND SCHOOL OF ART, AND THE PROPOSED SCHOOL OF SCIENCE AND ART GALLERY

(FLYSHEET) WORCESTER CITY LIBRARY AND MUSEUM

REPORT OF THE INSTITUTIONS AMALGAMATION COMMITTEE TO THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

THE PROPOSED CENTRAL INSTITUTION

VICTORIA INSTITUTE: REPORT OF A SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF SPACE REQUIRED FOR THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS

THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE: A STATEMENT IN REGARD TO THE DAY SCHOOL OF SCIENCE

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM COMMITTEE: REPORT OF ENLARGEMENT SUB-COMMITTEE
The majority of the sources cited above are currently held in the Guildhall, Worcester. The City Chamber Order Books are stored in the Muniment Room, as are many records relating to the Royal Grammar School and all the records of the Cathedral School used in connection with this thesis, except the Chapter Act Books, and Chapter Order Books which are to be found in the Cathedral Library.

In addition, a number of sub-committee and ad hoc committee Minute Books are kept in the basement, as are some records relating to the Six Masters and the endowments they managed on behalf of the Royal Grammar School, and a number of papers relating to the School Board and the Victoria Institute. A total of 31 boxes contain a comprehensive, if largely unsorted, collection of data accumulated from the daily work of the School Board. In-coming correspondence and draft replies, returns to Board questionnaires, draft memorials, and financial details are to be found. So too are details of all the Board's welfare schemes, posters, election notices, and numerous reports drawn up by Spackman.

Four boxes of material relating to the Natural History Society and the Victoria Institute are also in the basement, as are the posters reproduced in the text above. The City Library has a smaller amount of material, and is not always able to retrieve items which are in its catalogue.

The contents of boxes are uncatalogued at this time (1978) apart from an index which classifies the boxes according to major contents. Most of the material relating to the two endowed grammar schools is in boxes devoted to 'Charities'. Problems of cataloguing have been exacerbated by local government reorganisation in 1974; to the task of developing an efficient index was added the problem of sorting and assigning a large quantity of material that was suddenly unearthed in the
process of moving, and merging departments. A good deal is still to be done but the Registrar, Mr. Anthony Phillips, and a part-time archivist are most helpful and can advise on where to find most of the major sources of information. They are particularly knowledgeable on the City Council's formal records which are well cared for and plentiful. The city has been well served by its Town Clerks and other administrative officers, particularly during the 19th Century. Many working papers have been retained, often located with the printed reports to which they gave rise.

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**-**

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<td>G. Griffith</td>
<td>The Free Schools of Worcestershire and Their Fulfilment.</td>
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<td>M.E. James</td>
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<td>Schools for the People.</td>
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<td>T. Bernard</td>
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<td>M. Carpenter</td>
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<td>Central Society of Education.</td>
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